History of the Christian Church Vol VI The Middle Ages AD 1294 - 1517

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Title: History of the Christian Church, Volume VI: The Middle Ages.

A.D. 1294-1517.

Creator(s): Schaff, Philip (1819-1893)

CCEL Subjects: All; History;

LC Call no: BR145.S3

LC Subjects:

Christianity

History

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HISTORY

of the

CHRISTIAN CHURCH [1]

by

PHILIP SCHAFF

Christianus sum. Christiani nihil a me alienum puto

VOLUME VI.

THE MIDDLE AGES

From BONIFACE VIII., 1294 to the Protestant Reformation, 1517

by

DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D.

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[1] Schaff, Philip, History of the Christian Church. This material has

been carefully compared, corrected� and emended (according to the 1910

edition of Charles Scribner's Sons) by The Electronic Bible Society,

Dallas, TX, 1998.

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PREFACE

This volume completes the history of the Church in the Middle Ages. Dr.

Philip Schaff on one occasion spoke of the Middle Ages as a terra

incognita in the United States,--a territory not adequately explored.

These words would no longer be applicable, whether we have in mind the

instruction given in our universities or theological seminaries. In

Germany, during the last twenty years, the study of the period has been

greatly developed, and no period at the present time, except the

Apostolic age, attracts more scholarly and earnest attention and

research.

The author has had no apologetic concern to contradict the old notion,

perhaps still somewhat current in our Protestant circles, that the

Middle Ages were a period of superstition and worthy of study as a

curiosity rather than as a time directed and overruled by an all-seeing

Providence. He has attempted to depict it as it was and to allow the

picture of high religious purpose to reveal itself side by side with

the picture of hierarchical assumption and scholastic

misinterpretation. Without the mediaeval age, the Reformation would not

have been possible. Nor is this statement to be understood in the sense

in which we speak of reaching a land of sunshine and plenty after

having traversed a desert. We do well to give to St. Bernard and

Francis d'Assisi, St. Elizabeth and St. Catherine of Siena, Gerson,

Tauler and Nicolas of Cusa a high place in our list of religious

personalities, and to pray for men to speak to our generation as well

as they spoke to the generations in which they lived.

Moreover, the author has been actuated by no purpose to disparage

Christians who, in the alleged errors of Protestantism, find an

insuperable barrier to Christian fellowship. Where he has passed

condemnatory judgments on personalities, as on the popes of the last

years of the 15th and the earlier years of the 16th century, it is not

because they occupied the papal throne, but because they were

personalities who in any walk of life would call for the severest

reprobation. The unity of the Christian faith and the promotion of

fellowship between Christians of all names and all ages are

considerations which should make us careful with pen or spoken word

lest we condemn, without properly taking into consideration that

interior devotion to Christ and His kingdom -which seems to be quite

compatible with divergencies in doctrinal statement or ceremonial

habit.

On the pages of the volume, the author has expressed his indebtedness

to the works of the eminent mediaeval historians and investigators of

the day, Gregorovius, Pastor, Mandell Creighton, Lea, Ehrle, Denifle,

Finke, Schwab, Haller, Carl Mirbt, R. Mueller Kirsch, Loserth, Janssen,

Valois, Burckhardt-Geiger, Seebohm and others, Protestant and Roman

Catholic, and some no more among the living.

It is a pleasure to be able again to express his indebtedness to the

Rev. David E. Culley, his colleague in the Western Theological

Seminary, whose studies in mediaeval history and accurate scholarship

have been given to the volume in the reading of the manuscript, before

it went to the printer, and of the printed pages before they received

their final form.

Above all, the author feels it to be a great privilege that he has been

able to realize the hope which Dr. Philip Schaff expressed in the last

years of his life, that his History of the Christian Church which, in

four volumes, had traversed the first ten centuries and, in the sixth

and seventh, set forth the progress of the German and Swiss

Reformations, might be carried through the fruitful period from

1050-1517.

David S. Schaff.

The Western Theological Seminary,

Pittsburg.

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� 1. Introductory Survey.

The two centuries intervening between 1294 and 1517, between the

accession of Boniface VIII. and the nailing of Luther's Ninety-five

Theses against the church door in Wittenberg, mark the gradual

transition from the Middle Ages to modern times, from the universal

acceptance of the papal theocracy in Western Europe to the assertion of

national independence, from the supreme authority of the priesthood to

the intellectual and spiritual freedom of the individual. Old things

are passing away; signs of a new order increase. Institutions are seen

to be breaking up. The scholastic systems of theology lose their

compulsive hold on men's minds, and even become the subject of

ridicule. The abuses of the earlier Middle Ages call forth voices

demanding reform on the basis of the Scriptures and the common

well-being of mankind. The inherent vital energies in the Church seek

expression in new forms of piety and charitable deed.

The power of the papacy, which had asserted infallibility of judgment

and dominion over all departments of human life, was undermined by the

mistakes, pretensions, and worldliness of the papacy itself, as

exhibited in the policy of Boniface VIII., the removal of the papal

residence to Avignon, and the disastrous schism which, for nearly half

a century, gave to Europe the spectacle of two, and at times three,

popes reigning at the same time and all professing to be the

vicegerents of God on earth.

The free spirit of nationality awakened during the crusades grew strong

and successfully resisted the papal authority, first in France and then

in other parts of Europe. Princes asserted supreme authority over the

citizens within their dominions and insisted upon the obligations of

churches to the state. The leadership of Europe passed from Germany to

France, with England coming more and more into prominence.

The tractarian literature of the fourteenth century set forth the

rights of man and the principles of common law in opposition to the

pretensions of the papacy and the dogmatism of the scholastic systems.

Lay writers made themselves heard as pioneers of thought, and a

practical outlook upon the mission of the Church was cultivated. With

unexampled audacity Dante assailed the lives of popes, putting some of

St. Peter's successors into the lowest rooms of hell.

The Reformatory councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel turned Europe

for nearly fifty years, 1409-1450, into a platform of ecclesiastical

and religious discussion. Though they failed to provide a remedy for

the disorders prevailing in the Church, they set an example of free

debate, and gave the weight of their eminent constituency to the

principle that not in a select group of hierarchs does supreme

authority in the Church rest, but in the body of the Church.

The hopelessness of expecting any permanent reform from the papacy and

the hierarchy was demonstrated in the last years of the period,

1460-1517, when ecclesiastical Rome offered a spectacle of moral

corruption and spiritual fall which has been compared to the corrupt

age of the Roman Empire.

The religious unrest and the passion for a better state of affairs

found expression in Wyclif, Huss, and other leaders who, by their clear

apprehension of truth and readiness to stand by their public

utterances, even unto death, stood far above their own age and have

shone in all the ages since.

While coarse ambition and nepotism, a total perversion of the

ecclesiastical office and violation of the fundamental virtues of the

Christian life held rule in the highest place of Christendom, a pure

stream of piety was flowing in the Church of the North, and the mystics

along the Rhine and in the Lowlands were unconsciously fertilizing the

soil from which the Reformation was to spring forth.

The Renaissance, or the revival of classical culture, unshackled the

minds of men. The classical works of antiquity were once more, after

the churchly disparagement of a thousand years, held forth to

admiration. The confines of geography were extended by the discoveries

of the continent in the West.

The invention of the art of printing, about 1440, forms an epoch in

human advancement, and made it possible for the products of human

thought to be circulated widely among the people, and thus to train the

different nations for the new age of religious enfranchisement about to

come, and the sovereignty of the intellect.

To this generation, which looks back over the last four centuries, the

discovery of America and the pathways to the Indies was one of the

remarkable events in history, a surprise and a prophecy. In 1453,

Constantinople easily passed into the hands of the Turk, and the

Christian empire of the East fell apart. In the far West the beginnings

of a new empire were made, just as the Middle Ages were drawing to a

close.

At the same time, at the very close of the period, under the direction

and protection of the Church, an institution was being prosecuted which

has scarcely been equalled in the history of human cruelty, the

Inquisition,--now papal, now Spanish,--which punished heretics unto

death in Spain and witches in Germany.

Thus European society was shaking itself clear of long-established

customs and dogmas based upon the infallibility of the Church visible,

and at the same time it held fast to some of the most noxious beliefs

and practices the Church had allowed herself to accept and propagate.

It had not the original genius or the conviction to produce a new

system of theology. The great Schoolmen continued to rule doctrinal

thought. It established no new ecclesiastical institution of an abiding

character like the canon law. It exhibited no consuming passion such as

went out in the preceding period in the crusades and the activity of

the Mendicant Orders. It had no transcendent ecclesiastical characters

like St. Bernard and Innocent III. The last period of the Middle Ages

was a period of intellectual discontent, of self-introspection, a

period of intimation and of preparation for an order which it was

itself not capable of begetting.

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CHAPTER I.

THE DECLINE OF THE PAPACY AND THE AVIGNON EXILE.

a.d. 1294-1377.

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� 3. Pope Boniface VIII. 1294-1303.

The pious but weak and incapable hermit of Murrhone, Coelestine V., who

abdicated the papal office, was followed by Benedict Gaetani,--or

Cajetan, the name of an ancient family of Latin counts,--known in

history as Boniface VIII. At the time of his election he was on the

verge of fourscore, [2] but like Gregory IX. he was still in the full

vigor of a strong intellect and will. If Coelestine had the reputation

of a saint, Boniface was a politician, overbearing, implacable,

destitute of spiritual ideals, and controlled by blind and insatiable

lust of power.

Born at Anagni, Boniface probably studied canon law, in which he was an

expert, in Rome. [3] He was made cardinal in 1281, and represented the

papal see in France and England as legate. In an address at a council

in Paris, assembled to arrange for a new crusade, he reminded the

mendicant monks that he and they were called not to court glory or

learning, but to secure the salvation of their souls. [4]

Boniface's election as pope occurred at Castel Nuovo, near Naples, Dec.

24, 1294, the conclave having convened the day before. The election was

not popular, and a few days later, when a report reached Naples that

Boniface was dead, the people celebrated the event with great

jubilation. The pontiff was accompanied on his way to Rome by Charles

II. of Naples. [5]

The coronation was celebrated amid festivities of unusual splendor. On

his way to the Lateran, Boniface rode on a white palfrey, a crown on

his head, and robed in full pontificals. Two sovereigns walked by his

side, the kings of Naples and Hungary. The Orsini, the Colonna, the

Savelli, the Conti and representatives of other noble Roman families

followed in a body . The procession had difficulty in forcing its way

through the kneeling crowds of spectators. But, as if an omen of the

coming misfortunes of the new pope, a furious storm burst over the city

while the solemnities were in progress and extinguished every lamp and

torch in the church. The following day the pope dined in the Lateran,

the two kings waiting behind his chair.

While these brilliant ceremonies were going on, Peter of Murrhone was a

fugitive. Not willing to risk the possible rivalry of an anti-pope,

Boniface confined his unfortunate predecessor in prison, where he soon

died. The cause of his death was a matter of uncertainty. The

Coelestine party ascribed it to Boniface, and exhibited a nail which

they declared the unscrupulous pope had ordered driven into

Coelestine's head.

With Boniface VIII. began the decline of the papacy. He found it at the

height of its power. He died leaving it humbled and in subjection to

France. He sought to rule in the proud, dominating spirit of Gregory

VII. and Innocent III.; but he was arrogant without being strong, bold

without being sagacious, high-spirited without possessing the wisdom to

discern the signs of the times. [6] The times had changed. Boniface

made no allowance for the new spirit of nationality which had been

developed during the crusading campaigns in the East, and which entered

into conflict with the old theocratic ideal of Rome. France, now in

possession of the remaining lands of the counts of Toulouse, was in no

mood to listen to the dictation of the power across the Alps. Striving

to maintain the fictitious theory of papal rights, and fighting against

the spirit of the new age, Boniface lost the prestige the Apostolic See

had enjoyed for two centuries, and died of mortification over the

indignities heaped upon him by France.

French enemies went so far as to charge Boniface with downright

infidelity and the denial of the soul's immortality. The charges were a

slander, but they show the reduced confidence which the papal office

inspired. Dante, who visited Rome during Boniface's pontificate,

bitterly pursues him in all parts of the Divina Commedia. He pronounced

him "the prince of modern Pharisees," a usurper "who turned the Vatican

hill into a common sewer of corruption." The poet assigned the pope a

place with Nicholas III. and Clement V. among the simoniacs in "that

most afflicted shade," one of the lowest circles of hell. [7] Its floor

was perforated with holes into which the heads of these popes were

thrust.

"The soles of every one in flames were wrapt -- [8]

... whose upper parts are thrust below

Fixt like a stake, most wretched soul

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

Quivering in air his tortured feet were seen."

Contemporaries comprehended Boniface's reign in the description, "He

came in like a fox, he reigned like a lion, and he died like a dog,

intravit ut vulpes, regnavit ut leo, mortuus est sicut canis.

In his attempt to control the affairs of European states, he met with

less success than failure, and in Philip the Fair of France he found

his match.

In Sicily, he failed to carry out his plans to secure the transfer of

the realm from the house of Aragon to the king of Naples.

In Rome, he incurred the bitter enmity of the proud and powerful family

of the Colonna, by attempting to dictate the disposition of the family

estates. Two of the Colonna, James and Peter, who were cardinals, had

been friends of Coelestine, and supporters of that pope gathered around

them. Of their number was Jacopone da Todi, the author of the Stabat

Mater, who wrote a number of satirical pieces against Boniface.

Resenting the pope's interference in their private matters, the Colonna

issued a memorial, pronouncing Coelestine's abdication and the election

of Boniface illegal. [9] It exposed the haughtiness of Boniface, and

represented him as boasting that he was supreme over kings and

kingdoms, even in temporal affairs, and that he was governed by no law

other than his own will. [10] The document was placarded on the

churches and a copy left in St. Peter's. In 1297 Boniface deprived the

Colonna of their dignity, excommunicated them, and proclaimed a crusade

against them. The two cardinals appealed to a general council, the

resort in the next centuries of so many who found themselves out of

accord with the papal plans. Their strongholds fell one after another.

The last of them, Palestrina, had a melancholy fate. The two cardinals

with ropes around their necks threw themselves at the pope's feet and

secured his pardon, but their estates were confiscated and bestowed

upon the pope's nephews and the Orsini. The Colonna family recovered in

time to reap a bitter vengeance upon their insatiable enemy.

The German emperor, Albrecht, Boniface succeeded in bringing to an

abject submission. The German envoys were received by the haughty

pontiff seated on a throne with a crown upon his head and sword in his

hand, and exclaiming, "I, I am the emperor." Albrecht accepted his

crown as a gift, and acknowledged that the empire had been transferred

from the Greeks to the Germans by the pope, and that the electors owed

the right of election to the Apostolic See.

In England, Boniface met with sharp resistance. Edward I., 1272-1307,

was on the throne. The pope attempted to prevent him from holding the

crown of Scotland, claiming it as a papal fief from remote antiquity.

[11] The English parliament, 1301, gave a prompt and spirited reply.

The English king was under no obligation to the papal see for his

temporal acts. [12] The dispute went no further. The conflict between

Boniface and France is reserved for more prolonged treatment.

An important and picturesque event of Boniface's pontificate was the

Jubilee Year, celebrated in 1300. It was a fortunate conception,

adapted to attract throngs of pilgrims to Rome and fill the papal

treasury. An old man of 107 years of age, so the story ran, travelled

from Savoy to Rome, and told how his father had taken him to attend a

Jubilee in the year 1200 and exhorted him to visit it on its recurrence

a century after. Interesting as the story is, the Jubilee celebration

of 1300 seems to have been the first of its kind. [13] Boniface's bull,

appointing it, promised full remission to all, being penitent and

confessing their sins, who should visit St. Peter's during the year

1300. [14] Italians were to prolong their sojourn 30 days, while for

foreigners 15 days were announced to be sufficient. A subsequent papal

deliverance extended the benefits of the indulgence to all setting out

for the Holy City who died on the way. The only exceptions made to

these gracious provisions were the Colonna, Frederick of Sicily, and

the Christians holding traffic with Saracens. The city wore a festal

appearance. The handkerchief of St. Veronica, bearing the imprint of

the Saviour's face, was exhibited. The throngs fairly trampled upon one

another. The contemporary historian of Florence, Giovanni Villani,

testifies from personal observation that there was a constant

population in the pontifical city of 200,000 pilgrims, and that 30,000

people reached and left it daily. The offerings were so copious that

two clerics stood day and night by the altar of St. Peter's gathering

up the coins with rakes.

So spectacular and profitable a celebration could not be allowed to

remain a memory. The Jubilee was made a permanent institution. A second

celebration was appointed by Clement VI. in 1350. With reference to the

brevity of human life and also to the period of our Lord's earthly

career, Urban VI. fixed its recurrence every 33 years. Paul II., in

1470, reduced the intervals to 25 years. The twentieth Jubilee was

celebrated in 1900, under Leo XIII. [15] Leo extended the offered

benefits to those who had the will and not the ability to make the

journey to Rome.

For the offerings accruing from the Jubilee and for other papal moneys,

Boniface found easy use. They enabled him to prosecute his wars against

Sicily and the Colonna and to enrich his relatives. The chief object of

his favor was his nephew, Peter, the second son of his brother Loffred,

the Count of Caserta. One estate after another was added to this

favorite's possessions, and the vast sum of more than 915,000,000 was

spent upon him in four years. [16] Nepotism was one of the offences for

which Boniface was arraigned by his contemporaries.

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[2] Drumann, p. 4, Gregorovius, etc. Setting aside the testimony of the

contemporary Ferretus of Vicenza, and on the ground that it would be

well-nigh impossible for a man of Boniface's talent to remain in an

inferior position till he was sixty, when he was made cardinal, Finke,

p. 3 sq., makes Boniface fifteen years younger when he assumed the

papacy.

[3] Not at Paris, as Bulaeus, without sufficient authority, states. See

Finke, p. 6.

[4] Finke discovered this document and gives it pp. iii-vii.

[5] There is no doubt about the manifestation of popular joy over the

rumor of the pope's death. Finke, p. 46. At the announcement of the

election, the people are said to have cried out, "Boniface is a

heretic, bad all through, and has in him nothing that is Christian."

[6] Gregorovius, V. 597, calls Boniface "an unfortunate reminiscence"

of the great popes.

[7] "Where Simon Magus hath his curst abode To depths profounder

thrusting Boniface." --Paradiso, xxx. 147 sq.

[8] Inferno, xix. 45 sq. 118.

[9] Dupuy, pp. 225-227.

[10] Super reges et regna in temporalibus etiam presidere se glorians,

etc., Scholz, p. 338.

[11] Tytler, Hist. of Scotland, I. 70 sqq.

[12] Edward removed from Scone to Westminster the sacred stone on which

Scotch kings had been consecrated, and which, according to the legend,

was the pillow on which Jacob rested at Bethel.

[13] So Hefele VI. 315, and other Roman Catholic historians.

[14] Potthast, 24917. The bull is reprinted by Mirbt, Quellen, p. 147

sq. The indulgence clause runs: non solum plenam sed largiorem immo

plenissimam omnium suorum veniam peccatorum concedimus. Villani, VIII.

36, speaks of it as "a full and entire remission of all sins, both the

guilt and the punishment thereof."

[15] Leo's bull, dated May 11, 1899, offered indulgence to pilgrims

visiting the basilicas of St. Peter, the Lateran, and St. Maria

Maggiore. A portion of the document runs as follows: "Jesus Christ the

Saviour of the world, has chosen the city of Rome alone and singly

above all others for a dignified and more than human purpose and

consecrated it to himself." The Jubilee was inaugurated by the august

ceremony of opening the porta santa, the sacred door, into St. Peter's,

which it is the custom to wall up after the celebration. The special

ceremony dates from Alexander VI. and the Jubilee of 1600. Leo

performed this ceremony in person by giving three strokes upon the door

with a hammer, and using the words aperite mihi, open to me. The door

symbolizes Christ, opening the way to spiritual benefits.

[16] See Gregorovius, V. 299, 584, who gives an elaborate list of the

estates which passed by Boniface's grace into the hands of the Gaetani.

Adam of Usk, Chronicon, 1377-1421, ad ed., London, 1904, p. 259, "the

fox, though ever greedy, ever remaineth thin, so Boniface, though

gorged with simony, yet to his dying day was never filled."

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� 4. Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair of France.

The overshadowing event of Boniface's reign was his disastrous conflict

with Philip IV. of France, called Philip the Fair. The grandson of

Louis IX., this monarch was wholly wanting in the high spiritual

qualities which had distinguished his ancestor. He was able but

treacherous, and utterly unscrupulous in the use of means to secure his

ends. Unattractive as his character is, it is nevertheless with him

that the first chapter in the history of modern France begins. In his

conflict with Boniface he gained a decisive victory. On a smaller scale

the conflict was a repetition of the conflict between Gregory VII. and

Henry IV., but with a different ending. In both cases the pope had

reached a venerable age, while the sovereign was young and wholly

governed by selfish motives. Henry resorted to the election of an

anti-pope. Philip depended upon his councillors and the spirit of the

new French nation.

The heir of the theocracy of Hildebrand repeated Hildebrand's language

without possessing his moral qualities. He claimed for the papacy

supreme authority in temporal as well as spiritual matters. In his

address to the cardinals against the Colonna he exclaimed: "How shall

we assume to judge kings and princes, and not dare to proceed against a

worm! Let them perish forever, that they may understand that the name

of the Roman pontiff is known in all the earth and that he alone is

most high over princes." [17] The Colonna, in one of their

proclamations, charged Boniface with glorying that he is exalted above

all princes and kingdoms in temporal matters, and may act as he pleases

in view of the fulness of his power--plenitudo potestatis. In his

official recognition of the emperor, Albrecht, Boniface declared that

as "the moon has no light except as she receives it from the sun, so no

earthly power has anything which it does not receive from the

ecclesiastical authority." These claims are asserted with most

pretension in the bulls Boniface issued during his conflict with

France. Members of the papal court encouraged him in these haughty

assertions of prerogative. The Spaniard, Arnald of Villanova, who

served Boniface as physician, called him in his writings lord of

lords--deus deorum.

On the other hand, Philip the Fair stood as the embodiment of the

independence of the state. He had behind him a unified nation, and

around him a body of able statesmen and publicists who defended his

views. [18]

The conflict between Boniface and Philip passed through three stages:

(1) the brief tilt which called forth the bull Clericis laicos; (2) the

decisive battle, 1301-1303, ending in Boniface's humiliation at Anagni;

(3) the bitter controversy which was waged against the pope's memory by

Philip, ending with the Council of Vienne. [19]

The conflict originated in questions touching the war between France

and England. To meet the expense of his armament against Edward I.,

Philip levied tribute upon the French clergy. They carried their

complaints to Rome, and Boniface justified their contention in the bull

Clericis laicos, 1296. This document was ordered promulged in England

as well as in France. Robert of Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury,

had it read in all the English cathedral churches. Its opening sentence

impudently asserted that the laity had always been hostile to the

clergy. The document went on to affirm the subjection of the state to

the papal see. Jurisdiction over the persons of the priesthood and the

goods of the Church in no wise belongs to the temporal power. The

Church may make gratuitous gifts to the state, but all taxation of

Church property without the pope's consent is to be resisted with

excommunication or interdict.

Imposts upon the Church for special emergencies had been a subject of

legislation at the third and fourth Lateran Councils. In 1260 Alexander

IV. exempted the clergy from special taxation, and in 1291 Nicolas IV.

warned the king of France against using for his own schemes the tenth

levied for a crusade. Boniface had precedent enough for his utterances.

But his bull was promptly met by Philip with an act of reprisal

prohibiting the export of silver and gold, horses, arms, and other

articles from his realm, and forbidding foreigners to reside in France.

This shrewd measure cut off French contributions to the papal treasury

and cleared France of the pope's emissaries. Boniface was forced to

reconsider his position, and in conciliatory letters, addressed to the

king and the French prelates, pronounced the interpretation put upon

his deliverance unjust. Its purpose was not to deny feudal and freewill

offerings from the Church. In cases of emergency, the pope would also

be ready to grant special subsidies. The document was so offensive that

the French bishops begged the pope to recall it altogether, a request

he set aside. But to appease Philip, Boniface issued another bull, July

22, 1297, according thereafter to French kings, who had reached the age

of 20, the right to judge whether a tribute from the clergy was a case

of necessity or not. A month later he canonized Louis IX., a further

act of conciliation.

Boniface also offered to act as umpire between France and England in

his personal capacity as Benedict Gaetanus. The offer was accepted, but

the decision was not agreeable to the French sovereign. The pope

expressed a desire to visit Philip, but again gave offence by asking

Philip for a loan of 100, 000 pounds for Philip's brother, Charles of

Valois, whom Boniface had invested with the command of the papal

forces.

In 1301 the flame of controversy was again started by a document,

written probably by the French advocate, Pierre Dubois, [20] which

showed the direction in which Philip's mind was working, for it could

hardly have appeared without his assent. The writer summoned the king

to extend his dominions to the walls of Rome and beyond, and denied the

pope's right to secular power. The pontiff's business is confined to

the forgiving of sins, prayer, and preaching. Philip continued to lay

his hand without scruple on Church property; Lyons, which had been

claimed by the empire, he demanded as a part of France. Appeals against

his arbitrary acts went to Rome, and the pope sent Bernard of Saisset,

bishop of Pamiers, to Paris, with commission to summon the French king

to apply the clerical tithe for its appointed purpose, a crusade, and

for nothing else. Philip showed his resentment by having the legate

arrested. He was adjudged by the civil tribunal a traitor, and his

deposition from the episcopate demanded.

Boniface's reply, set forth in the bull Ausculta fili -- Give ear, my

son--issued Dec. 5, 1301, charged the king with high-handed treatment

of the clergy and making plunder of ecclesiastical property. The pope

announced a council to be held in Rome to which the French prelates

were called and the king summoned to be present, either in person or by

a representative. The bull declared that God had placed his earthly

vicar above kings and kingdoms. To make the matter worse, a false copy

of Boniface's bull was circulated in France known as Deum time,--Fear

God,--which made the statements of papal prerogative still more

exasperating. This supposititious document, which is supposed to have

been forged by Pierre Flotte, the king's chief councillor, was thrown

into the flames Feb. 11, 1302. [21] Such treatment of a papal brief was

unprecedented. It remained for Luther to cast the genuine bull of Leo

X. into the fire. The two acts had little in common.

The king replied by calling a French parliament of the three estates,

the nobility, clergy and representatives of the cities, which set aside

the papal summons to the council, complained of the appointment of

foreigners to French livings, and asserted the crown's independence of

the Church. Five hundred years later a similar representative body of

the three estates was to rise against French royalty and decide for the

abolition of monarchy. In a letter to the pope, Philip addressed him as

"your infatuated Majesty," [22] and declined all submission to any one

on earth in temporal matters.

The council called by the pope convened in Rome the last day of

October, 1302, and included 4 archbishops, 35 bishops, and 6 abbots

from France. It issued two bulls. The first pronounced the ban on all

who detained prelates going to Rome or returning from the city. The

second is one of the most notable of all papal documents, the bull Unam

sanctam, the name given to it from its first words, "We are forced to

believe in one holy Catholic Church." It marks an epoch in the history

of the declarations of the papacy, not because it contained anything

novel, but because it set forth with unchanged clearness the stiffest

claims of the papacy to temporal and spiritual power. It begins with

the assertion that there is only one true Church, outside of which

there is no salvation. The pope is the vicar of Christ, and whoever

refuses to be ruled by Peter belongs not to the fold of Christ. Both

swords are subject to the Church, the spiritual and the temporal. The

temporal sword is to be wielded for the Church, the spiritual by it.

The secular estate may be judged by the spiritual estate, but the

spiritual estate by no human tribunal. The document closes with the

startling declaration that for every human being the condition of

salvation is obedience to the Roman pontiff.

There was no assertion of authority contained in this bull which had

not been before made by Gregory VII. and his successors, and the

document leans back not only upon the deliverances of popes, but upon

the definitions of theologians like Hugo de St. Victor, Bernard and

Thomas Aquinas. But in the Unam sanctam the arrogance of the papacy

finds its most naked and irritating expression.

One of the clauses pronounces all offering resistance to the pope's

authority Manichaeans. Thus Philip was made a heretic. Six months later

the pope sent a cardinal legate, John le Moine of Amiens, to announce

to the king his excommunication for preventing French bishops from

going to Rome. The bearer of the message was imprisoned and the legate

fled. Boniface now called upon the German emperor, Albrecht, to take

Philip's throne, as Innocent III. had called upon the French king to

take John's crown, and Innocent IV. upon the count of Artois to take

the crown of Frederick II. Albrecht had wisdom enough to decline the

empty gift. Philip's seizure of the papal bulls before they could be

promulged in France was met by Boniface's announcement that the posting

of a bull on the church doors of Rome was sufficient to give it force.

The French parliament, June, 1308, passed from the negative attitude of

defending the king and French rights to an attack upon Boniface and his

right to the papal throne. In 20 articles it accused him of simony,

sorcery, immoral intercourse with his niece, having a demon in his

chambers, the murder of Coelestine, and other crimes. It appealed to a

general council, before which the pope was summoned to appear in

person. Five archbishops and 21 bishops joined in subscribing to this

document. The university and chapter of Paris, convents, cities, and

towns placed themselves on the king's side. [23]

One more step the pope was about to take when a sudden stop was put to

his career. He had set the eighth day of September as the time when he

would publicly, in the church of Anagni, and with all the solemnities

known to the Church, pronounce the ban upon the disobedient king and

release his subjects from allegiance. In the same edifice Alexander

III. had excommunicated Barbarossa, and Gregory IX., Frederick II. The

bull already had the papal signature, when, as by a storm bursting from

a clear sky, the pope's plans were shattered and his career brought to

an end.

During the two centuries and a half since Hildebrand had entered the

city of Rome with Leo IX., popes had been imprisoned by emperors, been

banished from Rome by its citizens, had fled for refuge and died in

exile, but upon no one of them had a calamity fallen quite so

humiliating and complete as the calamity which now befell Boniface. A

plot, formed in France to checkmate the pope and to carry him off to a

council at Lyons, burst Sept. 7 upon the peaceful population of Anagni,

the pope's country seat. William of Nogaret, professor of law at

Montpellier and councillor of the king, was the manager of the plot and

was probably its inventor. According to the chronicler, Villani, [24]

Nogaret's parents were Cathari, and suffered for heresy in the flames

in Southern France. He stood as a representative of a new class of men,

laymen, who were able to compete in culture with the best-trained

ecclesiastics, and advocated the independence of the state. With him

was joined Sciarra Colonna, who, with other members of his family, had

found refuge in France, and was thirsting for revenge for their

proscription by the pope. With a small body of mercenaries, 300 of them

on horse, they suddenly appeared in Anagni. The barons of the Latium,

embittered by the rise of the Gaetani family upon their losses, joined

with the conspirators, as also did the people of Anagni. The palaces of

two of Boniface's nephews and several of the cardinals were stormed and

seized by Sciarra Colonna, who then offered the pope life on the three

conditions that the Colonna be restored, Boniface resign, and that he

place himself in the hands of the conspirators. The conditions were

rejected, and after a delay of three hours, the work of assault and

destruction was renewed. The palaces one after another yielded, and the

papal residence itself was taken and entered. The supreme pontiff,

according to the description of Villani, [25] received the besiegers in

high pontifical robes, seated on a throne, with a crown on his head and

a crucifix and the keys in his hand. He proudly rebuked the intruders,

and declared his readiness to die for Christ and his Church. To the

demand that he resign the papal office, he replied, "Never; I am pope

and as pope I will die." Sciarra was about to kill him, when he was

intercepted by Nogaret's arm. The palaces were looted and the cathedral

burnt, and its relics, if not destroyed, went to swell the booty. One

of the relics, a vase said to have contained milk from Mary's breasts,

was turned over and broken. The pope and his nephews were held in

confinement for three days, the captors being undecided whether to

carry Boniface away to Lyons, set him at liberty, or put him to death.

Such was the humiliating counterpart to the proud display made at the

pope's coronation nine years before!

In the meantime the feelings of the Anagnese underwent a change. The

adherents of the Gaetani family rallied their forces and, combining

together, they rescued Boniface and drove out the conspirators. Seated

at the head of his palace stairway, the pontiff thanked God and the

people for his deliverance. "Yesterday," he said, "I was like Job, poor

and without a friend. To-day I have abundance of bread, wine, and

water." A rescuing party from Rome conducted the unfortunate pope to

the Holy City, where he was no longer his own master. [26] A month

later, Oct. 11, 1303, his earthly career closed. Outside the

death-chamber, the streets of the city were filled with riot and

tumult, and the Gaetani and Colonna were encamped in battle array

against each other in the Campagna.

Reports agree that Boniface's death was a most pitiable one. He died of

melancholy and despair, and perhaps actually insane. He refused food,

and beat his head against the wall. "He was out of his head," wrote

Ptolemy of Lucca, [27] and believed that every one who approached him

was seeking to put him in prison.

Human sympathy goes out for the aged man of fourscore years and more,

dying in loneliness and despair. But judgment comes sooner or later

upon individuals and institutions for their mistakes and offences. The

humiliation of Boniface was the long-delayed penalty of the sacerdotal

pride of his predecessors and himself. He suffered in part for the

hierarchical arrogance of which he was the heir and in part for his own

presumption. Villani and other contemporaries represent the pope's

latter end as a deserved punishment for his unblushing nepotism, his

pompous pride, and his implacable severity towards those who dared to

resist his plans, and for his treatment of the feeble hermit who

preceded him. One of the chroniclers reports that seamen plying near

the Liparian islands, the reputed entrance to hell, heard evil spirits

rejoicing and exclaiming, "Open, open; receive pope Boniface into the

infernal regions."

Catholic historians like Hergenr�ther and Kirsch, bound to the ideals

of the past, make a brave attempt to defend Boniface, though they do

not overlook his want of tact and his coarse violence of speech. It is

certain, says Cardinal Hergenr�ther, [28] "that Boniface was not ruled

by unworthy motives and that he did not deviate from the paths of his

predecessors or overstep the legal conceptions of the Middle Ages."

Finke, also a Catholic historian, the latest learned investigator of

the character and career of Boniface, acknowledges the pope's

intellectual ability, but also emphasizes his pride and arrogance, his

depreciation of other men, his disagreeable spirit and manner, which

left him without a personal friend, his nepotism and his avarice. He

hoped, said a contemporary, to live till "all his enemies were

suppressed."

In strong contrast to the common judgment of Catholic historians is the

sentence passed by Gregorovius. "Boniface was devoid of every

apostolical virtue, a man of passionate temper, violent, faithless,

unscrupulous, unforgiving, filled with ambitions and lust of worldly

power." And this will be the judgment of those who feel no obligation

to defend the papal institution.

In the humiliation of Boniface VIII., the state gained a signal triumph

over the papacy. The proposition, that the papal pretension to

supremacy over the temporal power is inconsistent with the rights of

man and untaught by the law of God, was about to be defended in bold

writings coming from the pens of lawyers and poets in France and Italy

and, a half century later, by Wyclif. These advocates of the sovereign

independence of the state in its own domain were the real descendants

of those jurisconsults who, on the pIain of Roncaglia, advocated the

same theory in the hearing of Frederick Barbarossa. Two hundred years

after the conflict between Boniface and Philip the Fair, Luther was to

fight the battle for the spiritual sovereignty of the individual man.

These two principles, set aside by the priestly pride and theological

misunderstanding of the Middle Ages, belong to the foundation of modern

civilization.

Boniface's Bull, Unam Sanctam.

The great importance of Boniface's bull, Unam Sanctam, issued against

Philip the Fair, Nov. 18, 1302, justifies its reproduction both in

translation and the original Latin. It has rank among the most

notorious deliverances of the popes and is as full of error as was

Innocent VIII.'s bull issued in 1484 against witchcraft. It presents

the theory of the supremacy of the spiritual power over the temporal,

the authority of the papacy over princes, in its extreme form. The

following is a translation: --

Boniface, Bishop, Servant of the servants of God. For perpetual

remembrance: --

Urged on by our faith, we are obliged to believe and hold that there is

one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. And we firmly believe and

profess that outside of her there is no salvation nor remission of

sins, as the bridegroom declares in the Canticles, "My dove, my

undefiled, is but one; she is the only one of her mother; she is the

choice one of her that bare her." And this represents the one mystical

body of Christ, and of this body Christ is the head, and God is the

head of Christ. In it there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism. For in

the time of the Flood there was the single ark of Noah, which

prefigures the one Church, and it was finished according to the measure

of one cubit and had one Noah for pilot and captain, and outside of it

every living creature on the earth, as we read, was destroyed. And this

Church we revere as the only one, even as the Lord saith by the

prophet, "Deliver my soul from the sword, my darling from the power of

the dog." He prayed for his soul, that is, for himself, head and body.

And this body he called one body, that is, the Church, because of the

single bridegroom, the unity of the faith, the sacraments, and the love

of the Church. She is that seamless shirt of the Lord which was not

rent but was allotted by the casting of lots. Therefore, this one and

single Church has one head and not two heads,--for had she two heads,

she would be a monster,--that is, Christ and Christ's vicar, Peter and

Peter's successor. For the Lord said unto Peter, "Feed my sheep." "My,"

he said, speaking generally and not particularly, "these and those," by

which it is to be understood that all the sheep are committed unto him.

So, when the Greeks or others say that they were not committed to the

care of Peter and his successors, they must confess that they are not

of Christ's sheep, even as the Lord says in John, "There is one fold

and one shepherd."

That in her and within her power are two swords, we are taught in the

Gospels, namely, the spiritual sword and the temporal sword. For when

the Apostles said, "Lo, here,"--that is in the Church,--are two swords,

the Lord did not reply to the Apostles "it is too much," but "it is

enough." It is certain that whoever denies that the temporal sword is

in the power of Peter, hearkens ill to the words of the Lord which he

spake, "Put up thy sword into its sheath." Therefore, both are in the

power of the Church, namely, the spiritual sword and the temporal

sword; the latter is to be used for the Church, the former by the

Church; the former by the hand of the priest, the latter by the hand of

princes and kings, but at the nod and sufferance of the priest. The one

sword must of necessity be subject to the other, and the temporal

authority to the spiritual. For the Apostle said, "There is no power

but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God;" and they would

not have been ordained unless one sword had been made subject to the

other, and even as the lower is subjected by the other for higher

things. For, according to Dionysius, it is a divine law that the lowest

things are made by mediocre things to attain to the highest. For it is

not according to the law of the universe that all things in an equal

way and immediately should reach their end, but the lowest through the

mediocre and the lower through the higher. But that the spiritual power

excels the earthly power in dignity and worth, we will the more clearly

acknowledge just in proportion as the spiritual is higher than the

temporal. And this we perceive quite distinctly from the donation of

the tithe and functions of benediction and sanctification, from the

mode in which the power was received, and the government of the

subjected realms. For truth being the witness, the spiritual power has

the functions of establishing the temporal power and sitting in

judgment on it if it should prove to be not good. [29] And to the

Church and the Church's power the prophecy of Jeremiah attests: "See, I

have set thee this day over the nations and the kingdoms to pluck up

and to break down and to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to

plant."

And if the earthly power deviate from the right path, it is judged by

the spiritual power; but if a minor spiritual power deviate from the

right path, the lower in rank is judged by its superior; but if the

supreme power [the papacy] deviate, it can be judged not by man but by

God alone. And so the Apostle testifies, "He which is spiritual judges

all things, but he himself is judged by no man." But this authority,

although it be given to a man, and though it be exercised by a man, is

not a human but a divine power given by divine word of mouth to Peter

and confirmed to Peter and to his successors by Christ himself, whom

Peter confessed, even him whom Christ called the Rock. For the Lord

said to Peter himself, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth," etc.

Whoever, therefore, resists this power so ordained by God, resists the

ordinance of God, unless perchance he imagine two principles to exist,

as did Manichaeus, which we pronounce false and heretical. For Moses

testified that God created heaven and earth not in the beginnings but

"in the beginning."

Furthermore, that every human creature is subject to the Roman

pontiff,--this we declare, say, define, and pronounce to be altogether

necessary to salvation.

Bonifatius, Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei. Ad futuram rei memoriam.

[30]

Unam sanctam ecclesiam catholicam et ipsam apostolicam urgente fide

credere cogimur et tenere, nosque hanc frmiter credimus et simpliciter

confitemur, extra quam nec salus est, nec remissio peccatorum, sponso

in Canticis proclamante: Una est columba mea, perfecta mea. Una est

matris suae electa genetrici suae [Cant. 6:9]. Quae unum corpus

mysticum repraesentat, cujus caput Christus, Christi vero Deus. In qua

unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma. Una nempe fuit diluvii tempore

arca No�, unam ecclesiam praefigurans, quae in uno cubito consummata

unum, No� videlicet, gubernatorem habuit et rectorem, extra quam omnia

subsistentia super terram legimus fuisse deleta.

Hanc autem veneramur et unicam, dicente Domino in Propheta: Erue a

framea, Deus, animam meam et de manu canis unicam meam. [Psalm 22:20.]

Pro anima enim, id est, pro se ipso, capite simul oravit et corpore.

Quod corpus unicam scilicet ecclesiam nominavit, propter sponsi, fidei,

sacramentorum et caritatis ecclesiae unitatem. Haec est tunica illa

Domini inconsutilis, quae scissa non fuit, sed sorte provenit. [John

19.]

Igitur ecclesiae unius et unicae unum corpus, unum caput, non duo

capita, quasi monstrum, Christus videlicet et Christi vicarius, Petrus,

Petrique successor, dicente Domino ipsi Petro: Pasce oves meas. [John

21:17.] Meas, inquit, generaliter, non singulariter has vel illas: per

quod commisisse sibi intelligitur universas. Sive ergo Graeci sive alii

se dicant Petro ejusque successoribus non esse commissos: fateantur

necesse est, se de ovibus Christi non esse, dicente Domino in Joanne,

unum ovile et unicum esse pastorem. [John 10:16.]

In hac ejusque potestate duos esse gladios, spiritualem videlicet et

temporalem, evangelicis dictis instruimur. Nam dicentibus Apostolis:

Ecce gladii duo hic [Luke 22:38], in ecclesia scilicet, cum apostoli

loquerentur, non respondit Dominus, nimis esse, sed satis. Certe qui in

potestate Petri temporalem gladium esse negat, male verbum attendit

Domini proferentis: Converte gladium tuum in vaginam. [Matt. 26:52.]

Uterque ergo est in potestate ecclesiae, spiritualis scilicet gladius

et materialis. Sed is quidem pro ecclesia, ille vero ab ecclesia

exercendus, ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et

patientiam sacerdotis.

Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem

spirituali subjici potestati. Nam cum dicat Apostolus: Non est potestas

nisi a Deo; quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinata sunt [Rom. 13:1], non autem

ordinata essent, nisi gladius esset sub gladio, et tanquam inferior

reduceretur per alium in suprema. Nam secundum B. Dionysium lex

dirinitatis est, infima per media in suprema reduci .... Sic de

ecclesia et ecclesiastica potestate verificatur vaticinium Hieremiae

[Jer. 1:10]: Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et regna et cetera,

quae sequuntur.

Ergo, si deviat terrena potestas, judicabitur a potestate spirituali;

sed, si deviat spiritualis minor, a suo superiori si vero suprema, a

solo Deo, non ab homine poterit judicari, testante Apostolo:

Spiritualis homo judicat omnia, ipse autem a nemine judicatur. [1 Cor.

2:16.] Est autem haec auctoritas, etsi data sit homini, et exerceatur

per hominem, non humana, sed potius divina potestas, ore divino Petro

data, sibique suisque successoribus in ipso Christo, quem confessus

fuit, petra firmata, dicente Domino ipsi Petro: Quodcunque ligaveris,

etc. [Matt. 16:19.] Quicunque igitur huic potestati a Deo sic ordinatae

resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit, nisi duo, sicut Manichaeus, fingat

esse principia, quod falsum et haereticum judicamus, quia, testante

Moyse, non in principiis, sed in principio coelum Deus creavit et

terram. [Gen. 1:1.]

Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanae creaturae declaramus

dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.

The most astounding clause of this deliverance makes subjection to the

pope an essential of salvation for every creature. Some writers have

made the bold attempt to relieve the language of this construction, and

refer it to princes and kings. So fair and sound a Roman Catholic

writer as Funk [31] has advocated this interpretation, alleging in its

favor the close connection of the clause with the previous statements

through the particle porro, furthermore, and the consideration that the

French people would not have resented the assertion that obedience to

the papacy is a condition of salvation. But the overwhelming majority

of Catholic historians take the words in their natural meaning. [32]

The expression "every human creature" would be a most unlikely one to

be used as synonymous with temporal rulers. Boniface made the same

assertion in a letter to the duke of Savoy, 1300, when he demanded

submission for every mortal,--omnia anima. Aegidius Colonna paraphrased

the bull in these words, "the supreme pontiff is that authority to

which every soul must yield subjection." [33] That the mediaeval Church

accepted this construction is vouched for by the Fifth Lateran Council,

1516, which, in reaffirming the bull, declared "it necessary to

salvation that all the faithful of Christ be subject to the Roman

pontiff." [34]

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[17] Quomodo presumimus judicare reges et principes orbis terrarum et

vermiculum aggredi non audemus, etc.; Denifle, Archiv, etc., V. 521.

For these and other quotations, see Finke, Aus den Tagen Bon., etc., p.

152 sqq.

[18] Contemporary writers spoke of the modern or recent French nation

as opposed to the nation of a preceding period. So the author of the

Tractate of 1308 in defence of Boniface VIII., Finke, p. lxxxvi. He

said "the kings of the modern French people do not follow in the

footsteps of their predecessors"--reges moderni gentis Francorum, etc.

The same writer compared Philip to Nebuchadnezzar rebelling against the

higher powers.

[19] See Scholz, Publizistik, VIII. p. 3 sqq.

[20] Summaria brevis et compendiosa doctrina felicis expeditionis et

abbreviationis guerrarum ac litium regni Francorum. See Scholz, p. 415.

[21] See Scholz, p. 357. The authenticity of the bull Ausculta was once

called in question, but is now universally acknowledged. The copy in

the Vatican bears the erasure of Clement V., who struck out the

passages most offensive to Philip. Hefele gives the copy preserved in

the library of St. Victor.

[22] Sciat maxima tua fatuitas in temporalibus nos alicui non subesse,

etc. Hefele, VI. 332, calls in question the authenticity of this

document, at the same time recognizing that it was circulated in Rome

in 1802, and that the pope himself made reference to it. The original

phrase is ascribed to Pierre Flotte, Scholz, p. 357. Flotte was an

uncompromising advocate of the king's sovereignty and independence of

the pope. He made a deep impression by an address at the parliament

called by Philip, 1302. He was probably the author of the anti-papal

tract beginning Antequam essent clerici, the text of which is printed

by Dupuy, pp. 21-23. Here he asserts that the Church consists of laymen

as well as clerics, Scholz, p. 361, and that taxes levied upon Church

property are not extortions.

[23] The university declared in favor of a general council June 21,

1303, Chartul. Univ. Par. II. 101 sq.

[24] VIII. 63. See Scholz, pp. 363-375, and Holtzmann: W. von Nogaret.

[25] VIII. 63. D�llinger, whose account is very vivid, depends chiefly

upon the testimony of three eye-witnesses, a member of the curia, the

chronicler of Orvieto and Nogaret himself. He sets aside much of

Villani's report, which Reumont, Wattenbach, Gregorovius, and other

historians adopt. Dante and Villani, who both condemn the pope's

arrogance and nepotism, resented the indignity put upon Boniface at

Anagni, and rejoiced over his deliverance as of one who, like Christ,

rose from the dead. Dante omits all reference to Sciarra Colonna and

other Italian nobles as participants in the plot. Dante's description

is given in Paradiso, xx. 86 sqq. "I see the flower-de-luce Alagna

[Anagni] enter, And Christ in his own vicar captive made."

[26] Ferretus of Vicenza, Muratori: Scriptores, IX. 1002, reports that

Boniface wanted to be removed from St. Peter's to the Lateran, but the

Colonna sent word he was in custody.

[27] Extra mentem positus. Ferretus relates that Boniface fell into a

rage and, after gnawing his staff and striking his head against the

wall, hanged himself. Villani, VIII. 63, speaks of a "strange malady"

begotten in the pope so that he gnawed at himself as if he were mad.

The chronicler of Orvieto, see D�llinger: Beitr�ge, etc., III. 353,

says Boniface died weighed down by despondency and the infirmities of

age, ubi tristitia et senectutis infirmitate gravatus mortuus est. It

is charitable to suppose that the pope's old enemy, the stone, returned

to plague him, the malady from which the Spanish physician Arnald of

Villanova had given him relief. See Finke, p. 200 sqq.

[28] Kirchengesch., II. 597 sq. Boniface called the French "dogs" and

Philip gar�on, which had the meaning of street urchin. A favorite

expression with him was ribaldus, rascal, and he called Charles of

Naples "meanest of rascals," vilissimus ribaldus. See Finke, p. 292 sq.

Finke's judgment is based in part upon new documents he found in

Barcelona and other libraries.

[29] This passage is based almost word for word upon Hugo de St.

Victor, De Sacramentis, II. 2, 4.

[30] The text is taken from W. R�mer: Die Bulle, unam sanctam,

Schaffhausen, 1889. See also Mirbt: Quellen, p. 148 sq.

[31] In his Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen, I. 483-489. This view

is also taken by J. Berchtold: Die Bulle Unam sanctam ihre wahre

Bedeutung und Tragweite Staat und Kirche, Munich, 1887. An attempt was

made by Abb� Mury, La Bulle Unam sanctam, in Rev. des questions histor.

1879, on the ground of the bull's stinging affirmations and verbal

obscurities to detect the hand of a forger, but Cardinal Hergenr�ther,

Kirchengesch., II. 694, pronounces the genuineness to be above dispute.

[32] So Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, Hefele-Kn�pfler: Kirchengesch., p. 380,

and Conciliengesch., VI. 349 sq. Every writer on Boniface VIII. and

Philip the Fair discusses the meaning of Boniface's deliverance. Among

the latest is W. Joos: Die Bulle Unam sanctam, Schaffhausen, 1896.

Finke: Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII., p. 146 sqq., C-CXLVI. Scholz:

Publizistik, p. 197 sqq.

[33] Summus pontifex ... est illa potestas cui omnisanima debet esse

subjecta.

[34] De necessitate esse salutis omnes Christi fideles romani pontifici

subesse. The writer in Wetzer-Welte, XII. 229 sqq., pronounces the view

impossible which limits the meaning of the clause to temporal rulers.

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� 5. Literary Attacks against the Papacy.

Nothing is more indicative of the intellectual change going on in

Western Europe in the fourteenth century than the tractarian literature

of the time directed against claims made by the papacy. Three periods

may be distinguished. In the first belong the tracts called forth by

the struggle of Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII., with the year 1302

for its centre. Their distinguishing feature is the attack made upon

the pope's jurisdiction in temporal affairs. The second period opens

during the pontificate of John XXII. and extends from 1320-1340. Here

the pope's spiritual supremacy was attacked. The most prominent writer

of the time was Marsiglius of Padua. The third period begins with the

papal schism toward the end of the fourteenth century. The writers of

this period emphasized the need of reform in the Church and discussed

the jurisdiction of general councils as superior to the jurisdiction of

the pope. [35]

The publicists of the age of Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair now

defended, now openly attacked the mediaeval theory of the pope's

lordship over kings and nations. The body of literature they produced

was unlike anything which Europe had seen before. In the conflict

between Gregory IX. and Frederick II., Europe was filled with the

epistolary appeals of pope and emperor, who sought each to make good

his case before the court of European public opinion, and more

especially of the princes and prelates. The controversy of this later

time was participated in by a number of writers who represented the

views of an intelligent group of clerics and laymen. They employed a

vigorous style adapted to make an impression on the public mind.

Stirred by the haughty assertions of Boniface, a new class of men, the

jurisconsults, entered the lists and boldly called in question the old

order represented by the policy of Hildebrand and Innocent III. They

had studied in the universities, especially in the University of Paris,

and some of them, like Dubois, were laymen. The decision of the Bologna

jurists on the field of Roncaglia was reasserted with new arguments and

critical freedom, and a step was taken far in advance of that decision

which asserted the independence of the emperor. The empire was set

aside as an antiquated institution, and France and other states were

pronounced sovereign within their own limits and immune from papal

dominion over their temporal affairs. The principles of human law and

the natural rights of man were arrayed against dogmatic assertions

based upon unbalanced and false interpretations of Scripture. The

method of scholastic sophistry was largely replaced by an appeal to

common sense and regard for the practical needs of society. The

authorities used to establish the new theory were Aristotle, the

Scriptures and historic facts. These writers were John the Baptists

preparing the way for the more clearly outlined and advanced views of

Marsiglius of Padua and Ockam, who took the further step of questioning

or flatly denying the pope's spiritual supremacy, and for the still

more advanced and more spiritual appeals of Wyclif and Luther. A direct

current of influence can be traced back from the Protestant Reformation

to the anti-papal tracts of the first decade of the fourteenth century.

The tract writers of the reign of Philip the Fair, who defended the

traditional theory of the pope's absolute supremacy in all matters,

were the Italians Aegidius Colonna, James of Viterbo, Henry of Cremona,

and Augustinus Triumphus. The writers who attacked the papal claim to

temporal power are divided into two groups. To the first belongs Dante,

who magnified the empire and the station of the emperor as the supreme

ruler over the temporal affairs of men. The men of the second group

were associated more or less closely with the French court and were,

for the most part, Frenchmen. They called in question the authority of

the emperor. Among their leaders were John of Paris and Peter Dubois.

In a number of cases their names are forgotten or uncertain, while

their tracts have survived. It will be convenient first to take up the

theory of Dante, and then to present the views of papal and anti-papal

writings which were evidently called forth by the struggle started by

Boniface.

Dante was in nowise associated with the court of Philip the Fair, and

seems to have been moved to write his treatise on government, the De

monarchia, by general considerations and not by any personal sympathy

with the French king. His theory embodies views in direct antagonism to

those promulged in Boniface's bull Unam sanctam, and Thomas Aquinas,

whose theological views Dante followed, is here set aside. [36] The

independence and sovereignty of the civil estate is established by

arguments drawn from reason, Aristotle, and the Scriptures. In making

good his position, the author advances three propositions, devoting a

chapter to each: (1) Universal monarchy or empire, for the terms are

used synonymously, is necessary. (2) This monarchy belongs to the Roman

people. (3) It was directly bequeathed to the Romans by God, and did

not come through the mediation of the Church.

The interests of society, so the argument runs, require an impartial

arbiter, and only a universal monarch bound by no local ties can be

impartial. A universal monarchy will bring peace, the peace of which

the angels sang on the night of Christ's birth, and it will bring

liberty, God's greatest gift to man. [37] Democracy reduces men to

slavery. The Romans are the noblest people and deserve the right to

rule. This is evident from the fine manhood of Aeneas, their

progenitor, [38] from the evident miracles which God wrought in their

history and from their world-wide dominion. This right to rule was

established under the Christian dispensation by Christ himself, who

submitted to Roman jurisdiction in consenting to be born under Augustus

and to suffer under Tiberius. It was attested by the Church when Paul

said to Festus, "I stand at Caesar's judgment seat, where I ought to be

judged," Acts 25:10. There are two governing agents necessary to

society, the pope and the emperor. The emperor is supreme in temporal

things and is to guide men to eternal life in accordance with the

truths of revelation. Nevertheless, the emperor should pay the pope the

reverence which a first-born son pays to his father, such reverence as

Charlemagne paid to Leo III. [39]

In denying the subordination of the civil power, Dante rejects the

figure comparing the spiritual and temporal powers to the sun and moon,

[40] and the arguments drawn from the alleged precedence of Levi over

Judah on the ground of the priority of Levi's birth; from the oblation

of the Magi at the manger and from the sentence passed upon Saul by

Samuel. He referred the two swords both to spiritual functions. Without

questioning the historical occurrence, he set aside Constantine's

donation to Sylvester on the ground that the emperor no more had the

right to transfer his empire in the West than he had to commit suicide.

Nor had the pope a right to accept the gift. [41] In the Inferno Dante

applied to that transaction the oft-quoted lines: [42] --

"Ah, Constantine, of how much ill was cause,

Not thy conversion, but those rich domains

Which the first wealthy pope received of thee."

The Florentine poet's universal monarchy has remained an ideal

unrealized, like the republic of the Athenian philosopher. [43]

Conception of popular liberty as it is conceived in this modern age,

Dante had none. Nevertheless, he laid down the important principle that

the government exists for the people, and not the people for the

government. [44]

The treatise De monarchia was burnt as heretical, 1329, by order of

John XXII. and put on the Index by the Council of Trent. In recent

times it has aided the Italian patriots in their work of unifying Italy

and separating politics from the Church according to Cavour's maxim, "a

free Church in a free state."

In the front rank of the champions of the temporal power of the papacy

stood Aegidius Colonna, called also Aegidius Romanus, 1247-1316. [45]

He was an Augustinian, and rose to be general of his order. He became

famous as a theological teacher and, in 1287, his order placed his

writings in all its schools. [46] In 1295 he was made archbishop of

Bourges, Boniface setting aside in his favor the cleric nominated by

Coelestine. Aegidius participated in the council in Rome, 1301, which

Philip the Fair forbade the French prelates to attend. He was an

elaborate writer, and in 1304 no less than 12 of his theological works

and 14 of his philosophical writings were in use in the University of

Paris.

The tract by which Aegidius is chiefly known is his Power of the

Supreme Pontiff--De ecclesiastica sive de summit pontificis potestate.

It was the chief work of its time in defence of the papacy, and seems

to have been called forth by the Roman Council and to have been written

in 1301. [47] It was dedicated to Boniface VIII. Its main positions are

the following: --

The pope judges all things and is judged by no man, 1 Cor. 2:15. To him

belongs plenary power, plenitudo potestatis. This power is without

measure, without number, and without weight. [48] It extends over all

Christians. The pope is above all laws and in matters of faith

infallible. He is like the sea which fills all vessels, like the sun

which, as the universally active principle, sends his rays into all

things. The priesthood existed before royalty. Abel and Noah, priests,

preceded Nimrod, who was the first king. As the government of the world

is one and centres in one ruler, God, so in the affairs of the militant

Church there can be only one source of power, one supreme government,

one head to whom belongs the plenitude of power. This is the supreme

pontiff. The priesthood and the papacy are of immediate divine

appointment. Earthly kingdoms, except as they have been established by

the priesthood, owe their origin to usurpation, robbery, and other

forms of violence. [49] In these views Aegidius followed Augustine: De

civitate, IV. 4, and Gregory VII. The state, however, he declared to be

necessary as a means through which the Church works to accomplish its

divinely appointed ends.

In the second part of his tract, Aegidius proves that, in spite of

Numb. 18:20, 21, and Luke 10:4, the Church has the right to possess

worldly goods. The Levites received cities. In fact, all temporal goods

are under the control of the Church. [50] As the soul rules the body,

so the pope rules over all temporal matters. The tithe is a perpetual

obligation. No one has a right to the possession of a single acre of

ground or a vineyard without the Church's permission and unless he be

baptized.

The fulness of power, residing in the pope, gives him the right to

appoint to all benefices in Christendom, but, as God chooses to rule

through the laws of nature, so the pope rules through the laws of the

Church, but he is not bound by them. He may himself be called the

Church. For the pope's power is spiritual, heavenly and divine.

Aegidius was used by his successors, James of Viterbo, Augustinus

Triumphus and Alvarus, and also by John of Paris and Gerson who

contested some of his main positions. [51]

The second of these writers, defending the position of Boniface VIII.,

was James of Viterbo, [52] d. 1308. He also was an Italian, belonged to

the Augustinian order, and gained prominence as a teacher in Paris. In

1302 he was appointed by Boniface archbishop of Beneventum, and a few

months later archbishop of Naples. His Christian Government--De

regimine christiano -- is, after the treatise of Aegidius, the most

comprehensive of the papal tracts. It also was dedicated to Boniface

VIII., who is addressed as "the holy lord of the kings of the earth."

The author distinctly says he was led to write by the attacks made upon

the papal prerogative.

To Christ's vicar, James says, royalty and priesthood, regnum et

sacerdotium, belong. Temporal authority was not for the first time

conferred on him when Constantine gave Sylvester the dominion of the

West. Constantine did nothing more than confirm a previous right

derived from Christ, when he said, "whatsoever ye shall bind on earth

shall be bound in heaven." Priests are kings, and the pope is the king

of kings, both in mundane and spiritual matters. [53] He is the bishop

of the earth, the supreme lawgiver. Every soul must be subject to him

in order to salvation. [54] By reason of his fulness of power, the

supreme pontiff can act according to law or against it, as he chooses.

[55]

Henry of Cassaloci, or Henry of Cremona, as he is usually called from

his Italian birthplace, d. 1312, is mentioned, contrary to the custom

of the age, by name by John of Paris, as the author of the tract, The

Power of the Pope--De potestate papae. [56] He was a distinguished

authority in canon law and consulted by Boniface. He was appointed,

1302, a member of the delegation to carry to Philip the Fair the two

notorious bulls, Salvator mundi and Ausculta fili. The same year he was

appointed bishop of Reggio. [57] The papal defenders were well paid.

Henry began his tract with the words of Matt. 27:18, "All power is

given unto me," and declared the attack against the pope's temporal

jurisdiction over the whole earth a matter of recent date, and made by

"sophists" who deserved death. Up to that time no one had made such

denial. He attempts to make out his fundamental thesis from Scripture,

the Fathers, canon law, and reason. God at first ruled through Noah,

the patriarchs, Melchizedec, and Moses, who were priests and kings at

the same time. Did not Moses punish Pharaoh? Christ carried both

swords. Did he not drive out the money-changers and wear the crown of

thorns? To him the power was given to judge the world. John 5:22. The

same power was entailed upon Peter and his successors. As for the

state, it bears to the Church the relation of the moon to the sun, and

the emperor has only such power as the pope is ready to confer. Henry

also affirms that Constantine's donation established no right, but

confirmed what the pope already possessed by virtue of heavenly gift.

[58] The pope transferred the empire to Charlemagne, and Innocent IV.

asserted the papal supremacy over kings by deposing Frederick II. If in

early and later times the persons of popes were abused, this was not

because they lacked supreme authority in the earth [59] or were in

anywise subject to earthly princes. No emperor can legally exercise

imperial functions without papal consecration. When Christ said, "my

kingdom is not of this world," he meant nothing more than that the

world refused to obey him. As for the passage, "render to Caesar the

things which are Caesar's," Christ was under no obligation to give

tribute to the emperor, and the children of the kingdom are free, as

Augustine, upon the basis of Matt. 27:26 sq., said.

The main work of another defender of the papal prerogatives, Augustinus

Triumphus, belongs to the next period. [60]

An intermediate position between these writers and the anti-papal

publicists was taken by the Cardinals Colonna and their immediate

supporters. [61] In their zeal against Boniface VIII. they questioned

the absolute power of the Church in temporal concerns, and placed the

supreme spiritual authority in the college of cardinals, with the pope

as its head.

Among the advanced writers of the age was William Durante, d. 1381, an

advocate of Gallicanism. [62] He was appointed bishop of Mende before

he had reached the canonical age. He never came under the condemnation

of the Church. In a work composed at the instance of Clement V. on

general councils and the reformation of Church abuses, De modo

generalis concilii celebrandi et corruptelis in ecclesiis reformandis,

he demanded a reformation of the Church in head and members, [63] using

for the first time this expression which was so often employed in a

later age. He made the pope one of the order of bishops on all of whom

was conferred equally the power to bind and to loose. [64] The bishops

are not the pope's assistants, the view held by Innocent III., but

agents directly appointed by God with independent jurisdiction. The

pope may not act out of harmony with the canons of the early Church

except with the approval of a general council. When new measures are

contemplated, a general council should be convened, and one should be

called every ten years. [65]

Turning now to the writers who contested the pope's right to temporal

authority over the nations, we find that while the most of them were

clerics, all of them were jurists. It is characteristic that besides

appealing to Aristotle, the Scriptures, and the canon law, they also

appealed to the Roman law. We begin with several pamphlets whose

authorship is a matter of uncertainty.

The Twofold Prerogative--Quaestio in utramque partem -- was probably

written in 1302, and by a Frenchman. [66] The tract clearly sets forth

that the two functions, the spiritual and the temporal, are distinct,

and that the pope has plenary power only in the spiritual realm. It is

evident that they are not united in one person, from Christ's refusal

of the office of king and from the law prohibiting the Levites holding

worldly possessions. Canon law and Roman law recognized the

independence of the civil power. Both estates are of God. At best the

pope's temporal authority extends to the patrimony of Peter. The empire

is one among the powers, without authority over other states. As for

the king of France, he would expose himself to the penalty of death if

he were to recognize the pope as overlord. [67]

The same positions are taken in the tract, [68] The Papal

Power,--Quaestio de potestate papae. The author insists that temporal

jurisdiction is incompatible with the pope's office. He uses the figure

of the body to represent the Church, giving it a new turn. Christ is

the head. The nerves and veins are officers in the Church and state.

They depend directly upon Christ, the head. The heart is the king. The

pope is not even called the head. The soul is not mentioned. The old

application of the figure of the body and the soul, representing

respectively the regnum and the sacerdotium, is set aside. The pope is

a spiritual father, not the lord over Christendom. Moses was a temporal

ruler and Aaron was priest. The functions and the functionaries were

distinct. At best, the donation of Constantine had no reference to

France, for France was distinct from the empire. The deposition of

Childerich by Pope Zacharias established no right, for all that

Zacharias did was, as a wise counsellor, to give the barons advice.

A third tract, one of the most famous pieces of this literature, the

Disputation between a Cleric and a Knight, [69] was written to defend

the sovereignty of the state and its right to levy taxes upon Church

property. The author maintains that the king of France is in duty bound

to see that Church property is administered according to the intent for

which it was given. As he defends the Church against foreign foes, so

he has the right to put the Church under tribute.

In the publicist, John of Paris, d. 1306, we have one of the leading

minds of the age. [70] He was a Dominican, and enjoyed great fame as a

preacher and master. On June 26, 1303, he joined 132 other Parisian

Dominicans in signing a document calling for a general council, which

the university had openly favored five days before. [71] His views of

the Lord's Supper brought upon him the charge of heresy, and he was

forbidden to give lectures at the university. [72] He appealed to

Clement V., but died before he could get a hearing.

John's chief writing was the tract on the Authority of the Pope and

King, --De potestate regia et papali, [73] -- which almost breathes the

atmosphere of modern times.

John makes a clear distinction between the "body of the faithful,"

which is the Church, and the "body of the clergy." [74] The Church has

its unity in Christ, who established the two estates, spiritual and

temporal. They are the same in origin, but distinguished on earth. The

pope has the right to punish moral offences, but only with spiritual

punishments. The penalties of death, imprisonment, and fines, he has no

right to impose. Christ had no worldly jurisdiction, and the pope

should keep clear of "Herod's old error." [75] Constantine had no right

to confer temporal power on Sylvester. John adduced 42 reasons urged in

favor of the pope's omnipotence in temporal affairs and offers a

refutation for each of them.

As for the pope's place in the Church, the pope is the representative

of the ecclesiastical body, not its lord. The Church may call him to

account. If the Church were to elect representatives to act with the

supreme pontiff, we would have the best of governments. As things are,

the cardinals are his advisers and may admonish him and, in case he

persists in his error, they may call to their aid the temporal arm. The

pope may be deposed by an emperor, as was actually the case when three

popes were deposed by Henry III. The final seat of ecclesiastical

authority is the general council. It may depose a pope. Valid grounds

of deposition are insanity, heresy, personal incompetence and abuse of

the Church's property.

Following Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, John derived the state from the

family and not from murder and other acts of violence. [76] It is a

community organized for defence and bodily well-being. With other

jurists, he regarded the empire as an antiquated institution and, if it

continues to exist, it is on a par with the monarchies, not above them.

Climate and geographical considerations make different monarchies

necessary, and they derive their authority from God. Thus John and

Dante, while agreeing as to the independence of the state, differ as to

the seat where secular power resides. Dante placed it in a universal

empire, John of Paris in separate monarchies.

The boldest and most advanced of these publicists, Pierre Dubois, [77]

was a layman, probably a Norman, and called himself a royal attorney.

[78] As a delegate to the national council in Paris, April, 1302, he

represented Philip's views. He was living as late as 1321. In a number

of tracts he supported the contention of the French monarch against

Boniface VIII. [79] France is independent of the empire, and absolutely

sovereign in all secular matters. The French king is the successor of

Charlemagne. The pope is the moral teacher of mankind, "the light of

the world," but he has no jurisdiction in temporal affairs. It is his

function to care for souls, to stop wars, to exercise oversight over

the clergy, but his jurisdiction extends no farther.

The pope and clergy are given to worldliness and self-indulgence.

Boniface is a heretic. The prelates squander the Church's money in wars

and litigations, prefer the atmosphere of princely courts, and neglect

theology and the care of souls. The avarice of the curia and the pope

leads them to scandalous simony and nepotism. [80] Constantine's

donation marked the change to worldliness among the clergy. It was

illegal, and the only title the pope can show to temporal power over

the patrimony of Peter is long tenure. The first step in the direction

of reforms would be for clergy and pope to renounce worldly possessions

altogether. This remedy had been prescribed by Arnold of Brescia and

Frederick II.

Dubois also criticised the rule and practice of celibacy. Few clergymen

keep their vows. And yet they are retained, while ordination is denied

to married persons. This is in the face of the fact that the Apostle

permitted marriage to all. The practice of the Eastern church is to be

preferred. The rule of single life is too exacting, especially for

nuns. Durante had proposed the abrogation of the rule, and Arnald of

Villanova had emphasized the sacredness of the marriage tie, recalling

that it was upon a married man, Peter, that Christ conferred the

primacy. [81]

Dubois showed the freshness of his mind by suggestions of a practical

nature. He proposed the colonization of the Holy Land by Christian

people, and the marriage of Christian women to Saracens of station as a

means of converting them. As a measure for securing the world's

conversion, he recommended to Clement the establishment of schools for

boys and girls in every province, where instruction should be given in

different languages. The girls were to be taught Latin and the

fundamentals of natural science, and especially medicine and surgery,

that they might serve as female physicians among women in the more

occult disorders.

A review of the controversial literature of the age of Philip the Fair

shows the new paths along which men's thoughts were moving. [82] The

papal apologists insisted upon traditional interpretations of a limited

number of texts, the perpetual validity of Constantine's donation, and

the transfer of the empire. They were forever quoting Innocent's famous

bull, Per venerabilem. [83] On the other hand, John of Paris, and the

publicists who sympathized with him, as also Dante, corrected and

widened the vision of the field of Scripture, and brought into

prominence the common rights of man. The resistance which the king of

France offered to the demands of Boniface encouraged writers to speak

without reserve.

The pope's spiritual primacy was left untouched. The attack was against

his temporal jurisdiction. The fiction of the two swords was set aside.

The state is as supreme in its sphere as the Church in its sphere, and

derives its authority immediately from God. Constantine had no right to

confer the sovereignty of the West upon Sylvester, and his gift

constitutes no valid papal claim. Each monarch is supreme in his own

realm, and the theory of the overlordship of the emperor is abandoned

as a thing out of date.

The pope's tenure of office was made subject to limitation. He may be

deposed for heresy and incompetency. Some writers went so far as to

deny to him jurisdiction over Church property. The advisory function of

the cardinals was emphasized and the independent authority of the

bishops affirmed. Above all, the authority residing in the Church as a

body of believers was discussed, and its voice, as uttered through a

general council, pronounced to be superior to the authority of the

pope. The utterances of John of Paris and Peter Dubois on the subject

of general councils led straight on to the views propounded during the

papal schism at the close of the fourteenth century. [84] Dubois

demanded that laymen as well as clerics should have a voice in them.

The rule of clerical celibacy was attacked, and attention called to its

widespread violation in practice. Pope and clergy were invoked to

devote themselves to the spiritual well-being of mankind, and to foster

peaceable measures for the world's conversion.

This freedom of utterance and changed way of thinking mark the

beginning of one of the great revolutions in the history of the

Christian Church. To these publicists the modern world owes a debt of

gratitude. Principles which are now regarded as axiomatic were new for

the Christian public of their day. A generation later, Marsiglius of

Padua defined them again with clearness, and took a step still further

in advance.

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[35] I have followed closely in this chapter the clear and learned

presentations of Richard Scholz and Finke and the documents they print

as well as the documents given by Goldast. See below. A most useful

contribution to the study of the age of Boniface VIII. and the papal

theories current at the time would be the publication of the tracts

mentioned in this section and others in a single volume.

[36] The date of the De monarchia is a matter of uncertainty. There are

no references in the treatise to Dante's own personal affairs or the

contemporary events of Europe to give any clew (sic). Witte, the

eminent Dante student, put it in 1301; so also R. W. Church, on the

ground that Dante makes no reference to his exile, which began in 1301.

The tendency now is to follow Boccaccio, who connected the treatise

with the election of Henry VII. or Henry's journey to Rome, 1311. The

treatise would then be a manifesto for the restoration of the empire to

its original authority. For a discussion of the date, see Henry:

Dante's de monarchia, XXXII. sqq.

[37] Libertus est maximum donum humanae naturae a Deo collatum, I. 14.

It is a striking coincidence that Leo XIII. began his encyclical of

June 20, 1888, with these similar words, libertas praestantissimum

naturae donum, "liberty, the most excellent gift of nature."

[38] ii. 3. Dante appeals to the testimony of Virgil, his guide through

hell and purgatory. He also quotes Virgil's proud lines:-- "Tu regere

imperii populos, Romane, memento. Haec tibi erunt artes, pacisque

imponere morem Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos." Roman,

remember that it was given to thee to rule the nations. Thine it is to

establish peace, spare subject peoples and war against the proud.

[39] ii. 12, 13; iii. 13, 16.

[40] This last section of the book has the heading auctoritatem imperii

immediate dependere a Deo.

[41] iii. 10, Constantinus alienare non poterat imperii dignitatem nec

ecclesia recipere.

[42] xix. 115 sqq. Ahi, Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre, Non la tua

conversion, ma quella dote Che da te prese il primo ricco padre! In the

Purgatorio, xvi. 106-112, Dante deplores the union of the crozier and

the sword.

[43] With reference to the approaching termination of the emperor's

influence in Italian affairs, Bryce, ch. XV., sententiously says that

Dante's De monarchia was an epitaph, not a prophecy.

[44] Non cives propter consules nec gens propter regem sed e converso

consules propter cives, rex propter gentem, iii. 14.

[45] Scholz, pp. 32-129.

[46] Chartul. Univ. Paris., II. 12.

[47] Jourdain, in 1858, was the first to call attention to the

manuscript, and Kraus the first to give a summary of its positions in

the Oesterr. Vierteljahrsschrift, Vienna, 1862, pp. 1-33. Among

Aegidius' other tracts is the "Rule of Princes,"--De regimine principum

--1285, printed 1473. It was at once translated into French and Italian

and also into Spanish, Portuguese, English, and even Hebrew. The

"Pope's Abdication"--De renunciatione papae sive apologia pro Bonifacio

VIII.--1297, was a reply to the manifesto of the Colonna, contesting a

pope's right to resign his office. For a list of Aegidius' writings,

see art. Colonna Aegidius, in Wetzer-Welte, III. 667-671. See Scholz,

pp. 46, 126.

[48] Aegidius quotes the Wisdom of Solomon 2:21

[49] See Scholz, p. 96 sqq. This author says the de regimine principum

of Aegidius presents a different view, and following Aristotle, derives

the state from the social principle.

[50] Sub dominio et potestate ecclesiae.

[51] Scholz, p. 124.

[52] See Finke, pp. 163-166; Scholz, pp. 129-153.

[53] Scholz, pp. 135, 145, 147. These two prerogatives are called

potestas ordinis and potestas jurisdictionis.

[54] Scholz, p. 148.

[55] Potest agere et secundum leges quas ponit et praeter illas, ubi

opportunum esse judicaverit. Finke, p. 166.

[56] Finke, pp. 166-170; Scholz, pp. 162-1S6. Finke was the first to

use this Tract. Scholz describes two MSS. in the National Library of

Paris, and gives the tract entire, pp. 459-471.

[57] A contemporary notes that the consistory was reminded that the

nominee was the author of the De potestate papae, "a book which proves

that the pope was overlord in temporal as well as spiritual matters."

Scholz, p. 155. The tract was written, as Scholz thinks, not later than

1301, or earlier than 1298, as it quotes the Liber sextus.

[58] Constantinus non dedit sed recognovit ab ecclesia se

tenere--confitetur se ab ecclesia illud tenere. See Scholz, p. 467.

[59] Non defectus juris, sed potentiae.

[60] Four of his smaller tracts are summarized by Scholz, pp. 172-189.

See � 8.

[61] Scholz, pp. 198-207.

[62] Scholz, pp. 208-223.

[63] Tam in capite quam in membris. Scholz, pp. 211, 220. The tract was

reprinted at the time of the Council of Trent and dedicated to Paul

III.

[64] The words Matt. 16:19, were addressed to the whole Church, he

says, and not to Peter alone.

[65] Scholz, p. 214.

[66] This date is made very probable by Scholz, p. 225 sqq. Riezler, p.

141, wrongly put it down to 1364-1380. Scheffer-Boichorst showed that

the author spoke of the canonization of Louis IX., 1297, as having

occurred "in our days," and that he quoted the Liber sextus, 1298, as

having recently appeared. The tract is given in Goldast: Monarchia, II.

195 sqq.

[67] Scholz, p. 239. On Feb. 28, 1302, Philip made his sons swear never

to acknowledge any one but God as overlord.

[68] It is bound up in MS. with the former tract and with the work of

John of Paris. It is printed in Dupuy, pp. 663-683. It has been

customary to regard Peter Dubois as the author, but Scholz, p. 257,

gives reasons against this view.

[69] Disputatio inter clericum et militem. It was written during the

conflict between Boniface and Philip, and not by Ockam, to whom it was

formerly ascribed. Recently Riezler, p. 146, has ascribed it to Peter

Dubois. It was first printed, 1476, and is reprinted in Goldast:

Monarchia, I. 13 sqq. MSS. are found in Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, and

Prag. See Scholz, p. 336 sqq. An English translation appeared with the

following title: A dialogue betwene a knight and a clerke concerning

the Power Spiritual and temporal, by William Ockham, the great

philosopher, in English and Latin, London, 1540.

[70] Finke, pp. 170-177; Scholz, pp. 275-333.

[71] Chartul. Univ. Paris., II. 102.

[72] De modo existendi corporis Christi in sacramento altaris. Chartul.

II. 120.

[73] First printed in Paris, 1506, and is found in Goldast, II. 108

sqq. For the writings ascribed to John, see Scholz, p. 284 sq. Finke,

p. 172, says, ein gesundes beinahe modernes Empfinden zeichnet ihn aus.

His tract belongs to 1302-1303. So Scholz and Finke. John writes as

though Boniface were still living. He quotes "the opinions of certain

moderns" and Henry of Cremona by name. The last chapter of John's tract

is largely made up of excerpts from Aegidius' De renuntiatione papae.

Scholz, p. 291, thinks it probable that Dante used John's tract.

[74] Congregatio fidelium ... congregatio clericorum.

[75] Scholz, p. 315.

[76] Finke, p. 72; Scholz, p. 324.

[77] See Renan: Hist. Litt. XXVI. 471-536; Scholz, pp. 374-444.

[78] Advocatus regalium causarum.

[79] For these tracts, see Renan, p. 476 sq.; Scholz, p. 385 sqq.

[80] Scholz, p. 398.

[81] Contulit conjugato scilicet beato Petro primatum ecclesiae, Finke,

p. clxxiii. Arnald is attacking the Minorites and Dominicans for

publicly teaching that the statements of married people in matters of

doctrine are not to be believed, conjugato non est credendum super

veritate divina.

[82] See the summary of Scholz, pp. 444-458.

[83] It is quoted again and again by Henry of Cremona. See the text in

Scholz, p. 464 sq., etc. For the text of the bull, see Mirbt: Quellen,

pp. 127-130.

[84] Scholz, p. 322; Schwab: Life of Gerson, p. 133.

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� 6. The Transfer of the Papacy to Avignon.

The successor of Boniface, Benedict XI., 1303-1304, a Dominican, was a

mild-spirited and worthy man, more bent on healing ruptures than on

forcing his arbitrary will. Departing from the policy of his

predecessor, he capitulated to the state and put an end to the conflict

with Philip the Fair. Sentences launched by Boniface were recalled or

modified, and the interdict pronounced by that pope upon Lyons was

revoked. Palestrina was restored to the Colonna. Only Sciarra Colonna

and Nogaret were excepted from the act of immediate clemency and

ordered to appear at Rome. Benedict's death, after a brief reign of

eight months, was ascribed to poison secreted in a dish of figs, of

which the pope partook freely. [85]

The conclave met in Perugia, where Benedict died, and was torn by

factions. After an interval of nearly eleven months, the French party

won a complete triumph by the choice of Bertrand de Got, archbishop of

Bordeaux, who took the name of Clement V. At the time of his election,

Bertrand was in France. He never crossed the Alps. After holding his

court at Bordeaux, Poictiers, and Toulouse, he chose, in 1309, Avignon

as his residence.

Thus began the so-called Babylonian captivity, or Avignon exile, of the

papacy, which lasted more than seventy years and included seven popes,

all Frenchmen, Clement V., 1305-1314; John XXII., 1316-1334; Benedict

XII., 1334-1342; Clement VI., 1342-1352; Innocent VI., 1352-1362; Urban

V., 1362-1370; Gregory XI., 1370-1378. This prolonged absence from Rome

was a great shock to the papal system. Transplanted from its maternal

soil, the papacy was cut loose from the hallowed and historical

associations of thirteen centuries. It no longer spake as from the

centre of the Christian world.

The way had been prepared for the abandonment of the Eternal City and

removal to French territory. Innocent II. and other popes had found

refuge in France. During the last half of the thirteenth century the

Apostolic See, in its struggle with the empire, had leaned upon France

for aid. To avoid Frederick II., Innocent IV. had fled to Lyons, 1245.

If Boniface VIII. represents a turning-point in the history of the

papacy, the Avignon residence shook the reverence of Christendom for

it. It was in danger of becoming a French institution. Not only were

the popes all Frenchmen, but the large majority of the cardinals were

of French birth. Both were reduced to a station little above that of

court prelates subject to the nod of the French sovereign. At the same

time, the popes continued to exercise their prerogatives over the other

nations of Western Christendom, and freely hurled anathemas at the

German emperor and laid the interdict upon Italian cities. The word

might be passed around, "where the pope is, there is Rome," but the

wonder is that the grave hurt done to his oecumenical character was not

irreparable. [86]

The morals of Avignon during the papal residence were notorious

throughout Europe. The papal household had all the appearance of a

worldly court, torn by envies and troubled by schemes of all sorts.

Some of the Avignon popes left a good name, but the general impression

was bad--weak if not vicious. The curia was notorious for its

extravagance, venality, and sensuality. Nepotism, bribery, and simony

were unblushingly practised. The financial operations of the papal

family became oppressive to an extent unknown before. Indulgences,

applied to all sorts of cases, were made a source of increasing

revenue. Alvarus Pelagius, a member of the papal household and a

strenuous supporter of the papacy, in his De planctu ecclesiae,

complained bitterly of the speculation and traffic in ecclesiastical

places going on at the papal court. It swarmed with money-changers, and

parties bent on money operations. Another contemporary, Petrarch, who

never uttered a word against the papacy as a divine institution,

launched his satires against Avignon, which he called "the sink of

every vice, the haunt of all iniquities, a third Babylon, the Babylon

of the West." No expression is too strong to carry his biting

invectives. Avignon is the "fountain of afflictions, the refuge of

wrath, the school of errors, a temple of lies, the awful prison, hell

on earth." [87] But the corruption of Avignon was too glaring to make

it necessary for him to invent charges. This ill-fame gives Avignon a

place at the side of the courts of Louis XIV. and Charles II. of

England.

During this papal expatriation, Italy fell into a deplorable condition.

Rome, which had been the queen of cities, the goal of pilgrims, the

centre towards which the pious affections of all Western Europe turned,

the locality where royal and princely embassies had sought ratification

for ambitious plans--Rome was now turned into an arena of wild

confusion and riot. Contending factions of nobles, the Colonna, Orsini,

Gaetani, and others, were in constant feud, [88] and strove one with

the other for the mastery in municipal affairs and were often

themselves set aside by popular leaders whose low birth they despised.

The source of her gains gone, the city withered away and was reduced to

the proportions, the poverty, and the dull happenings of a provincial

town, till in 1370 the population numbered less than 20,000. She had no

commerce to stir her pulses like the young cities in Northern and

Southern Germany and in Lombardy. Obscurity and melancholy settled upon

her palaces and public places, broken only by the petty attempts at

civic displays, which were like the actings of the circus ring compared

with the serious manoeuvres of a military campaign. The old monuments

were neglected or torn down. A papal legate sold the stones of the

Colosseum to be burnt in lime-kilns, and her marbles were transported

to other cities, so that it was said she was drawn upon more than

Carrara. [89] Her churches became roofless. Cattle ate grass up to the

very altars of the Lateran and St. Peter's. The movement of art was

stopped which had begun with the arrival of Giotto, who had come to

Rome at the call of Boniface VIII. to adorn St. Peter's. No product of

architecture is handed down from this period except the marble stairway

of the church of St. Maria, Ara Coeli, erected in 1348 with an

inscription commemorating the deliverance from the plague, and the

restored Lateran church which was burnt, 1308. [90] Ponds and d�bris

interrupted the passage of the streets and filled the air with

offensive and deadly odors. At Clement V.'s death, Napoleon Orsini

assured Philip that the Eternal City was on the verge of destruction

and, in 1347, Cola di Rienzo thought it more fit to be called a den of

robbers than the residence of civilized men.

The Italian peninsula, at least in its northern half, was a scene of

political division and social anarchy. The country districts were

infested with bands of brigands. The cities were given to frequent and

violent changes of government. High officials of the Church paid the

price of immunity from plunder and violence by exactions levied on

other personages of station. Such were some of the immediate results of

the exile of the papacy. Italy was in danger of succumbing to the fate

of Hellas and being turned into a desolate waste.

Avignon, which Clement chose as his residence, is 460 miles southeast

of Paris and lies south of Lyons. Its proximity to the port of

Marseilles made it accessible to Italy. It was purchased by Clement

VI., 1348, from Naples for 80, 000 gold florins, and remained papal

territory until the French Revolution. As early as 1229, the popes held

territory in the vicinity, the duchy of Venaissin, which fell to them

from the domain of Raymond of Toulouse. On every side this free papal

home was closely confined by French territory. Clement was urged by

Italian bishops to go to Rome, and Italian writers gave as one reason

for his refusal fear lest he should receive meet punishment for his

readiness to condemn Boniface VIII. [91]

Clement's coronation was celebrated at Lyons, Philip and his brother

Charles of Valois, the Duke of Bretagne and representatives of the king

of England being present. Philip and the duke walked at the side of the

pope's palfrey. By the fall of an old wall during the procession, the

duke, a brother of the pope, and ten other persons lost their lives.

The pope himself was thrown from his horse, his tiara rolled in the

dust, and a large carbuncle, which adorned it, was lost. Scarcely ever

was a papal ruler put in a more compromising position than the new

pontiff. His subjection to a sovereign who had defied the papacy was a

strange spectacle. He owed his tiara indirectly, if not immediately, to

Philip the Fair. He was the man Philip wanted. [92] It was his task to

appease the king's anger against the memory of Boniface, and to meet

his brutal demands concerning the Knights Templars. These, with the

Council of Vienne, which he called, were the chief historic concerns of

his pontificate.

The terms on which the new pope received the tiara were imposed by

Philip himself, and, according to Villani, the price he made the Gascon

pay included six promises. Five of them concerned the total undoing of

what Boniface had done in his conflict with Philip. The sixth article,

which was kept secret, was supposed to be the destruction of the order

of the Templars. It is true that the authenticity of these six articles

has been disputed, but there can be no doubt that from the very outset

of Clement's pontificate, the French king pressed their execution upon

the pope's attention. [93] Clement, in poor position to resist,

confirmed what Benedict had done and went farther. He absolved the

king; recalled, Feb. 1, 1306, the offensive bulls Clericis laicos and

Unam sanctam, so far as they implied anything offensive to France or

any subjection on the part of the king to the papal chair, not

customary before their issue, and fully restored the cardinals of the

Colonna family to the dignities of their office.

The proceedings touching the character of Boniface VIII. and his right

to a place among the popes dragged along for fully six years. Philip

had offered, among others, his brother, Count Louis of Evreux, as a

witness for the charge that Boniface had died a heretic. There was a

division of sentiment among the cardinals. The Colonna were as hostile

to the memory of Boniface as they were zealous in their writings for

the memory of Coelestine V. They pronounced it to be contrary to the

divine ordinance for a pope to abdicate. His spiritual marriage with

the Church cannot be dissolved. And as for there being two popes at the

same time, God was himself not able to constitute such a monstrosity.

On the other hand, writers like Augustinus Triumphus defended Boniface

and pronounced him a martyr to the interests of the Church and worthy

of canonization. [94] In his zeal against his old enemy Philip had

called, probably as early as 1305, for the canonization of Coelestine

V. [95] A second time, in 1307, Boniface's condemnation was pressed

upon Clement by the king in person. But the pope knew how to prolong

the prosecution on all sorts of pretexts. Philip represented himself as

concerned for the interests of religion, and Nogaret and the other

conspirators insisted that the assault at Avignon was a religious act,

negotium fidei. Nogaret sent forth no less than twelve apologies

defending himself for his part in the assault. [96] In 1310 the formal

trial began. Many witnesses appeared to testify against

Boniface,--laymen, priests and bishops. The accusations were that the

pope had declared all three religions false, Mohammedanism, Judaism and

Christianity, pronounced the virgin birth a tale, denied

transubstantiation and the existence of hell and heaven and that he had

played games of chance.

Clement issued one bull after another protesting the innocency of the

offending parties concerned in the violent measures against Boniface.

Philip and Nogaret were declared innocent of all guilt and to have only

pure motives in preferring charges against the dead pope. [97] The

bull, Rex gloriae, 1311, addressed to Philip, stated that the secular

kingdom was founded by God and that France in the new dispensation

occupied about the same place as Israel, the elect people, occupied

under the old dispensation. Nogaret's purpose in entering into the

agreement which resulted in the affair at Anagni was to save the Church

from destruction at the hands of Boniface, and the plundering of the

papal palace and church was done against the wishes of the French

chancellor. In several bulls Clement recalled all punishments,

statements, suspensions and declarations made against Philip and his

kingdom, or supposed to have been made. And to fully placate the king,

he ordered all Boniface's pronouncements of this character effaced from

the books of the Roman Church. Thus in the most solemn papal form did

Boniface's successor undo all that Boniface had done. [98] When the

Oecumenical Council of Vienne met, the case of Boniface was so

notorious a matter that it had to be taken up. After a formal trial, in

which the accused pontiff was defended by three cardinals, he was

adjudged not guilty. To gain this point, and to save his predecessor

from formal condemnation, it is probable Clement had to surrender to

Philip unqualifiedly in the matter of the Knights of the Temple.

After long and wearisome proceedings, this order was formally

legislated out of existence by Clement in 1312. Founded in 1119 to

protect pilgrims and to defend the Holy Land against the Moslems, it

had outlived its mission. Sapped of its energy by riches and

indulgence, its once famous knights might well have disbanded and no

interest been the worse for it. The story, however, of their forcible

suppression awakens universal sympathy and forms one of the most

thrilling and mysterious chapters of the age. D�llinger has called it

"a unique drama in history." [99]

The destruction of the Templar order was relentlessly insisted upon by

Philip the Fair, and accomplished with the reluctant co-operation of

Clement V. In vain did the king strive to hide the sordidness of his

purpose under the thin mask of religious zeal. At Clement's coronation,

if not before, Philip brought charges against it. About the same time,

in the insurrection called forth by his debasement of the coin, the

king took refuge in the Templars' building at Paris. In 1307 he renewed

the charges before the pope. When Clement hesitated, he proceeded to

violence, and on the night of Oct. 13, 1307, he had all the members of

the order in France arrested and thrown into prison, including Jacques

de Molay, the grand-master. D�llinger applies to this deed the strong

language that, if he were asked to pick out from the whole history of

the world the accursed day,--dies nefastus,--he would be able to name

none other than Oct. 13, 1307. Three days later, Philip announced he

had taken this action as the defender of the faith and called upon

Christian princes to follow his example. Little as the business was to

Clement's taste, he was not man enough to set himself in opposition to

the king, and he gradually became complaisant. [100] The machinery of

the Inquisition was called into use. The Dominicans, its chief agents,

stood high in Philip's favor, and one of their number was his

confessor. In 1308 the authorities of the state assented to the king's

plans to bring the order to trial. The constitution of the court was

provided for by Clement, the bishop of each diocese and two Franciscans

and two Dominicans being associated together. A commission invested

with general authority was to sit in Paris. [101]

In the summer of 1308 the pope ordered a prosecution of the knights

wherever they might be found. [102] The charges set forth were heresy,

spitting upon the cross, worshipping an idol, Bafomet--the word for

Mohammed in the Proven�al dialect--and also the most abominable

offences against moral decency such as sodomy and kissing the posterior

parts and the navel of fellow knights. The members were also accused of

having meetings with the devil who appeared in the form of a black cat

and of having carnal intercourse with female demons. The charges which

the lawyers and Inquisitors got together numbered 127 and these the

pope sent through France and to other countries as the basis of the

prosecution.

Under the strain of prolonged torture, many of the unfortunate men gave

assent to these charges, and more particularly to the denial of Christ

and the spitting upon the cross. The Templars seem to have had no

friends in high places bold enough to take their part. The king, the

pope, the Dominican order, the University of Paris, the French

episcopacy were against them. Many confessions once made by the victims

were afterwards recalled at the stake. Many denied the charges

altogether. [103] In Paris 36 died under torture, 54 suffered there at

one burning, May 10, 1310, and 8 days later 4 more. Hundreds of them

perished in prison. Even the bitterest enemies acknowledged that the

Templars who were put to death maintained their innocence to their

dying breath. [104]

In accordance with Clement's order, trials were had in Germany, Italy,

Spain, Portugal, Cyprus and England. In England, Edward II. at first

refused to apply the torture, which was never formally adopted in that

land, but later, at Clement's demand, he complied. Papal inquisitors

appeared. Synods in London and York declared the charges of heresy so

serious that it would be impossible for the knights to clear

themselves. English houses were disbanded and the members distributed

among the monasteries to do penance. In Italy and Germany, the accused

were, for the most part, declared innocent. In Spain and Portugal, no

evidence was forthcoming of guilt and the synod of Tarragona, 1310, and

other synods favored their innocence.

The last act in these hostile proceedings was opened at the Council of

Vienne, called for the special purpose of taking action upon the order.

The large majority of the council were in favor of giving it a new

trial and a fair chance to prove its innocence. But the king was

relentless. He reminded Clement that the guilt of the knights had been

sufficiently proven, and insisted that the order be abolished. He

appeared in person at the council, attended by a great retinue. Clement

was overawed, and by virtue of his apostolic power issued his decree

abolishing the Templars, March 22, 1312. [105] Clement's reasons were

that suspicions existed that the order held to heresies, that many of

the Templars had confessed to heresies and other offences, that

thereafter reputable persons would not enter the order, and that it was

no longer necessary for the defence of the Holy Land. Directions were

given for the further procedure. The guilty were to be put to death;

the innocent to be supported out of the revenues of the order. With

this action the famous order passed out of existence.

The end of Jacques de Molay, the 22d and last grand-master of the order

of Templars, was worthy of its proudest days. At the first trial he

confessed to the charges of denying Christ and spitting upon the cross,

and was condemned, but afterwards recalled his confession. His case was

reopened in 1314. With Geoffrey de Charney, grand-preceptor of

Normandy, and others, he was led in front of Notre Dame Cathedral, and

sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Molay then stood forth and

declared that the charges against the order were false, and that he had

confessed to them under the strain of torture and instructions from the

king. Charney said the same. The commission promised to reconsider the

case the next day. But the king's vengeance knew no bounds, and that

night, March 11, 1314, the prisoners were burned. The story ran that

while the flames were doing their grewsome (sic) work, Molay summoned

pope and king to meet him at the judgment bar within a year. The former

died, in a little more than a month, of a loathsome disease, though

penitent, as it was reported, for his treatment of the order, and the

king, by accident, while engaged in the chase, six months later. The

king was only 46 years old at the time of his death, and 14 years

after, the last of his direct descendants was in his grave and the

throne passed to the house of Valois.

As for the possessions of the order, papal decrees turned them over to

the Knights of St. John, but Philip again intervened and laid claim to

260,000 pounds as a reimbursement for alleged losses to the Temple and

the expense of guarding the prisoners. [106] In Spain, they passed to

the orders of San Iago di Compostella and Calatrava. In Aragon, they

were in part applied to a new order, Santa Maria de Montesia, and in

Portugal to the Military Order of Jesus Christ, ordo militiae Jesu

Christi. Repeated demands made by the pope secured the transmission of

a large part of their possessions to the Knights of St. John. In

England, in 1323, parliament granted their lands to the Hospitallers,

but the king appropriated a considerable share to himself. The Temple

in London fell to the Earl of Pembroke, 1313. [107]

The explanation of Philip's violent animosity and persistent

persecution is his cupidity. He coveted the wealth of the Templars.

Philip was quite equal to a crime of this sort. [108] He robbed the

bankers of Lombardy and the Jews of France, and debased the coin of his

realm. A loan of 500,000 pounds which he had secured for a sister's

dowry had involved him in great financial straits. He appropriated all

the possessions of the Templars he could lay his hands upon. Clement

V.'s subserviency it is easy to explain. He was a creature of the king.

When the pope hesitated to proceed against the unfortunate order, the

king beset him with the case of Boniface VIII. To save the memory of

his predecessor, the pope surrendered the lives of the knights. [109]

Dante, in representing the Templars as victims of the king's avarice,

compares Philip to Pontius Pilate.

"I see the modern Pilate, whom avails

No cruelty to sate and who, unbidden,

Into the Temple sets his greedy sails."

Purgatory, xx. 91.

The house of the Templars in Paris was turned into a royal residence,

from which Louis XVI., more than four centuries later, went forth to

the scaffold.

The Council of Vienne, the fifteenth in the list of the oecumenical

councils, met Oct. 16, 1311, and after holding three sessions adjourned

six months later, May 6, 1812. Clement opened it with an address on

Psalm 111:1, 2, and designated three subjects for its consideration,

the case of the order of the Templars, the relief of the Holy Land and

Church reform. The documents bearing on the council are defective.

[110] In addition to the decisions concerning the Templars and Boniface

VIII., it condemned the Beguines and Beghards and listened to charges

made against the Franciscan, Peter John Olivi (d. 1298). Olivi belonged

to the Spiritual wing of the order. His books had been ordered burnt,

1274, by one Franciscan general, and a second general of the order,

Bonagratia, 1279, had appointed a commission which found thirty-four

dangerous articles in his writings. The council, without pronouncing

against Olivi, condemned three articles ascribed to him bearing on the

relation of the two parties in the Franciscan order, the Spirituals and

Conventuals.

The council has a place in the history of biblical scholarship and

university education by its act ordering two chairs each, of Hebrew,

Arabic, and Chaldee established in Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and

Salamanca.

While the proceedings against Boniface and the Templars were dragging

on in their slow course in France, Clement was trying to make good his

authority in Italy. Against Venice he hurled the most violent anathemas

and interdicts for venturing to lay hands on Ferrara, whose territory

was claimed by the Apostolic See. A crusade was preached against the

sacrilegious city. She was defeated in battle, and Ferrara was

committed to the administration of Robert, king of Naples, as the

pope's vicar.

All that he could well do, Clement did to strengthen the hold of France

on the papacy. The first year of his pontificate he appointed 9 French

cardinals, and of the 24 persons whom he honored with the purple, 23

were Frenchmen. He granted to the insatiable Philip a Church tithe for

five years. Next to the fulfilment of his obligations to this monarch,

Clement made it his chief business to levy tributes upon ecclesiastics

of all grades and upon vacant Church livings. [111] He was prodigal

with offices to his relatives. This was a leading feature of his

pontificate. Five of his kin were made cardinals, three being still in

their youth. His brother he made rector of Rome, and other members of

his family received Ancona, Ferrara, the duchy of Spoleto, and the

duchy of Venaissin, and other territories within the pope's gift. [112]

The administration and disposition of his treasure occupied a large

part of Clement's time and have offered an interesting subject to the

pen of the modern Jesuit scholar, Ehrle. The papal treasure left by

Clement's predecessor, after being removed from Perugia to France, was

taken from place to place and castle to castle, packed in coffers laden

on the backs of mules. After Clement's death, the vast sums he had

received and accumulated suddenly disappeared. Clement's successor,

John XXII., instituted a suit against Clement's most trusted relatives

to account for the moneys. The suit lasted from 1318-1322, and brought

to light a great amount of information concerning Clement's finances.

[113]

His fortune Clement disposed of by will, 1312, the total amount being

814,000 florins; 300,000 were given to his nephew, the viscount of

Lomagne and Auvillars, a man otherwise known for his numerous

illegitimate offspring. This sum was to be used for a crusade; 314,000

were bequeathed to other relatives and to servants. The remaining

200,000 were given to churches, convents, and the poor. A loan of

160,000 made to the king of France was never paid back. [114]

Clement's body was by his appointment buried at Uzeste. His treasure

was plundered. At the trial instituted by John XXII., it appeared that

Clement before his death had set apart 70,000 florins to be divided in

equal shares between his successor and the college of cardinals. The

viscount of Lomagne was put into confinement by John, and turned over

300,000 florins, one-half going to the cardinals and one-half to the

pope. A few months after Clement's death, the count made loans to the

king of France of 110,000 florins and to the king of England of 60,000.

Clement's relatives showed their appreciation of his liberality by

erecting to his memory an elaborate sarcophagus at Uzeste, which cost

50,000 gold florins. The theory is that the pope administers moneys

coming to him by virtue of his papal office for the interest of the

Church at large. Clement spoke of the treasure in his coffers as his

own, which he might dispose of as he chose. [115]

Clement's private life was open to the grave suspicion of unlawful

intimacy with the beautiful Countess Brunissenda of Foix. Of all the

popes of the fourteenth century, he showed the least independence. An

apologist of Boniface VIII., writing in 1308, recorded this judgment:

[116] "The Lord permitted Clement to be elected, who was more concerned

about temporal things and in enriching his relatives than was Boniface,

in order that by contrast Boniface might seem worthy of praise where he

would otherwise have been condemned, just as the bitter is not known

except by the sweet, or cold except by heat, or the good except by

evil." Villani, who assailed both popes, characterized Clement "as

licentious, greedy of money, a simoniac, who sold in his court every

benefice for gold." [117]

By a single service did this pope seem to place the Church in debt to

his pontificate. The book of decretals, known as the Clementines, and

issued in part by him, was completed by his successor, John XXII.

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[85] Ferretus of Vicenza, Muratori, IX. 1013. Villani, VIII. 80. As an

example of Benedict's sanctity it was related that after he was made

pope he was visited by his mother, dressed in silks, but he refused to

recognize her till she had changed her dress, and then he embraced her.

[86] See Pastor, I. 75-80. He calls Clement's decision to remain in

France der unselige Entschluss, "the unholy resolve," and says the

change to Avignon had the meaning of a calamity and a fall, die

Bedeutung einer Katastrophe, eines Sturzes. Hefele-Kn�pfler,

Kirchengeschichte, p. 458, pronounces it "a move full of bad omen."

Baur, Kirchengesch. d. M. A., p. 265, said, "The transference of the

papal chair to Avignon was the fatal turning-point from which the

papacy moved on to its dramatic goal with hasty step." See also Haller,

p. 23. Pastor, p. 62, making out as good a case as he can for the

Avignon popes, lays stress upon the support they gave to missions in

Asia and Africa. Clement VI., 1342-1352, appointed an archbishop for

Japan.

[87] Petrarch speaks of it "as filled with every kind of confusion, the

powers of darkness overspreading it and containing everything fearful

which had ever existed or been imagined by a disordered mind."

Robinson: Petrarch, p. 87. Pastor, I. p. 76, seeks to reduce the value

of Petrarch's testimony on the ground that he spoke as a poet, burning

with the warm blood of his country, who, notwithstanding his charges,

preferred to live in Avignon.

[88] The children did not escape the violence of this mad frenzy. The

little child, Agapito Colonna, was found in the church, where it had

been taken by the servant, strangled by the Orsini.

[89] Pastor, p. 78, with note.

[90] John XXII. paid off the cost incurred for this restoration with

the price of silver vessels left by Clement V. for the relief of the

churches in Rome. See Ehrle, V. 131.

[91] See Finke: Quellen, p. 92.

[92] D�llinger says Clement passed completely into the service of the

king, er trat ganz in den Dienst des K�nigs. Akad. Vortr�ge, III. 254.

[93] Mansi was the first to express doubts concerning these articles,

reported by Villani, VIII. 80. D�llinger: Akad. Vortr�ge, III. 254, and

Hefele, following Bouteric, deny them altogether. Hefele, in a long and

careful statement, VI. 394-403, gives reasons for regarding them as an

Italian invention. Clement distinctly said that he knew nothing of the

charges against the Templars till the day of his coronation. On the

other hand, Villani's testimony is clear and positive, and at any rate

shows the feeling which prevailed in the early part of the fourteenth

century. Archer is inclined to hold on to Villani's testimony, Enc.

Brit., XXIII. 164. The character of pope and king, and the

circumstances under which Clement was elected, make a compact

altogether probable.

[94] Dupuy, pp. 448-465. See Finke and Scholz, pp. 198-207. Among those

who took sides against the pope was Peter Dubois. In his Deliberatio

super agendis a Philippo IV. (Dupuy, pp. 44-47), he pronounced Boniface

a heretic. This tract was probably written during the sessions of the

National Assembly in Paris, April, 1302. See Scholz, p. 386. In another

tract Dubois (Dupuy, pp. 214-19) called upon the French king to condemn

Boniface as a heretic.

[95] This is upon the basis of a tractate found and published by Finke,

Aus den Tagen Bon. VIII., pp. lxix-c, and which he puts in the year

1308. See pp. lxxxv, xcviii. Scholz, p. 174, ascribes this tract to

Augustinus Triumphus.

[96] Holtzmann: W. von Nogaret, p. 202 sqq.

[97] The tract of 1308 attempts to prove some of the charges against

Boniface untrue, or that true sayings attributed to him did not make

him a heretic. For example, it takes up the charges that Boniface had

called the Gauls dogs, and had said he would rather be a dog than a

Gaul. The argument begins by quoting Eccles. 3:19, p. lxx. sqq.

[98] The condemned clauses were in some cases erased, but Boniface's

friends succeeded in keeping some perfect copies of the originals. See

Hefele-Kn�pfler, VI. 460.

[99] D�llinger's treatment, Akad. Vortr�ge, III. 244-274, was the last

address that distinguished historian made before the Munich Academy of

the Sciences. In his zeal to present a good case for the Templars, he

suggests that if they had been let alone they might have done good

service by policing the Mediterranean, with Cyprus as a base.

[100] In the bull Pastoralis praeeminentiae, 1307. Augustinus

Triumphus, in his tract on the Templars, de facto Templarorum, without

denying the charges of heresy, denied the king's right to seize and try

persons accused of heresy on his own initiative and without the

previous consent of the Church. See the document printed by Scholz, pp.

508-516.

[101] It consisted of the archbishop of Narbonne, the bishops of Mende,

Bayeux, and Limoges and four lesser dignitaries. The place of sitting

was put at Paris at the urgency of Philip.

[102] In the bull Faciens misericordiam. In this document the pope made

the charge that the grand-master and the officers of the order were in

the habit of granting absolution, a strictly priestly prerogative. It

was to confirm the strict view of granting absolution that Alexander

III. provided for the admission of priests to the Military Orders. See

Lea's valuable paper. The Absolution Formula of the Templars. See also

on this subject Finke I. 395-397. Funk, p. 1330, saysder Pabst kam von

jetzt an dem K�nig mehr und mehr entgegen und nachdem er sich von dem

gewaltigsten und r�cksichtsiosigsten F�rsten seiner Zeit hatte ungarnen

lassen, war ein Entkommen aus seiner Gewalt kaum mehr m�glich

[103] These practices have been regarded by Prutz, Loiscleur (La

doctrine secr�te des Templiers, Paris, 1872) and others as a part of a

secret code which came into use in the thirteenth century. But the code

has not been forthcoming and was not referred to in the trials.

Frederick II. declared that the Templars received Mohammedans into

their house at Jerusalem and preferred their religious rites. This

statement must be taken with reserve, in view of Frederick's hostility

to the order for its refusal to help him on his crusade. See M. Paris,

an. 1244.

[104] At the trial before the bishop of Nismes in 1309, out of 32, all

but three denied the charges. At Perpignan, 1310, the whole number, 26,

denied the charges. At Clermont 40 confessed the order guilty, 28

denied its guilt. With such antagonistic testimonies it is difficult,

if at all possible, to decide the question of guilt or innocence.

[105] Per viam provisionis seu ordinationis apostolicae is the language

of the bull, that is, as opposed to de jure or as a punishment for

proven crimes. This bull, Vox clamantis, was found by the Benedictine,

Dr. Gams, in Spain, in 1865. See Hefele-Kn�pfler, VI. 625 sqq. It is

found in Mirbt: Quellen, p. 149 sq. Clement asserts he issued the order

of abolition "not without bitterness and pain of heart," non sine

cordis amaritudine et dolore. Two other bulls on the Templars and the

disposition of their property followed in May.

[106] The wealth of the Templars has been greatly exaggerated. They

were not richer in France than the Hospitallers. About 1300 the

possessions of each of these orders in that country were taxed at 6000

pounds. See D�llinger, p. 267 sq. Thomas Fuller, the English historian,

quaintly says, "Philip would never have taken away the Templars' lives

if he might have taken away their lands without putting them to death.

He could not get the honey without burning the bees." The Spanish

delegation to the Council of Vienne wrote back to the king of Aragon

that the chief concern at the council and with the king in regard to

the Templars was the disposition of their goods, Finke, I. 360, 374.

Finke, I. 111, 115, etc., ascribes a good deal of the animosity against

the order to the revelations made by Esquin de Floyran to Jayme of

Aragon in 1306. But the charges he made were already current in France.

[107] In 1609 the benchers of the Inner and Middle Temple received the

buildings for a small annual payment to the Crown, into whose

possession they had passed under Henry VIII.

[108] Dante and Villani agree that the Templars were innocent. In this

judgment most modern historians concur. Funk declares the sentence of

innocence to be "without question the right one," p. 1341. D�llinger,

with great emphasis, insists that nowhere did a Templar make a

confession of guilt except under torture, p. 257. More recently, 1907,

Finke (I. p. ix. 326 sq. 337) insists upon their innocence and the

untrustworthiness of the confessions made by the Templars. He declares

that he who advocates their guilt must accept the appearances of the

devil as a tom-cat. Prutz, in his earlier works, decided for their

guilt. Schottm�ller, D�llinger, Funk, and our own Dr. Lea strongly

favor their innocence. Ranke: Univ. Hist., VIII. 622, wavers and

ascribes to them the doctrinal standpoint of Frederick II. and Manfred.

In France, Michelet was against the order; Michaud, Guizot, Renan and

Boutaric for it. Hallam: Middle Ages, I. 142-146, is undecided.

[109] See D�llinger, p. 255, and Gregorovius. Lea gives as excuse for

the length at which he treats the trial and fate of the unfortunate

knights, their helplessness before the Inquisition.

[110] Ehrle,Archiv f�r Lit. und Kirchengesch. IV. 361-470, published a

fragmentary report which he discovered in the National Library in

Paris. For the best account of the proceedings, see Hefele-Kn�pfler,

VI. 514-554.

[111] Haller, p. 46 sqq.

[112] Ehrle, V. 139 sq.

[113] Ehrle, p. 147, calculates that Clement's yearly income was

between 200,000 and 250,000 gold florins, and that of this amount he

spent 100,000 for the expenses of his court and saved the remainder,

100,000 or 160,000. Ehrle, p. 149, gives Clement's family tree.

[114] Ehrle, pp. 126, 135.

[115] Clement's grave is reported to have been opened and looted by the

Calvinists in 1568 or 1577. See Ehrle, p. 139.

[116] Finke: Aus den Tagen Bon. VIII., p. Ixxxviii.

[117] Chronicle, IX. 59. Villani tells the story that at the death of

one of Clement's nephews, a cardinal, Clement, in his desire to see

him, consulted a necromancer. The master of the dark arts had one of

the pope's chaplains conducted by demons to hell, where he was shown a

palace, and in it the nephew's soul laid on a bed of glowing fire, and

near by a place reserved for the pope himself. He also relates that the

coffin, in which Clement was laid, was burnt, and with it the pope's

body up to the waist.

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� 7. The Pontificate of John XXII 1316-1334.

Clement died April 20, 1314. The cardinals met at Carpentras and then

at Lyons, and after an interregnum of twenty seven months elected John

XXII., 1316-1334, to the papal throne. He was then seventy-two, and

cardinal-bishop of Porto. [118] Dante had written to the conclave

begging that it elect an Italian pope, but the French influence was

irresistible.

Said to be the son of a cobbler of Cahors, short of stature, [119] with

a squeaking voice, industrious and pedantic, John was, upon the whole,

the most conspicuous figure among the popes of the fourteenth century,

though not the most able or worthy one. He was a man of restless

disposition, and kept the papal court in constant commotion. The

Vatican Archives preserve 59 volumes of his bulls and other writings.

He had been a tutor in the house of Anjou, and carried the preceptorial

method into his papal utterances. It was his ambition to be a

theologian as well as pope. He solemnly promised the Italian faction in

the curia never to mount an ass except to start on the road to Rome.

But he never left Avignon. His devotion to France was shown at the very

beginning of his reign in the appointment of eight cardinals, of whom

seven were Frenchmen.

The four notable features of John's pontificate are his quarrel with

the German emperor, Lewis the Bavarian, his condemnation of the rigid

party of the Franciscans, his own doctrinal heresy, and his cupidity

for gold.

The struggle with Lewis the Bavarian was a little afterplay compared

with the imposing conflicts between the Hohenstaufen and the notable

popes of preceding centuries. Europe looked on with slight interest at

the long-protracted dispute, which was more adapted to show the

petulance and weakness of both emperor and pope than to settle

permanently any great principle. At Henry VII.'s death, 1313, five of

the electors gave their votes for Lewis of the house of Wittelsbach,

and two for Frederick of Hapsburg. Both appealed to the new pope, about

to be elected. Frederick was crowned by the archbishop of Treves at

Bonn, and Lewis by the archbishop of Mainz at Aachen. In 1317 John

declared that the pope was the lawful vicar of the empire so long as

the throne was vacant, and denied Lewis recognition as king of the

Romans on the ground of his having neglected to submit his election to

him.

The battle at M�hldorf, 1322, left Frederick a prisoner in his rival's

hands. This turn of affairs forced John to take more decisive action,

and in 1323 was issued against Lewis the first of a wearisome and

repetitious series of complaints and punishments from Avignon. The pope

threatened him with the ban, claiming authority to approve or set aside

an emperor's election. [120] A year later he excommunicated Lewis and

all his supporters.

In answer to this first complaint of 1323, Lewis made a formal

declaration at N�rnberg in the presence of a notary and other witnesses

that he regarded the empire as independent of the pope, charged John

with heresy, and appealed to a general council. The charge of heresy

was based on the pope's treatment of the Spiritual party among the

Franciscans. Condemned by John, prominent Spirituals, Michael of

Cesena, Ockam and Bonagratia, espoused Lewis' cause, took refuge at his

court, and defended him with their pens. The political conflict was

thus complicated by a recondite ecclesiastical problem. In 1324 Lewis

issued a second appeal, written in the chapel of the Teutonic Order in

Sachsenhausen, which again renewed the demand for a general council and

repeated the charge of heresy against the pope.

The next year, 1325, Lewis suffered a severe defeat from Leopold of

Austria, who had entered into a compact to put Charles IV. of France on

the German throne. He went so far as to express his readiness, in the

compact of Ulm, 1326, to surrender the German crown to Frederick,

provided he himself was confirmed in his right to Italy and the

imperial dignity. At this juncture Leopold died.

By papal appointment Robert of Naples was vicar of Rome. But Lewis had

no idea of surrendering his claims to Italy, and, now that he was once

again free by Leopold's death, he marched across the Alps and was

crowned, January 1327, emperor in front of St. Peter's. Sciarra

Colonna, as the representative of the people, placed the crown on his

head, and two bishops administered unction. Villani [121] expresses

indignation at an imperial coronation conducted without the pope's

consent as a thing unheard of. Lewis was the first mediaeval emperor

crowned by the people. A formal trial was instituted, and "James of

Cahors, who calls himself John XXII." was denounced as anti-christ and

deposed from the papal throne and his effigy carried through the

streets and burnt. [122] John of Corbara, belonging to the Spiritual

wing of the Franciscans, was elected to the throne just declared

vacant, and took the name of Nicolas V. He was the first anti-pope

since the days of Barbarossa. Lewis himself placed the crown upon the

pontiff's head, and the bishop of Venice performed the ceremony of

unction. Nicolas surrounded himself with a college of seven cardinals,

and was accused of having forthwith renounced the principles of poverty

and abstemiousness in dress and at the table which the day before he

had advocated.

To these acts of violence John replied by pronouncing Lewis a heretic

and appointing a crusade against him, with the promise of indulgence to

all taking part in it. Fickle Rome soon grew weary of her lay-crowned

emperor, who had been so unwise as to impose an extraordinary tribute

of 10,000 florins each upon the people, the clergy, and the Jews of the

city. He retired to the North, Nicolas following him with his retinue

of cardinals. At Pisa, the emperor being present, the anti-pope

excommunicated John and summoned a general council to Milan. John was

again burnt in effigy, at the cathedral, and condemned to death for

heresy. In 1330 Lewis withdrew from Italy altogether, while Nicolas,

with a cord around his neck, submitted to John. He died in Avignon

three years later. In 1334, John issued a bull which, according to Karl

M�ller, was the rudest act of violence done up to that time to the

German emperor by a pope. [123] This fulmination separated Italy from

the crown and kingdom--imperium et regnum -- of Germany and forbade

their being reunited in one body. The reason given for this drastic

measure was the territorial separation of the two provinces. Thus was

accomplished by a distinct announcement what the diplomacy of Innocent

III. was the first to make a part of the papal policy, and which

figured so prominently in the struggle between Gregory IX. and

Frederick II.

With his constituency completely lost in Italy, and with only an

uncertain support in Germany, Lewis now made overtures for peace. But

the pope was not ready for anything less than a full renunciation of

the imperial power. John died 1334, but the struggle was continued

through the pontificate of his successor, Benedict XII. Philip VI. of

France set himself against Benedict's measures for reconciliation with

Lewis, and in 1337 the emperor made an alliance with England against

France. Princes of Germany, making the rights of the empire their own,

adopted the famous constitution of Rense,--a locality near Mainz, which

was confirmed at the Diet of Frankfurt, 1338. It repudiated the pope's

extravagant temporal claims, and declared that the election of an

emperor by the electors was final, and did not require papal approval.

This was the first representative German assembly to assert the

independence of the empire.

The interdict was hanging over the German assembly when Benedict died,

1342. The battle had gone against Lewis, and his supporters were

well-nigh all gone from him. A submission even more humiliating than

that of Henry IV. was the only thing left. He sought the favor of

Clement VI., but in vain. In a bull of April 12, 1343, Clement

enumerated the emperor's many crimes, and anew ordered him to renounce

the imperial dignity. Lewis wrote, yielding submission, but the

authenticity of the document was questioned at Avignon, probably with

the set purpose of increasing the emperor's humiliation. Harder

conditions were laid down. They were rejected by the diet at Frankfurt,

1344. But Germany was weary, and listened without revulsion to a final

bull against Lewis, 1346, and a summons to the electors to proceed to a

new election. The electors, John of Bohemia among them, chose Charles

IV., John's son. The Bohemian king was the blind warrior who met his

death on the battlefield of Cr�cy the same year. Before his election,

Charles had visited Avignon, and promised full submission to the pope's

demands. His continued complacency during his reign justified the

pope's choice. The struggle was ended with Lewis' death a year later,

1347, while he was engaged near Munich in a bear-hunt. It was the last

conflict of the empire and papacy along the old lines laid down by

those ecclesiastical warriors, Hildebrand and Innocent III. and Gregory

IX.

To return to John XXII., he became a prominent figure in the

controversy within the Franciscan order over the tenure of property, a

controversy which had been going on from the earliest period between

the two parties, the Spirituals, or Observants, and the Conventuals.

The last testament of St. Francis, pleading for the practice of

absolute poverty, and suppressed in Bonaventura's Life of the saint,

1263, was not fully recognized in the bull of Nicolas III., 1279, which

granted the Franciscans the right to use property as tenants, while

forbidding them to hold it in fee simple. With this decision the strict

party, the Spirituals, were not satisfied, and the struggle went on.

Coelestine V. attempted to bring peace by merging the Spiritual wing

with the order of Hermits he had founded, but the measure was without

success.

Under Boniface VIII. matters went hard with the Spirituals. This pope

deposed the general, Raymond Gaufredi, putting in his place John of

Murro, who belonged to the laxer wing. Peter John Olivi (d. 1298),

whose writings were widely circulated, had declared himself in favor of

Nicolas' bull, with the interpretation that the use of property and

goods was to be the "use of necessity,"--usus pauper,--as opposed to

the more liberal use advocated by the Conventuals and called usus

moderatus. Olivi's personal fortunes were typical of the fortunes of

the Spiritual branch. After his death, the attack made against his

memory was, if possible, more determined, and culminated in the charges

preferred at Vienne. Murro adopted violent measures, burning Olivi's

writings, and casting his sympathizers into prison. Other prominent

Spirituals fled. Angelo Clareno found refuge for a time in Greece,

returning to Rome, 1305, under the protection of the Colonna.

The case was formally taken up by Clement V., who called a commission

to Avignon to devise measures to heal the division, and gave the

Spirituals temporary relief from persecution. The proceedings were

protracted till the meeting of the council in Vienne, when the

Conventuals brought up the case in the form of an arraignment of Olivi,

who had come to be regarded almost as a saint. Among the charges were

that he pronounced the usus pauper to be of the essence of the Minorite

rule, that Christ was still living at the time the lance was thrust

into his side, and that the rational soul has not the form of a body.

Olivi's memory was defended by Ubertino da Casale, and the council

passed no sentence upon his person.

In the bull Exivi de paradiso, [124] issued 1813, and famous in the

history of the Franciscan order, Clement seemed to take the side of the

Spirituals. It forbade the order or any of its members to accept

bequests, possess vineyards, sell products from their gardens, build

fine churches, or go to law. It permitted only "the use of necessity,"

usus arctus or pauper, and nothing beyond. The Minorites were to wear

no shoes, ride only in cases of necessity, fast from Nov. 1 until

Christmas, as well as every Friday, and possess a single mantle with a

hood and one without a hood. Clement ordered the new general, Alexander

of Alessandra, to turn over to Olivi's followers the convents of

Narbonne, Carcassonne and B�ziers, but also ordered the Inquisition to

punish the Spirituals who refused submission.

In spite of the papal decree, the controversy was still being carried

on within the order with great heat, when John XXII. came to the

throne. In the decretal Quorumdam exegit, and in the bull Sancta romana

et universalis ecclesia, Dec. 30, 1317, John took a positive position

against the Spirituals. A few weeks later, he condemned a formal list

of their errors and abolished all the convents under Spiritual

management. From this time on dates the application of the name

Fraticelli [125] to the Spirituals. They refused to submit, and took

the position that even a pope had no right to modify the Rule of St.

Francis. Michael of Cesena, the general of the order, defended them.

Sixty-four of their number were summoned to Avignon. Twenty-five

refused to yield, and passed into the hands of the Inquisition. Four

were burnt as martyrs at Marseilles, May 7, 1318. Others fled to

Sicily. [126]

The chief interest of the controversy was now shifted to the strictly

theological question whether Christ and his Apostles observed complete

poverty. This dispute threatened to rend the wing of the Conventuals

itself. Michael of Cesena, Ockam, and others, took the position that

Christ and his Apostles not only held no property as individuals, but

held none in common. John, opposing this view, gave as arguments the

gifts of the Magi, that Christ possessed clothes and bought food, the

purse of Judas, and Paul's labor for a living. In the bull Cum inter

nonnullos, 1323, and other bulls, John declared it heresy to hold that

Christ and the Apostles held no possessions. Those who resisted this

interpretation were pronounced, 1324, rebels and heretics. John went

farther, and gave back to the order the right of possessing goods in

fee simple, a right which Innocent IV. had denied, and he declared that

in things which disappear in the using, such as eatables, no

distinction can be made between their use and their possession. In 1326

John pronounced Olivi's commentary on the Apocalypse heretical. The

three Spiritual leaders, Cesena, Ockam, and Bonagratia were seized and

held in prison until 1328, when they escaped and fled to Lewis the

Bavarian at Pisa. It was at this time that Ockam was said to have used

to the emperor the famous words, "Do thou defend me with the sword and

I will defend thee with the pen"--tu me depfendes gladio, ego te

defendam calamo. They were deposed from their offices and included in

the ban fulminated against the anti-pope, Peter of Corbara. Later,

Cesena submitted to the pope, as Ockam is also said to have done

shortly before his death. Cesena died at Munich, 1342 He committed the

seal of the order to Ockam. On his death-bed he is said to have cried

out: "My God, what have I done? I have appealed against him who is the

highest on the earth. But look, O Father, at the spirit of truth that

is in me which has not erred through the lust of the flesh but from

great zeal for the seraphic order and out of love for poverty."

Bonagratia also died in Munich. [127]

Later in the fourteenth century the Regular Observance grew again to

considerable proportions, and in the beginning of the fifteenth century

its fame was revived by the flaming preachers Bernardino of Siena and

John of Capistrano. The peace of the Franciscan order continued to be

the concern of pope after pope until, in 1517, Leo X. terminated the

struggle of three centuries by formally recognizing two distinct

societies within the Franciscan body. The moderate wing was placed

under the Master-General of the Conventual Minorite Brothers, and was

confirmed in the right to hold property. The strict or Observant wing

was placed under a Minister-General of the Whole Order of St. Francis.

[128] The latter takes precedence in processions and at other great

functions, and holds his office for six years.

If the Spiritual Franciscans had been capable of taking secret delight

in an adversary's misfortunes, they would have had occasion for it in

the widely spread charge that John was a heretic. At any rate, he came

as near being a heretic as a pope can be. His heresy concerned the

nature of the beatific vision after death. In a sermon on All Souls',

1331, he announced that the blessed dead do not see God until the

general resurrection. In at least two more sermons he repeated this

utterance. John, who was much given to theologizing, Ockam declared to

be wholly ignorant in theology. [129] This Schoolman, Cesena, and

others pronounced the view heretical. John imprisoned an English

Dominican who preached against him, and so certain was he of his case

that he sent the Franciscan general, Gerardus Odonis, to Paris to get

the opinion of the university.

The King, Philip VI., took a warm interest in the subject, opposed the

pope, and called a council of theologians at Vincennes to give its

opinion. It decided that ever since the Lord descended into hades and

released souls from that abode, the righteous have at death immediately

entered upon the vision of the divine essence of the Trinity. [130]

Among the supporters of this decision was Nicolas of Lyra. When

official announcement of the decision reached the pope, he summoned a

council at Avignon and set before it passages from the Fathers for and

against his view. They sat for five days, in December, 1333. John then

made a public announcement, which was communicated to the king and

queen of France, that he had not intended to say anything in conflict

with the Fathers and the orthodox Church and, if he had done so, he

retracted his utterances.

The question was authoritatively settled by Benedict XII. in the bull

Benedictus deus, 1336, which declared that the blessed dead--saints,

the Apostles, virgins, martyrs, confessors who need no purgatorial

cleansing--are, after death and before the resurrection of their bodies

at the general judgment, with Christ and the angels, and that they

behold the divine essence with naked vision. [131] Benedict declared

that John died while he was preparing a decision.

The financial policy of John XXII. and his successors merits a chapter

by itself. Here reference may be made to John's private fortune. He has

had the questionable fame of not only having amassed a larger sum than

any of his predecessors, but of having died possessed of fabulous

wealth. Gregorovius calls him the Midas of Avignon. According to

Villani, he left behind him 18,000,000 gold florins and 7,000,000

florins' worth of jewels and ornaments, in all 25,000,000 florins, or

$60,000,000 of our present coinage. This chronicler concludes with the

remark that the words were no longer remembered which the Good Man in

the Gospels spake to his disciples, "Lay up for yourselves treasure in

heaven." [132] Recent investigations seem to cast suspicion upon this

long-held view as an exaggeration. John's hoard may have amounted to

not more than 750,000 florins, or $2,000,000 [133] of our money. If

this be a safe estimate, it is still true that John was a shrewd

financier and perhaps the richest man in Europe.

When John died he was ninety years old.

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[118] Villani, IX: 81, gives the suspicious report that the cardinals,

weary of their inability to make a choice, left it to John. Following

the advice of Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, he grasped his supreme chance

and elected himself. He was crowned at Lyons.

[119] Villani's statement that he was the son of a cobbler is doubted.

Ferretus of Vicenza says he was "small like Zaccheus."

[120] See M�ller: Kampf Ludwigs, etc., I. 61 sqq. Examinatio,

approbatio ac admonitio, repulsio quoque et reprobatio.

[121] X. 55.

[122] The grounds on which John was deposed were his decisions against

the Spirituals, the use of money and ships, intended for a crusade, to

reduce Genoa, appropriation of the right of appointment to clerical

offices, and his residence away from Rome. The document is found in

Muratori, XIV., 1167-1173. For a vivid description of the enthronement

and character of John of Corbara, see Gregorovius, VI. 153 sqq.

[123] 336 sqq., 376 sqq., 406.

[124] It is uncertain whether this bull was made a part of the

proceedings of the Oecumenical Council of Vienne. See Hefele, VI. 550,

who decides for it, and Ehrle, Archiv, 1885, p. 540 sqq.

[125] Hefele, VI. 581. Ehrle: Die Spiritualen in Archiv, 1885, pp.

509-514.

[126] Ehrle: Archiv, pp. 156-158. He adduces acts of Inquisition

against the Spirituals in Umbria, in the vicinity of Assisi, as late as

1341.

[127] See Riezler, p. 124.

[128] Magister-generalis fratrum minorum conventualium and

minister-generalis totius ordinis S. Francesci. The Capuchins, who are

Franciscans, were recognized as a distinct order by Paul V., 1619.

Among the other schismatic Franciscan orders are the Recollect Fathers

of France, who proceeded from the Recollect Convent of Nevers, and were

recognized as a special body by Clement VIII., 1602. These monks were

prominent in mission work among the Indians in North America.

[129] In facultate theologiae omnino fait ignarus. See M�ller: Kampf,

etc., I. 24, note.

[130] Mansi, XXV. 982-984.

[131] Divinam essentiam immediate, se bene et clare et aperte illis

ostendentem. Mansi, XXV. 986.

[132] XI. 20. Another writer, Galvaneus de La Flamma, Muratori, XII.

1009 (quoted by Haller, Papsttum, p. 104), says, John left 22,000,000

florins besides other "unrecorded treasure." This writer adds, the

world did not have a richer Christian in it than John XXII.

[133] This is the figure reached by Ehrle, Die 25 Millionen im Schatz

Johann XXII., Archiv, 1889, pp. 155-166. It is based upon the contents

of 15 coffers, opened in the year 1342 at the death of Benedict XII.

These coffers contained John's treasure, and at that time yielded

750,000 florins. But it is manifestly uncertain how far John's savings

had been reduced by Benedict, or whether these coffers were all that

were left by John. For example, at his consecration, Benedict gave

100,000 florins to his cardinals, and 150,000 to the churches at Rome,

and it is quite likely he drew upon John's hoard. The gold mitres,

rings, and other ornaments which John's thrift amassed, were stored in

other chests. Villani got his report from his brother, a Florentine

banker in the employ of the curia at Avignon. It is difficult to

understand how, in making his statement, he should have gone so wide of

the truth as Ehrle suggests.

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� 8. The Papal Office Assailed.

To the pontificate of John XXII. belongs a second group of literary

assailants of the papacy. Going beyond Dante and John of Paris, they

attacked the pope's spiritual functions. Their assaults were called

forth by the conflict with Lewis the Bavarian and the controversy with

the Franciscan Spirituals. Lewis' court became a veritable nest of

antipapal agitation and the headquarters of pamphleteering. Marsiglius

of Padua was the cleverest and boldest of these writers, Ockam--a

Schoolman rather than a practical thinker--the most copious. Michael of

Cesena [134] and Bonagratia also made contributions to this literature.

Ockam sets forth his views in two works, The Dialogue and the Eight

Questions. The former is ponderous in thought and a monster in size.

[135] It is difficult, if at times possible, to detect the author's

views in the mass of cumbersome disputation. These views seem to be as

follows: The papacy is not an institution which is essential to the

being of the Church. Conditions arise to make it necessary to establish

national churches. [136] The pope is not infallible. Even a legitimate

pope may hold to heresy. So it was with Peter, who was judaizing, and

had to be rebuked by Paul, Liberius, who was an Arian, and Leo, who was

arraigned for false doctrine by Hilary of Poictiers. Sylvester II. made

a compact with the devil. One or the other, Nicolas III. or John XXII.,

was a heretic, for the one contradicted the other. A general council

may err just as popes have erred. So did the second Council of Lyons

and the Council of Vienne, which condemned the true Minorites. The pope

may be pronounced a heretic by a council or, if a council fails in its

duty, the cardinals may pronounce the decision. In case the cardinals

fail, the right to do so belongs to the temporal prince. Christ did not

commit the faith to the pope and the hierarchy, but to the Church, and

somewhere within the Church the truth is always held and preserved.

Temporal power did not originally belong to the pope. This is proved by

Constantine's donation, for what Constantine gave, he gave for the

first time. Supreme power in temporal and spiritual things is not in a

single hand. The emperor has full power by virtue of his election, and

does not depend for it upon unction or coronation by the pope or any

earthly confirmation of any kind.

More distinct and advanced were the utterances of Marsiglius of Padua.

His writings abound in incisive thrusts against the prevailing

ecclesiastical system, and lay down the principles of a new order. In

the preparation of his chief work, the Defence of the Faith,--Defensor

pacis,--he had the help of John of Jandun. [137] Both writers were

clerics, but neither of them monks. Born about 1270 in Padua,

Marsiglius devoted himself to the study of medicine, and in 1312 was

rector of the University of Paris. In 1325 or 1326 he betook himself to

the court of Lewis the Bavarian. The reasons are left to surmisal. He

acted as the emperor's physician. In 1328 he accompanied the emperor to

Rome, and showed full sympathy with the measures taken to establish the

emperor's authority. He joined in the ceremonies of the emperor's

coronation, the deposition of John XXII. and the elevation of the

anti-pope, Peter of Corbara. The pope had already denounced Marsiglius

and John of Jandun [138] as "sons of perdition, the sons of Belial,

those pestiferous individuals, beasts from the abyss," and summoned the

Romans to make them prisoners. Marsiglius was made vicar of Rome by the

emperor, and remained true to the principles stated in his tract, even

when the emperor became a suppliant to the Avignon court. Lewis even

went so far as to express to John XXII. his readiness to withdraw his

protection from Marsiglius and the leaders of the Spirituals. Later,

when his position was more hopeful, he changed his attitude and gave

them his protection at Munich. But again, in his letter submitting

himself to Clement VI., 1343, the emperor denied holding the errors

charged against Marsiglius and John, and declared his object in

retaining them at his court had been to lead them back to the Church.

The Paduan died before 1343. [139]

The personal fortunes of Marsiglius are of small historical concern

compared with his book, which he dedicated to the emperor. The volume,

which was written in two months, [140] was as audacious as any of the

earlier writings of Luther. For originality and boldness of statement

the Middle Ages has nothing superior to offer. To it may be compared in

modern times Janus' attack on the doctrine of papal infallibility at

the time of the Vatican Council. [141] Its Scriptural radicalism was in

itself a literary sensation.

In condemning the work, John XXII., 1327, pronounced as contrary "to

apostolic truth and all law" its statements that Christ paid the stater

to the Roman government as a matter of obligation, that Christ did not

appoint a vicar, that an emperor has the right to depose a pope, and

that the orders of the hierarchy are not of primitive origin.

Marsiglius had not spared epithets in dealing with John, whom he called

"the great dragon, the old serpent." Clement VI. found no less than 240

heretical clauses in the book, and declared that he had never read a

worse heretic than Marsiglius. The papal condemnations were reproduced

by the University of Paris, which singled out for reprobation the

statements that Peter is not the head of the Church, that the pope may

be deposed, and that he has no right to inflict punishments without the

emperor's consent. [142]

The Defensor pacis was a manifesto against the spiritual as well as the

temporal assumptions of the papacy and against the whole hierarchical

organization of the Church. Its title is shrewdly chosen in view of the

strifes between cities and states going on at the time the book was

written, and due, as it claimed, to papal ambition and interference.

The peace of the Christian world would never be established so long as

the pope's false claims were accepted. The main positions are the

following: [143] --

The state, which was developed out of the family, exists that men may

live well and peaceably. The people themselves are the source of

authority, and confer the right to exercise it upon the ruler whom they

select. The functions of the priesthood are spiritual and educational.

Clerics are called upon to teach and to warn. In all matters of civil

misdemeanor they are responsible to the civil officer as other men are.

They should follow their Master by self-denial. As St. Bernard said,

the pope needs no wealth or outward display to be a true successor of

Peter.

The function of binding and loosing is a declarative, not a judicial,

function. To God alone belongs the power to forgive sins and to punish.

No bishop or priest has a right to excommunicate or interdict

individual freedom without the consent of the people or its

representative, the civil legislator. The power to inflict punishments

inheres in the congregation "of the faithful"--fidelium. Christ said,

"if thy brother offend against thee, tell it to the Church." He did not

say, tell it to the priest. Heresy may be detected as heresy by the

priest, but punishment for heresy belongs to the civil official and is

determined upon the basis of the injury likely to be done by the

offence to society. According to the teaching of the Scriptures, no one

can be compelled by temporal punishment and death to observe the

precepts of the divine law. [144]

General councils are the supreme representatives of the Christian body,

but even councils may err. In them laymen should sit as well as

clerics. Councils alone have the right to canonize saints.

As for the pope, he is the head of the Church, not by divine

appointment, but only as he is recognized by the state. The claim he

makes to fulness of power, plenitudo potestatis, contradicts the true

nature of the Church. To Peter was committed no greater authority than

was committed to the other Apostles. [145] Peter can be called the

Prince of the Apostles only on the ground that he was older than the

rest or more steadfast than they. He was the bishop of Antioch, not the

founder of the Roman bishopric. Nor is his presence in Rome susceptible

of proof. The pre-eminence of the bishop of Rome depends upon the

location of his see at the capital of the empire. As for sacerdotal

power, the pope has no more of it than any other cleric, as Peter-had

no more of it than the other Apostles. [146]

The grades of the hierarchy are of human origin. Bishops and priests

were originally equal. Bishops derive their authority immediately from

Christ.

False is the pope's claim to jurisdiction over princes and nations, a

claim which was the fruitful source of national strifes and wars,

especially in Italy. If necessary, the emperor may depose a pope. This

is proved by the judgment passed by Pilate upon Christ. The state may,

for proper reasons, limit the number of clerics. The validity of

Constantine's donation Marsiglius rejected, as Dante and John of Paris

had done before, but he did not surmise that the Isidorean decretals

were an unblushing forgery, a discovery left for Laurentius Valla to

make a hundred years later.

As for the Scriptures, Marsiglius declares them to be the ultimate

source of authority. They do not derive that authority from the Church.

The Church gets its authority from them. In cases of disputed

interpretation, it is for a general council to settle what the true

meaning of Scripture is. [147] Obedience to papal decretals is not a

condition of salvation. If that were so, how is it that Clement V.

could make the bull Unam sanctam inoperative for France and its king?

Did not that bull declare that submission to the pope is for every

creature a condition of salvation! Can a pope set aside a condition of

salvation? The case of Liberius proves that popes may be heretics. As

for the qualifications of bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs, not one

in ten of them is a doctor of theology. Many of the lower clergy are

not even acquainted with grammar. Cardinals and popes are chosen not

from the ranks of theologians, but lawyers, causidici. Youngsters are

made cardinals who love pleasure and are ignorant in studies.

Marsiglius quotes repeatedly such passages as "My kingdom is not of

this world," John 18:36, and "Render unto Caesar the things which are

Caesar's and to God the things which are God's," Matt. 22:21. These

passages and others, such as John 6:15, 19:11, Luke 12:14, Matt. 17:27,

Rom. 13, he opposes to texts which were falsely interpreted to the

advantage of the hierarchy, such as Matt. 16:19, Luke 22:38, John

21:15-17.

If we overlook his doctrine of the supremacy of the state over the

Church, the Paduan's views correspond closely with those held in

Protestant Christendom to-day. Christ, he said, excluded his Apostles,

disciples, and bishops or presbyters from all earthly dominion, both by

his example and his words. [148] The abiding principles of the Defensor

are the final authority of the Scriptures, the parity of the priesthood

and its obligation to civil law, the human origin of the papacy, the

exclusively spiritual nature of priestly functions, and the body of

Christian people in the state or Church as the ultimate source of

authority on earth.

Marsiglius has been called by Catholic historians the forerunner of

Luther and Calvin. [149] He has also been called by one of them the

"exciting genius of modern revolution." [150] Both of these statements

are not without truth. His programme was not a scheme of reform. It was

a proclamation of complete change such as the sixteenth century

witnessed. A note in a Turin manuscript represents Gerson as saying

that the book is wonderfully well grounded and that the author was most

expert in Aristotle and also in theology, and went to the roots of

things. [151]

The tractarian of Padua and Thomas Aquinas were only 50 years apart.

But the difference between the searching epigrams of the one and the

slow, orderly argument of the other is as wide as the East is from the

West, the directness of modern thought from the cumbersome method of

mediaeval scholasticism. It never occurred to Thomas Aquinas to think

out beyond the narrow enclosure of Scripture interpretation built up by

other Schoolmen and mediaeval popes. He buttressed up the regime he

found realized before him. He used the old misinterpretations of

Scripture and produced no new idea on government. Marsiglius,

independent of the despotism of ecclesiastical dogma, went back to the

free and elastic principles of the Apostolic Church government. He

broke the moulds in which the ecclesiastical thinking of centuries had

been cast, and departed from Augustine in claiming for heretics a

rational and humane treatment. The time may yet come when the Italian

people will follow him as the herald of a still better order than that

which they have, and set aside the sacerdotal theory of the Christian

ministry as an invention of man. [152]

Germany furnished a strong advocate of the independent rights of the

emperor, in Lupold of Bebenburg, who died in 1363. He remained dean of

W�rzburg until he was made bishop of Bamberg in 1353. But he did not

attack the spiritual jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. Lupold's chief

work was The Rights of the Kingdom and Empire--de juribus regni et

imperii,--written after the declarations of Rense. It has been called

the oldest attempt at a theory of the rights of the German state. [153]

Lupold appeals to the events of history.

In defining the rights of the empire, this author asserts that an

election is consummated by the majority of the electors and that the

emperor does not stand in need of confirmation by the pope. He holds

his authority independently from God. Charlemagne exercised imperial

functions before he was anointed and crowned by Leo. The oath the

emperor takes to the pope is not the oath of fealty such as a vassal

renders, but a promise to protect him and the Church. The pope has no

authority to depose the emperor. His only prerogative is to announce

that he is worthy of deposition. The right to depose belongs to the

electors. As for Constantine's donation, it is plain Constantine did

not confer the rule of the West upon the bishop of Rome, for

Constantine divided both the West and the East among his sons. Later,

Theodosius and other emperors exercised dominion in Rome. The notice of

Constantine's alleged gift to Sylvester has come through the records of

Sylvester and has the appearance of being apocryphal.

The papal assailants did not have the field all to themselves. The

papacy also had vigorous literary champions. Chief among them were

Augustinus Triumphus and Alvarus Pelagius. [154] The first dedicated

his leading work to John XXII., and the second wrote at the pope's

command. The modern reader will find in these tracts the crassest

exposition of the extreme claims of the papacy, satisfying to the most

enthusiastic ultramontane, but calling for apology from sober Catholic

historians. [155]

Triumphus, an Italian, born in Ancona, 1243, made archbishop of

Nazareth and died at Naples, 1328, was a zealous advocate of Boniface

VIII. His leading treatise, The Power of the Church,--Summa de

potestate ecclesiastica,--vindicates John XXII. for his decision on the

question of evangelical poverty and for his opposition to the emperor's

dominion in Italy. [156] The pope has unrestricted power on the earth.

It is so vast that even he himself cannot know fully what he is able to

do. [157] His judgment is the judgment of God. Their tribunals are one.

[158] His power of granting indulgences is so great that, if he so

wished, he could empty purgatory of its denizens provided that

conditions were complied with. [159]

In spiritual matters he may err, because he remains a man, and when he

holds to heresy, he ceases to be pope. Council cannot depose him nor

any other human tribunal, for the pope is above all and can be judged

by none. But, being a heretic, he ceases, ipso facto, to be pope, and

the condition then is as it would be after one pope is dead and his

successor not yet elected.

The pope himself may choose an emperor, if he so please, and may

withdraw the right of election from the electors or depose them from

office. As vicar of God, he is above all kings and princes.

The Spanish Franciscan, Alvarus Pelagius, was not always as extravagant

as his Augustinian contemporary. [160] He was professor of law at

Perugia. He fled from Rome at the approach of Lewis the Bavarian, 1328,

was then appointed papal penitentiary at Avignon, and later bishop of

the Portuguese diocese of Silves. His Lament over the Church,--de

planctu ecclesiae, [161] -- while exalting the pope to the skies,

bewails the low spiritual estate into which the clergy and the Church

had fallen. Christendom, he argues, which is but one kingdom, can have

but one head, the pope. Whoever does not accept him as the head does

not accept Christ. And whosoever, with pure and believing eye, sees the

pope, sees Christ himself. [162] Without communion with the pope there

is no salvation. He wields both swords as Christ did, and in him the

passage of Jer. 1:10 is fulfilled, "I have this day set thee over the

nations and over the kingdoms to pluck up and to break down, to destroy

and to overthrow, to build and to plant." Unbelievers, also, Alvarus

asserts to be legally under the pope's jurisdiction, though they may

not be so in fact, and the pope may proceed against them as God did

against the Sodomites. Idolaters, Jews, and Saracens are alike amenable

to the pope's authority and subject to his punishments. He rules,

orders, disposes and judges all things as he pleases. His will is

highest wisdom, and what he pleases to do has the force of law. [163]

Wherever the supreme pontiff is, there is the Roman Church, and he

cannot be compelled to remain in Rome. [164] He is the source of all

law and may decide what is the right. To doubt this means exclusion

from life eternal.

As the vicar of Christ, the pope is supreme over the state. He confers

the sword which the prince wields. As the body is subject to the soul,

so princes are subject to the pope. Constantine's donation made the

pope, in fact, monarch over the Occident. He transferred the empire to

Charlemagne in trust. The emperor's oath is an oath of fealty and

homage.

The views of Augustinus Triumphus and Alvarus followed the papal

assertion and practice of centuries, and the assent or argument of the

Schoolmen. Marsiglius had the sanction of Scripture rationally

interpreted, and his views were confirmed by the experiences of

history. After the lapse of nearly 500 years, opinion in Christendom

remains divided, and the most extravagant language of Triumphus and

Alvarus is applauded, and Marsiglius, the exponent of modern liberty

and of the historical sense of Scripture, continues to be treated as a

heretic.

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[134] Riezler, p. 247 sq. Three of these writings are in Goldast's

Monarchia II., 1236 sqq. Riezler's work, Die literarischen Widersacher

der P�pste is the best treatment of the subject of this chapter.

[135] The Dialogue, which is printed in Goldast, is called by Riezler

an almost unreadable monster, ein kaum �bersehbares Monstrum

[136] Quod non est necesse, ut sub Christo sit unus rector totius

ecclesiae sed sufficit quod sint plures diversas regentes provincias.

Quoted by Haller, p. 80.

[137] M�ller, I. 368, upon the basis of a note in a MS. copy in Vienna,

places its composition before June 24, 1324; Riezler between 1324-1326.

John of Jandun's name is associated with the composition of the book in

the papal bulls. However, the first person singular, ego, is used

throughout. According to Innocent VI., Marsiglius was much influenced

by Ockam, then the leading teacher in France. This is inherently

probable from their personal association in Paris and at the emperor's

court and the community of many of their views. See Haller, p. 78. John

of Jandun died probably 1328. See Riezler, p. 56.

[138] See the bull of Oct. 23, 1327, Mirbt, Quellen, p. 152.

[139] In that year Clement spoke of Marsiglius as dead, Riezler, p.

122. With Ockam, Marsiglius defended the marriage of Lewis' son to

Margaret of Maultasch, in spite of the parties being within the bounds

of consanguinity forbidden by the Church. His defence is found in

Goldast, II. 1383-1391. For Ockam's tract, see Riezler, p. 254.

[140] Riezler, p. 36. It contains 150 folio pages in Goldast. Riezler,

193 sq., gives a list of MS. copies. Several French translations

appeared. Gregory XI. in 1376 complained of one of them. An Italian

translation of 1363 is found in a MS. at Florence, Engl. Hist. Rev.,

1905, p. 302. The work was translated into English under the title The

Defence of Peace translated out of Latin into English by Wyllyam

Marshall, London, R. Wyer, 1535.

[141] Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, II. 755, says: Unerh�rt in der christlichen

Welt waren die k�hnen Behauptungen die sie zu Gunsten ihres Besch�tzers

aufstellten. Pastor, I. 85, says that Marsiglius' theory of the

omnipotence of the state cut at the root of all individual and Church

liberty and surpassed in boldness, novelty, and keenness all the

attacks which the position claimed by the Church in the world had been

called upon to resist up to that time.

[142] Chartul. Univ. Paris., II. 301.

[143] Mirbt: Quellen, pp. 150-152, presents a convenient summary of

Part III. of the Defensor. In this part a resum� is given by the author

of the preceding portion of the work. Marsiglius quotes Aristotle and

other classic writers, Augustine and other Fathers, Hugo of St. Victor

and other Schoolmen, but he ignores Thomas Aquinas, and never even

mentions his name.

[144] Ad observanda praecepta divinae legis poena vel supplicio

temporali nemo evangelica scriptura compelli praecipitur, Part III. 3.

[145] Nullam potestatem eoque minus coactivam jurisdictionem habuit

Petrus a Deo immediate super apostolos reliquos, II. 15. This is

repeated again and again.

[146] Non plus sacerdotalis auctoritatis essentialis habet Rom.

episcopus, quam alter sacerdos quilibet sicut neque beatus Petrus

amplius ex hac habuit ceteris apostolis, II. 14.

[147] Interpretatio ex communi concilio fidelium facta, etc., Part III.

1.

[148] Exclusit se ipsum et app. ac discipulos etiam suos ipsorumque

successores, consequenter episcopos seu presbyteros, ab omni principatu

seu mundano regimine exemplo et sermone, II. 4.

[149] D�llinger: Kirchengesch. II. 259, 2d ed., 1843, says, "In the

Defensor the Calvinistic system was in respect to Church power and

constitution, already marked out." Pastor, 1. 85, says, "If Calvin

depended upon any of his predecessors for his principles of Church

government, it was upon the keen writer of the fourteenth century."

[150] Pastor, I. 84, shifts this notoriety from Huss to Marsiglius.

Riezler, p. 232, and Haller, p. 77, compare Marsiglius' keenness of

intellect with the Reformers', but deny to him their religious warmth.

[151] Est liber mirabiliter bene fundatus. Et fuit homo multum peritus

in doctrina Aristoteleia, etc., Enyl. Hist. Rev. p. 298. The Turin MS.

dates from 1416, that is, contemporary with Gerson. In this MS, John of

Paris' De potestate is bound up with the Defensor.

[152] Compared with Wyclif, a pamphleteer as keen as he, Marsiglius did

not enter into the merits of distinctly theological doctrine nor see

the deep connection between the dogma of transubstantiation and

sacramental penance and papal tyranny as the English reformer did. But

so far as questions of government are concerned, he went as far as

Wyclif or farther. See the comparison, as elaborated by Poole, p. 275.

[153] Der �lteste Versuch einer Theorie des deutschen Staatsrechts,

Riezler, p. 180. Two other works by Lupold have come down to us. See

Riezler, pp. 180-192.

[154] For the papal tracts by Petrus de Palude and Konrad of Megenberg,

d. 1374, see Riezler, p. 287 sqq. The works are still unpublished.

Konrad's Planctus ecclesiae is addressed to Benedict in these lines,

which make the pope out to be the summit of the earth, the wonder of

the world, the doorkeeper of heaven, a treasury of delights, the only

sun for the world. "Flos et apex mundi, qui totius esse rotundi Nectare

dulcorum conditus aromate morum Orbis papa stupor, clausor coeli et

reserator, Tu sidus clarum, thesaurus deliciarum Sedes sancta polus, tu

mundo sol modo solus."

[155] Pastor, I. 85. Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, II. 757, complains that these

two authors push matters beyond the limits of truth, "making the pope a

semi-god, the absolute ruler of the world." See Haller, p. 82 sq.

Haller says it is a common thing among the common people in Italy for a

devout man to call the pope a god upon earth, un Dio in terra. One of

the smaller tracts already referred to is printed by Finke in Aus den

Tagen, etc., LXIX-XCIX, and three others by Scholz, Publizistik, pp.

486-516. See Scholz's criticism, pp. 172-189. Finke, p. 250, is in

doubt about the authorship.

[156] For edd. of Triumphus' tract, see Potthast, Bibl. Hist. under

Triumphus. Riezler, p. 286, dates the tract 1324-1328, Haller, p. 83,

1322, Scholz, p. 172, 1320. See Poole, 252 sq.

[157] Nec credo,quod papa possit scire totum quod potest facere per

potentiam suam, 32. 3, quoted by D�llinger, Papstthum, p. 433.

[158] This famous passage runs sententia papae sententia Dei una

sententia est, quia unum consistorium est ipsius papal et ipsius Dei

... cujus consistorii claviger et ostiarius est ipse papa. See Schwab,

Gerson, p. 24.

[159] Totum purgatorium evacuare potest, 3. 28. D�llinger, p. 451, says

of Triumphus' tract that on almost every page the Church is represented

as a dwarf with the head of a giant, that is, the pope.

[160] He incorporated into his work entire sections from James of

Viterbo, De regimine christiano, Scholz, p. 151.

[161] D�llinger, p. 433, places its composition in 1329, Riezler, 1331,

Haller, between 1330-1332. Alvaras issued three editions, the third at

Santiago, 1340.

[162] Vere papa representat Christum in terris, ut qui videt cum oculo

contemplativo et fideli videat et Christum, I. 13.

[163] Apud eum est pro ratione roluntas, et quod ei placet legis habet

viogorem, I. 45.

[164] Unum est consistonum et tribunal Christi et papae, I. 29.

Ubicunque est papa, ibi est Eccles. Rom .... Non cogitur stare Romae,

I. 31.

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� 9. The Financial Policy of the Avignon Popes.

The most notable feature of the Avignon period of the papacy, next to

its subserviency to France, was the development of the papal financial

system and the unscrupulous traffic which it plied in spiritual

benefits and ecclesiastical offices. The theory was put into practice

that every spiritual favor has its price in money. It was John XXII.'s

achievement to reduce the taxation of Christendom to a finely organized

system.

The papal court had a proper claim for financial support on all parts

of the Latin Church, for it ministered to all. This just claim gave way

to a practice which made it seem as if Christendom existed to sustain

the papal establishment in a state of luxury and ease. Avignon took on

the aspect of an exchange whose chief business was getting money, a

vast bureau where privileges, labelled as of heavenly efficacy, were

sold for gold. Its machinery for collecting moneys was more extensive

and intricate than the machinery of any secular court of the age. To

contemporaries, commercial transactions at the central seat of

Christendom seemed much more at home than services of religious

devotion.

The mind of John XXII. ran naturally to the counting-house and ledger

system. [165] He came from Cahors, the town noted for its brokers and

bankers. Under his favor the seeds of commercialism in the dispensation

of papal appointments sown in preceding centuries grew to ripe

fruitage. Simony was an old sin. Gregory VII. fought against it. John

legalized its practice.

Freewill offerings and Peter's pence had been made to popes from of

old. States, held as fiefs of the papal chair, had paid fixed tribute.

For the expenses of the crusades, Innocent III. had inaugurated the

system of taxing the entire Church. The receipts from this source

developed the love of money at the papal court and showed its power,

and, no matter how abstemious a pope might be in his own habits, greed

grew like a weed in his ecclesiastical household. St. Bernard, d. 1153,

complained bitterly of the cupidity of the Romans, who made every

possible monetary gain out of the spiritual favors of which the Vatican

was the dispenser. By indulgence, this appetite became more and more

exacting, and under John and his successors the exploitation of

Christendom was reduced by the curia to a fine art.

The theory of ecclesiastical appointments, held in the Avignon period,

was that, by reason of the fulness of power which resides in the

Apostolic See, the pope may dispense all the dignities and benefices of

the Christian world. The pope is absolute in his own house, that is,

the Church.

This principle had received its full statement from Clement IV., 1265.

[166] Clement's bull declared that the supreme pontiff is superior to

any customs which were in vogue of filling Church offices and

conflicted with his prerogative. In particular he made it a law that

all offices, dignities, and benefices were subject to papal appointment

which became vacant apud sedem apostolicam or in curia, that is, while

the holders were visiting the papal court. This law was modified by

Gregory X. at the Council of Lyons, 1274, in such a way as to restore

the right of election, provided the pope failed to make an appointment

within a month. [167] Boniface VIII., 1295, again extended the

enactment by putting in the pope's hands all livings whose occupants

died within two days' journey of the curia, wherever it might at the

time be. [168] Innocent IV. was the first pope to exercise the right of

reservation or collation on a large scale. In 1248, out of 20 places in

the cathedral of Constance, 17 were occupied by papal appointees, and

there were 14 "expectants" under appointment in advance of the deaths

of the occupants. In 1255, Alexander IV. limited the number of such

expectants to 4 for each church. In 1265, Clement IV forbade all

elections in England in the usual way until his commands were complied

with, and reserved them to himself. The same pontiff, on the pretext of

disturbances going on in Sicily, made a general reservation of all

appointments in the realm, otherwise subject to episcopal or capitular

choice. Urban IV. withdrew the right of election from the Ghibelline

cities of Lombardy; Martin IV. and Honorius IV. applied the same rule

to the cathedral appointments of Sicily and Aragon; Honorius IV.

monopolized all the appointments of the Latin Church in the East; and

Boniface VIII., in view of Philip IV.'s resistance, reserved to himself

the appointments to all "cathedral and regular churches" in France. Of

16 French sees which became vacant, 1295-1301, only one was filled in

the usual way by election. [169]

With the haughty assumption of Clement IV.'s bull and the practice of

later popes, papal writers fell in. Augustinus Triumphus, writing in

1324, asserted that the pope is above all canon law and has the right

to dispose of all ecclesiastical places. [170] The papal system of

appointments included provisions, expectances, and reservations. [171]

In setting aside the vested rights of chapters and other electors, the

pope often joined hands with kings and princes. In the Avignon period a

regular election by a chapter was the exception. [172] The Chronicles

of England and France teem with usurped cases of papal appointment. In

1322 the pope reserved to himself all the appointments in episcopal,

cathedral, and abbey churches, and of all priors in the sees of

Aquileja, Ravenna, Milan, Genoa, and Pisa. [173] In 1329 he made such

reservation for the German dioceses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and in

1339 for Cologne. [174] There was no living in Latin Christendom which

was safe from the pope's hands. There were not places enough to satisfy

all the favorites of the papal household and the applicants pressed

upon the pope's attention by kings and princes. The spiritual and

administrative qualities of the appointees were not too closely

scrutinized. Frenchmen were appointed to sees in England, Germany,

Denmark, and other countries, who were utterly unfamiliar with the

languages of those countries. Marsiglius complains of these

"monstrosities "and, among other unfit appointments, mentions the

French bishops of Winchester and Lund, neither of whom knew English or

Danish. The archbishop of Lund, after plundering his diocese, returned

to Southern France.

To the supreme right of appointment was added the supreme right to tax

the clergy and all ecclesiastical property. The supreme right to

exercise authority over kings, the supreme right to set aside canonical

rules, the supreme right to make appointments in the Church, the

supreme right to tax Church property, these were, in their order, the

rights asserted by the popes of the Middle Ages. The scandal growing

out of this unlimited right of taxation called forth the most vigorous

complaints from clergy and laity, and was in large part the cause which

led to the summoning of the three great Reformatory councils of the

fifteenth century. [175]

Popes had acted upon this theory of jurisdiction over the property of

the Church long before John XXII. They levied taxes for crusades in the

Orient, or to free Italy from rebels for the papal state. They gave

their sanction to princes and kings to levy taxes upon the Church for

secular purposes, especially for wars. [176] In the bull Clericis

laicos, Boniface did not mean to call in question the propriety of the

Church's contributing to the necessities of the state. What he demanded

was that he himself should be recognized as arbiter in such matters,

and it was this demand which gave offence to the French king and to

France itself. The question was much discussed whether the pope may

commit simony. Thomas Aquinas gave an affirmative answer. Alvarus

Pelagius [177] thought differently, and declared that the pope is

exempt from the laws and canons which treat of simony. Augustinus

Triumphus took the same ground. [178] The pope is not bound by laws. He

is above laws. Simony is not possible to him.

In estimating the necessities of the papal court, which justified the

imposition of customs, the Avignon popes were no longer their own

masters. They were the creatures of the camera and the hungry horde of

officials and sycophants whose clamor filled the papal offices day and

night. These retainers were not satisfied with bread. Every superior

office in Christendom had its value in terms of gold and silver. When

it was filled by papal appointment, a befitting fee was the proper

recognition. If a favor was granted to a prince in the appointment of a

favorite, the papal court was pretty sure to seize some new privilege

as a compensation for itself. Precedent was easily made a permanent

rule. Where the pope once invaded the rights of a chapter, he did not

relinquish his hold, and an admission fee once fixed was not renounced.

We may not be surprised at the rapacity which was developed at the

papal court. That was to be expected. It grew out of the false papal

theory and the abiding qualities of human nature. [179]

The details governing the administration of the papal finances John set

forth in two bulls of 1316 and 1331. His scheme fixed the financial

policy of the papacy and sacred college. [180] The sources from which

the papacy drew its revenues in the fourteenth century were: (1)

freewill offerings, so called, given for ecclesiastical appointments

and other papal favors, called visitations, annates, servitia; and (2)

tributes from feudal states such as Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and

England, and the revenues from the papal state in Italy. [181] The

moneys so received were apportioned between four parties, the pope, the

college of cardinals, and their two households. Under John XXlI. the

freewill offerings, so called, came to be regarded as obligatory fees.

Every papal gift had its compensation. There was a list of prices, and

it remained in force till changed on the basis of new estimates of the

incomes of benefices. To answer objections, John XXII., in his bull of

1331, insisted that the prices set upon such favors were not a charge

for the grace imparted, but a charge for the labor required for writing

the pertinent documents. [182] But the declaration did not remove the

ill odor of the practice. The taxes levied were out of all proportion

to the actual cost of the written documents, and the privileges were

not to be had without money.

These payments were regularly recorded in registers or ledgers kept by

the papal secretaries of the camera. The details of the papal

exchequer, extant in the Archives of the Vatican, have only recently

been subjected to careful investigation through the liberal policy of

Leo XIII., and have made possible a new chapter in works setting forth

the history of the Church in this fourteenth century. [183]

These studies confirm the impression left by the chroniclers and

tract-writers of the fourteenth century. The money dealings of the

papal court were on a vast scale, and the transactions were according

to strict rules of merchandise. [184] Avignon was a great money centre.

Spiritual privileges were vouched for by carefully worded and signed

contracts and receipts. The papal commercial agents went to all parts

of Europe.

Archbishop, bishop, and abbot paid for the letters confirming their

titles to their dignities. The appointees to lower clerical offices did

the same. There were fees for all sorts of concessions, dispensations

and indulgences, granted to layman and to priest. The priest born out

of wedlock, the priest seeking to be absent from his living, the priest

about to be ordained before the canonical age, all had to have a

dispensation, and these cost money. [185] The larger revenues went

directly into the papal treasury and the treasury of the camera. The

smaller fees went to notaries, doorkeepers, to individual cardinals,

and other officials. These intermediaries stood in a long line with

palms upturned. To use a modern term, it was an intricate system of

graft. The beneficiaries were almost endless. The large body of lower

officials are usually designated in the ledgers by the general term

"familiars" of the pope or camera. [186] The notaries, or copyists,

received stipulated sums for every document they transcribed and

service they performed. However exorbitant the demands might seem, the

petitioners were harried by delays and other petty annoyances till in

sheer weariness they yielded.

The taxes levied upon the higher clergy were usually paid at Avignon by

the parties in person. For the collection of the annates from the lower

clergy and of tithes and other general taxes, collectors and

subcollectors were appointed. We find these officials in different

parts of Europe. They had their fixed salaries, and sent periodical

reckonings to the central bureau at Avignon. [187] The transmission of

the moneys they collected was often a dangerous business. Not

infrequently the carriers were robbed on their way, and the system came

into vogue of employing merchant and banking houses to do this

business, especially Italian firms, which had representatives in

Northern and Central Europe. The ledgers show a great diversity in the

names and value of the coins. And it was a nice process to estimate the

values of these moneys in the terms of the more generally accepted

standards. [188]

The offerings made by prelates at their visits to the papal see, called

visitationes, [189] were divided equally between the papal treasury and

the cardinals. From the lists, it appears that the archbishops of York

paid every three years "300 marks sterling, or 1200 gold florins."

Every two years the archbishops of Canterbury paid "300 marks sterling,

or 1500 gold florins;" the archbishop of Tours paid 400 pounds

Tournois; of Rheims, 500 pounds, Tournois; of Rouen, 1000 pounds

Tournois. [190] The archbishop of Armagh, at his visitation in 1301,

paid 60 silver marks, or 250 gold florins. In 1350 the camera claimed

from Armagh back payments for fifty years. [191] Presumably no bishop

of that Irish diocese had made a visit in that interval. Whether the

claim was honored or not, is not known.

The servitia communia, or payments made by archbishops, bishops, and

abbots on their confirmation to office, were also listed, according to

a fixed scale. The voluntary idea had completely disappeared before a

fixed assessment. [192] Such a dignitary was called an electus until he

had paid off the tax. [193] In certain cases the tax was remitted on

account of the poverty of the ecclesiastic, and in the ledgers the

entry was made, "not taxed on account of poverty," non taxata propter

paupertatem. The amount of this tax seems to have varied, and was

sometimes one-third of the income and sometimes a larger portion. [194]

In the fourteenth century the following sees paid servitia as follows:

Mainz, 5,000 gold florins; Treves, 7, 000; Cologne, 10,000; Narbonne,

10,000. On the basis of a new valuation, Martin V. in 1420 raised the

taxation of the sees of Mainz and Treves to 10,000 florins each, or

$25,000 of our money, so that they corresponded to the assessment made

from of old upon Cologne. [195] When an incumbent died without having

met the full tax, his successor made up the deficit in addition to

paying the assessment for his own confirmation. [196]

The following cases will give some idea of the annoyances to which

bishops and abbots were put who travelled to Avignon to secure letters

of papal confirmation to their offices. In 1334, the abbot-elect of St.

Augustine, Canterbury, had to wait in Avignon from April 22 to Aug. 9

to get his confirmation, and it cost him 148 pounds sterling. John IV.,

abbot-elect of St. Albans, in 1302 went for consecration to Rome,

accompanied by four monks. He arrived May 6, presented his case to

Boniface VIII. in person at Anagni, May 9, and did not get back to

London till Aug. 1, being all the while engaged in the process of

getting his papers properly prepared and certified to. [197] The

expense of getting his case through was 2,585 marks, or 10,340 gold

florins; or $25,000 of our money. The ways in which this large sum was

distributed are not a matter of conjecture. The exact itemized

statement is extant: 2,258 marks, or 9,032 florins, went to "the Lord

pope and the cardinals." Of this sum 5,000 florins, or 1,250 marks, are

entered as a payment for the visitatio, and the remainder in payment of

the servitium to the cardinals. The remaining 327 marks, or 1,308

florins, were consumed in registration and notarial fees and gifts to

cardinals. To Cardinal Francis of St. Maria in Cosmedin, a nephew of

Boniface, a gift was made costing more than 10 marks, or 40 florins.

Another abbot-elect of St. Albans, Richard II., went to Avignon in 1326

accompanied by six monks, and was well satisfied to get away with the

payment of 3,600 gold florins. He was surprised that the tax was so

reasonable. Abbot William of the diocese of Autun, Oct. 22, 1316,

obligated himself to pay John XXII., as confirmation tax, 1,500 gold

florins, and to John's officials 170 more. [198]

The fees paid to the lower officials, called servitia minuta, were

classified under five heads, four of them going to the officials,

familiares of the pontiff, and one to the officials of the cardinals.

[199] The exact amounts received on account of servitia or confirmation

fees by the pope and the college of cardinals, probably will never be

known. From the lists that have been examined, the cardinals between

1316-1323 received from this source 234,047 gold florins, or about

39,000 florins a year. As the yield from this tax was usually, though

not always, divided in equal shares between the pope and the cardinals,

the full sum realized from this source was double this amount. [200]

The annates, so far as they were the tax levied by the pope upon

appointments made by himself to lower clerical offices and livings,

went entirely into the papal treasury, and seem to have been uniformly

one-half of the first year's income. [201] They were designated as

livings "becoming vacant in curia," which was another way of saying,

places which had been reserved by the pope. The popes from time to time

extended this tax through the use of the right of reservation to all

livings becoming vacant in a given district during a certain period. In

addition to the annate tax, the papal treasury also drew an income

during the period of their vacancy from the livings reserved for papal

appointment and during the period when an incumbent held the living

without canonical right. These were called the "intermediate

fruits"--medii fructus. [202]

Special indulgences were an uncertain but no less important source of

revenue. The prices were graded according to the ability of the parties

to pay and the supposed inherent value of the papal concession. Queen

Johanna of Sicily paid 500 grossi Tournois, or about $150, for the

privilege of taking the oath to the archbishop of Naples, who acted as

the pope's representative. The bull readmitting to the sacraments of

the Church Margaret of Maultasch and her husband, Lewis of Brandenburg,

the son of Lewis the Bavarian, cost the princess 2000 grossi Tournois.

The king of Cyprus was poor, and secured for his subjects indulgence to

trade with the Egyptians for the modest sum of 100 pounds Tournois, but

had to pay 50 pounds additional for a ship sent with cargo to Egypt.

[203] There was a graduated scale for papal letters giving persons

liberty to choose their confessor without regard to the parish priests.

To these sources of income were added the taxes for the relief of the

Holy Land--pro subsidio terrae sanctae. The Council of Vienne ordered a

tenth for six years for this purpose. John XXII., 1333, repeated the

substance of Clement's bull. The expense of clearing Italy of hostile

elements and reclaiming papal territory as a preliminary to the pope's

return to Rome was also made the pretext for levying special taxes. For

this object Innocent VI. levied a three-years' tax of a tenth upon the

Church in Germany, and in 1366 Urban V. levied another tenth upon all

the churches of Christendom. [204]

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Church always responded to

these appeals, or that the collectors had easy work in making

collections. The complaints, which we found so numerous in England in

the thirteenth century, we meet with everywhere during the fourteenth

century. The resistance was determined, and the taxes were often left

unpaid for years or not paid at all.

The revenues derived from feudal states and princes, called census,

were divided equally between the cardinals and the pope's private

treasury. Gregory X., in 1272, was the first to make such a division of

the tribute from Sicily, which amounted to 8000 ounces of gold, or

about $90,000. [205] In the pontificate of John XXII. there is frequent

mention of the amounts contributed by Sicily and their equal partition.

The sums varied from year to year, and in 1304 it was 3000 ounces of

gold. The tribute of Sardinia and Corsica was fixed in 1297 at the

annual sum of 2000 marks, and was divided between the two treasuries.

[206] The papal state and Ferrara yielded uncertain sums, and the

tribute of 1000 marks, pledged by John of England, was paid

irregularly, and finally abrogated altogether. Peter's pence, which

belongs in this category, was an irregular source of papal income.

[207]

The yearly income of the papal treasury under Clement V. and John XXII.

has been estimated at from 200,000 to 250,000 gold florins. [208] In

1353 it is known to have been at least 260,000 florins, or more than

$600,000 of our money

These sources of income were not always sufficient for the expenses of

the papal household, and in cases had to be anticipated by loans. The

popes borrowed from cardinals, from princes, and from bankers. Urban V.

got a loan from his cardinals of 30, 000 gold florins. Gregory XI. got

loans of 30,000 florins from the king of Navarre, and 60, 000 from the

duke of Anjou. The duke seems to have been a ready lender, and on

another occasion loaned Gregory 40,000 florins. [209] It was a common

thing for bishops and abbots to make loans to enable them to pay the

expense of their confirmation. The abbot of St. Albans, in 1290, was

assessed 1300 pounds for his servitium, and borrowed 500 of it. [210]

The habit grew until the time of the Reformation, when the sums

borrowed, as in the case of Albrecht, archbishop of Mainz, were

enormous.

The transactions of the Avignon chancellory called forth loud

complaints, even from contemporary apologists for the papacy. Alvarus

Pelagius, in his Lament over the Church, wrote: "No poor man can

approach the pope. He will call and no one will answer, because he has

no money in his purse to pay. Scarcely is a single petition heeded by

the pope until it has passed through the hands of middlemen, a corrupt

set, bought with bribes, and the officials conspire together to extort

more than the rule calls for." In another place he said that whenever

he entered into the papal chambers he always found the tables full of

gold, and clerics counting and weighing florins. [211] Of the Spanish

bishops he said that there was scarcely one in a hundred who did not

receive money for ordinations and the gift of benefices. Matters grew

no better, but rather worse as the fourteenth century advanced.

Dietrich of Nieheim, speaking of Boniface IX., said that "the pope was

an insatiable gulf, and that as for avarice there was no one to compare

with him." [212] To effect a cure of the disease, which was a scandal

to Christendom, the popes would have been obliged to cut off the great

army of officials who surrounded them. But this vast organized body was

stronger than the Roman pontiff. The fundamental theory of the rights

of the papal office was at fault. The councils made attempts to

introduce reforms, but in vain. Help came at last and from an

unexpected quarter, when Luther and the other leaders openly revolted

against the mediaeval theory of the papacy and of the Church.

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[165] Haller says, p. 103, the characteristic of John's pontificate was

finance, der Fiskalismus. Tangl, p. 40, compares his commercial

instincts to the concern for high ideals which animated Gregory VII.,

Alexander III., and Innocent III. See vol. V, I., pp. 787, sqq.

[166] Licet ecclesiarum. See Lib. sextus, III. 4, 2. Friedberg's ed.,

II. 102, Lux, p. 5, says romanus pontifex supremus collator, ad quem

plenaria de omnibus totius orbis beneficiis eccles. dispositio jure

naturo pertinet, etc.

[167] Lux, p. 12; Hefele: Conciliengesch. VI. 151.

[168] Lux, p. 13; Friedberg: Reservationen in Herzog, XVI. 672.

[169] Lux, p. 17 sqq., and Haller, p. 38, with authorities.

[170] Verum super ipsum jus, potest dispensare, etc. Quoted by

Gieseler, II. 123.

[171] A provision that is providere ecclesiae de episcopo signified in

the first instance a promotion, and afterwards the papal right to

supersede appointments made in the usual way by the pope's own

arbitrary appointment. The methods of papal appointment are given in

Liber sextus, I. 16, 18; Friedberg's ed., II. 969. See Stubbs, Const.

Hist., III. 320. "Collations" was also used as a general term to cover

this papal privilege. The formulas of this period commonly ran de

apostol. potestatis plenitudine reservamus. See John's bull of July 30,

1322, Lux, p. 62 sq. Rogare, monere, precipere are the words generally

used by pope Innocent III., 1198-1216, see Hinschius, II. 114 sq.

Alexander III. used the expression ipsum commendamus rogantes et

rogando mandantes and others like it. Hinschius, III. 116, dates

insistence on reservations as a right from the time of Lucius III.,

1181-1185.

[172] Haller, p, 107.

[173] Lux, p. 61 sq. This author, pp. 59-106, gives 57 documents not

before published, containing reservations by John XXII. and his

successors.

[174] Kirsch: Kollektorien, p. xxv sq.

[175] See Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, II. 762. K. M�ller: Kirchengesch., II.

45. Kirsch: Finanzverwaltung, p. 70. Pastor, in the 1st ed. of his

Hist. of the Popes, I. 63, said das unheilvolle System der Annaten,

Reservationen und Expektanzen hat seit Johann XXII. zur Ausbildung

gelangt.

[176] The course of Clement V., in allowing grants to Philip the Fair,

Charles of Valois, and other princes, was followed by John. In 1316 he

granted to the king of France a tenth and annates for four years, in

1326 a tenth for two years, and in 1333 a tenth for six years. The

English king, in 1317, was given a share of the tenth appointed by the

Council of Vienne for a crusade and at the same time one-half of the

annates. Again, in the years 1319, 1322, 1330, a tenth was accorded to

the same sovereign. See Haller, p. 116 sq.

[177] De planctu eccles., II. 14, papa legibus loquentibus de simonia

et canonibus solutus est.

[178] V. 3, certum est, summum pontificem canonicam simoniam a jure

positivo prohibitam non posse committere, quia ipse est supra jus et

eum jura positiva non ligant.

[179] Kirsch: Kollektorien, p. xii sq. and other Catholic writers make

some defence of John's financial measures on the ground that the

sources of income from the State of the Church dried up when the papacy

was transferred to Avignon.

[180] For the details, see Tangl, p. 20 sqq.

[181] See vol. V. 1, p. 787 sqq.

[182] Non habita consideratione ad valorem beneficii, de quo fiet

gratia sed ad laborem scripturae dumtaxat. See Tangl, p. 21.

[183] Woker took up the study in 1878, and has been followed by a

number of scholars such as Tangl, Gottlob, Goeller, Haller, Baumgarten,

Schulte, and especially Dr. Kirsch, professor of church history in the

Catholic University of Freiburg, Switzerland. See, for a full

description, Baumgarten, pp. v-xiii. The subject involves a vast array

of figures and commercial briefs of all kinds, and includes the

organization of the camera, the system of collection, the graduated

scales of prices, the transmission of moneys to Avignon, the division

of the receipts between the pope and the cardinals, the values of the

numerous coins, etc. Garampi, a keeper of the Vatican Archives, in the

eighteenth century arranged these registers according to countries. See

Kirsch, Kollektorien, p. vii, and R�ckkehr, p. xli-l; Tangl, vi sqq.;

Baumgarten, viii, x sqq.

[184] Kirsch: Kollektorien, p. vii, note, gives four different headings

under which the moneys were recorded, namely: (1) census and

visitations; (2) bulls; (3) servitia communia; (4) sundry sources. He

also gives the entries under which disbursements were entered, such as

the kitchen, books and parchments, palfreys, journeys, wars, etc.

[185] Tangl, 74 sq

[186] As an example of the host of these officials who had to be fed,

see Tangl, pp. 64-67. He gives a list of the fees paid by agents of the

city of Cologne, which was seeking certain bulls in 1393. The title

"secretary" does not occur till the reign of Benedict XII., 1338.

Goeller, p. 46.

[187] One of the allowances made by John XXII. for collectors was 5

gold florins a day. Kirsch: Kollektorien, VII. sqq., XLIX. sqq. Kirsch

gives the official ledgers of papal collectors in Basel, pp. 4-32, and

other sees of Germany. Sometimes the bishop acted as collector in his

diocese, Goeller, p. 71.

[188] For elaborate comparisons of the value of the different coins of

the fourteenth century, see Kirsch, Kollektorien, LXXVIII. and

R�ckkehr, p. xli sqq. Gottlob, pp. 133, 174 sq., etc. Baumgarten, CCXI

sqq. The silver mark, the gold florin and the pound Tournois were among

the larger coins most current. One mark was worth 4 or 6 gold florins,

or 8 pounds Tournois. The grossus Turonensis was equal to about 26

cents of our value. See Tangl, 14. For the different estimates of marks

in florins, see Baumgarten, CXXI. The gold florin had the face value of

$2.50 of our money, or nearly 10 marks German coinage. See Kirsch,

Kollektorien, p. Ixx; R�ckkehr, p. xlv; Gottlob, Servitientaxe, p. 176;

Baumgarten, p. ccxiii; Tangl, 14, etc. Kirsch gives the purchasing

price of money in the fourteenth century as four times what it now is,

Finanzerverwaltung p. 56. The gold mark in 1370 was worth 62 gold

florins the silver mark 5 florins, Kirsch: R�ckkehr, p. xlv. Kirsch:

R�ckkehr, pp. l-lxi, gives a very elaborate and valuable list of the

prices of commodities and wages in 1370 from the Vatican ledger

accounts. Urban V.'s agents bought two horses for 117 florins gold and

two mules for 90 florins. They paid 1 gold florin for 12 pairs of shoes

and 1 pair of boots. A salma of wheat--equal to 733 loaves of

bread--cost 4 florins, or $10 in our money. The keeper of the papal

stables received 120 gold florins a year. The senator of Rome received

from Gregory XI. 600 gold florins a month. A watchman of the papal

palace, 7 gold florins a month. Carpenters received from 12-18

shillings Provis, or 60-80 cents, 47 of these coins being equal to 1

gold florin.

[189] Visitationes ad limina apostolorum, that is, visits to Rome.

[190] See Baumgarten, CXXI.; Kirsch: Finanzverwaltung, p. 22 sq.

[191] Baumgarten, p. cxxii.

[192] Gottlob, Servitien, p. 30 sqq., 75-93; Baumgarten, p. xcvii sqq.

[193] Gottlob, p. 130.

[194] Kirsch: Finanzverwaltung, and Baumgarten, p. xcvii, make it

one-third. Gottlob, p. 120 says it was sometimes more.

[195] Baumgarten, p. cvi, Schulte, p. 97 sq. Cases are also reported of

the reduction of the assessment upon a revaluation of the property. In

1326 the assessment of the see of Breslau was reduced from 4, 000 to 1,

786 gold florins. Kirsch: Finanzverwaltung, p. 8.

[196] For cases, see Baumgarten, p. cviii. Attempts to get rid of this

assessment were unavailing. The bishop of Bamberg, in 1335, left

Avignon without a bull of confirmation because he had not made the

prescribed payment. The reason is not recorded, but the statement is

spread on the ledger entry that episcopal confirmation should not be

granted to him till the Apostolic letters pertaining to it were

properly registered and delivered by the Apostolic camera. Goeller, p.

69.

[197] Gesta Abb. monaster. S. Albani, II. 55 sq. See Gottlob,

Servitien, p. 174 sqq. for the full list of his expenses.

[198] The contract is printed entire by Kirsch, Finanzerverwaltung, pp.

73-77, and Gottlob, p. 162 sqq.

[199] See Gottlob, pp. 102-118; Schulte, p. 13 sqq.

[200] Baumgarten, p. cxx.

[201] John XXII., 1316, Benedict XII, 1335, Clement VI., 1342, and

Boniface IX., 1392, issued bulls requiring such appointees to pay

one-half the first year's income into the papal treasury. See, on this

subject, Kirsch, Kollektorien, p. xxv sqq. He mentions the papal

collector, Gerardus, who gives a continuous list for the years

1343-1360, of such payments of annates, fructus beneficiorum vacantium

ad Cameram Apostolicam pertinentes. The annates, or annalia, were

originally given to the bishops when livings became vacant, but were

gradually reserved for the papal treasury. See Friedberg, Kirchliche

Abgaben, in Herzog, I. 95.

[202] Kirsch: Kollektorien, p. xxvi. Benedict, 1335, appropriated these

payments to the papal treasury.

[203] Tangl, pp. 31, 32, 37

[204] Kirsch: Kollektorien, pp. xx, xxi.

[205] Kirsch: Finanzverwaltung, p. 3; R�ckkehr, p. xv. The payment to

Urban V. in 1367 and its division into equal shares is a matter of

record. In a ledger account begun in 1317, and now in the Vatican, an

ounce of gold was estimated at 5 florins, a pound of gold at 96

florins. See Kirsch, Finanzverwaltung, p. 71; Baumgarten, p. ccxi.

[206] Baumgarten, p. cxlii sq.

[207] Baumgarten, CXXVI. sqq.

[208] Ehrle: Process �ber d. Nachlass Klemens V., in Archiv, etc., V.

147. The revenue of Philip the Fair amounted in 1301 to 267,900 pounds.

See Gottlob, Servitien, 133. Gottlob, p. 134, says the cardinals

received as much more as their share.

[209] Haller, p. 138.

[210] Walter de Gray, bishop of Worcester, is said to have borrowed

10,000 pounds at his elevation, 1215. Roger de Wendover, as quoted by

Gottlob, p. 136. The passage runs obligatus in curia Romana de decem

millibus libris, etc. Gottlob understands this to refer to Roman

bankers, not to the Roman curia.

[211] De planctu eccl. II. 7, quum saepe intraverim in cameram

camerarii domni papae, semper ibi vidi nummularios et mensas plenas

auro, et clericos computantes et trutinantes florenos. See

D�llinger-Friedrich, pp. 86, 420.

[212] Insatiabilis vorago et in avaricia nullus ei similis. De

schismate, Erler's ed., p. 119. The sacra auri fames prevailed at

Avignon.

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� 10. The Later Avignon Popes.

The bustling and scholastic John XXII. was followed by the scholarly

and upright Benedict XII., 1334-1342. Born in the diocese of Toulouse,

Benedict studied in Paris, and arose to the dignity of bishop and

cardinal before his elevation to the papal throne. If Villani is to be

trusted, his election was an accident. One cardinal after another who

voted for him did so, not dreaming he would be elected. The choice

proved to be an excellent one. The new pontiff at once showed interest

in reform. The prelates who had no distinct duties at Avignon he sent

home, and to his credit it was recorded that, when urged to enrich his

relatives, he replied that the vicar of Christ, like Melchizedek, must

be without father or mother or genealogy. To him belongs the honor of

having begun the erection of the permanent papal palace at Avignon, a

massive and grim structure, having the features of a fortress rather

than a residence. Its walls and towers were built of colossal thickness

and strength to resist attack. Its now desolated spaces are a

speechless witness to perhaps the most singular of the episodes of

papal history. The cardinals followed Benedict's example and built

palaces in Avignon and its vicinity.

Clement VI., 1342-1352, who had been archbishop of Rouen, squandered

the fortune amassed by John XXII. and prudently administered by

Benedict. He forgot his Benedictine training and vows and was a fast

liver, carrying into the papal office the tastes of the French nobility

from which he sprang. Horses, a sumptuous table, and the company of

women made the papal palace as gay as a royal court. [213] Nor were his

relatives allowed to go uncared for. Of the twenty-five cardinals' hats

which he distributed, twelve went to them, one a brother and one a

nephew. Clement enjoyed a reputation for eloquence and, like John

XXII., preached after he became pope. Early in his pontificate the

Romans sent a delegation, which included Petrarch, begging him to

return to Rome. But Clement, a Frenchman to the core, preferred the

atmosphere of France. Though he did not go to Rome, he was gracious

enough to comply with the delegation's request and appoint a Jubilee

for the deserted and impoverished city.

During Clement's rule, Rome lived out one of the picturesque episodes

of its mediaeval history, the meteoric career of the tribune Cola

(Nicolas) di Rienzo. Of plebeian birth, this visionary man was stirred

with the ideals of Roman independence and glory by reading the ancient

classics. His oratory flattered and moved the people, whose cause he

espoused against the aristocratic families of the city. Sent to Avignon

at the head of a commission, 1343, to confer the highest municipal

authority upon the pope, he won Clement's attention by his frank manner

and eloquent speech. Returning to Rome, he fascinated the people with

visions of freedom and dominion. They invested him on the Capitol with

the signiory of the city, 1347. Cola assumed the democratic title of

tribune. Writing from Avignon, Petrarch greeted him as the man whom he

had been looking for, and dedicated to him one of his finest odes. The

tribune sought to extend his influence by enkindling the flame of

patriotism throughout all Italy and to induce its cities to throw off

the yoke of their tyrants. Success and glory turned his head.

Intoxicated with applause, he had the audacity to cite Lewis the

Bavarian and Charles IV. before his tribunal, and headed his

communications with the magnificent superscription, "In the first year

of the Republic's freedom." His success lasted but seven months. The

people had grown weary of their idol. He was laid by Clement under the

ban and fled, to appear again for a brief season under Innocent V.

Avignon was made papal property by Clement, who paid Joanna of Naples

80, 000 florins for it. The low price may have been in consideration of

the pope's services in pronouncing the princess guiltless of the murder

of her cousin and first husband, Andreas, a royal Hungarian prince, and

sanctioning her second marriage with another cousin, the prince of

Tarentum.

This pontiff witnessed the conclusion of the disturbed career of Lewis

the Bavarian, in 1347. The emperor had sunk to the depths of

self-abasement when he swore to the 28 articles Clement laid before

him, Sept. 18, 1343, and wrote to the pope that, as a babe longs for

its mother's breast, so his soul cried out for the grace of the pope

and the Church. But, if possible, Clement intensified the curses placed

upon him by his two predecessors. The bull, which he announced with his

own lips, April 13, 1346, teems with rabid execrations. It called upon

God to strike Lewis with insanity, blindness, and madness. It invoked

the thunderbolts of heaven and the flaming wrath of God and the

Apostles Peter and Paul both in this world and the next. It called all

the elements to rise in hostility against him; upon the universe to

fight against him, and the earth to open and swallow him up alive. It

blasphemously damned his house to desolation and his children to

exclusion from their abode. It invoked upon him the curse of beholding

with his own eyes the destruction of his children by their enemies.

[214]

During Clement's pontificate, 1348-1349, the Black Death swept over

Europe from Hungary to Scotland and from Spain to Sweden, one of the

most awful and mysterious scourges that has ever visited mankind. It

was reported by all the chroniclers of the time, and described by

Boccaccio in the introduction to his novels. According to Villani, the

disease appeared as carbuncles under the armpits or in the groin,

sometimes as big as an egg, and was accompanied with devouring fever

and vomiting of blood. It also involved a gangrenous inflammation of

the lungs and throat and a fetid odor of the breath. In describing the

virulence of the infection, a contemporary said that one sick person

was sufficient to infect the whole world. [215] The patients lingered

at most a day or two. Boccaccio witnessed the progress of the plague as

it spread its ravages in Florence. [216] Such measures of sanitation as

were then known were resorted to, such as keeping the streets of the

city clean and posting up elaborate rules of health. Public religious

services and processions were appointed to stay death's progress.

Boccaccio tells how he saw the hogs dying from the deadly contagion

which they caught in rooting amongst cast-off clothing. In England all

sorts of cattle were affected, and Knighton speaks of 5000 sheep dying

in a single district. [217] The mortality was appalling. The figures,

though they differ in different accounts, show a vast loss of life.

A large per cent of the population of Western Europe fell before the

pestilence. In Siena, 80,000 were carried off; in Venice, 100,000; in

Bologna, two-thirds of the population; and in Florence, three-fifths.

In Marseilles the number who died in a single month is reported as

57,000. Nor was the papal city on the Rhone exempt. Nine cardinals, 70

prelates, and 17,000 males succumbed. Another writer, a canon writing

from the city to a friend in Flanders, reports that up to the date of

his writing one-half of the population had died. The very cats, dogs,

and chickens took the disease. [218] At the prescription of his

physician, Guy of Chauliac, Clement VI. stayed within doors and kept

large fires lighted, as Nicolas IV. before him had done in time of

plague.

No class was immune except in England, where the higher classes seem to

have been exempt. The clergy yielded in great numbers, bishops,

priests, and monks. At least one archbishop of Canterbury, Bradwardine,

was carried away by it. The brothers of the king of Sweden, Hacon and

Knut, were among the victims. The unburied dead strewed the streets of

Stockholm. Vessels freighted with cargoes were reported floating on the

high seas with the last sailor dead. [219] Convents were swept clear of

all their inmates. The cemeteries were not large enough to hold the

bodies, which were thrown into hastily dug pits. [220] The danger of

infection and the odors emitted by the corpses were so great that often

there was no one to give sepulture to the dead. Bishops found cause in

this neglect to enjoin their priests to preach on the resurrection of

the body as one of the tenets of the Catholic Church, as did the bishop

of Winchester. [221] In spite of the vast mortality, many of the people

gave themselves up without restraint to revelling and drinking from

tavern to tavern and to other excesses, as Boccaccio reports of

Florence.

In England, it is estimated that one-half of the population, or

2,500,000 people, fell victims to the dread disease. [222] According to

Knighton, it was introduced into the land through Southampton. As for

Scotland, this chronicler tells the grewsome story that some of the

Scotch, on hearing of the weakness of the English in consequence of the

malady, met in the forest of Selfchyrche--Selkirk--and decided to fall

upon their unfortunate neighbors, but were suddenly themselves attacked

by the disease, nearly 5000 dying. The English king prorogued

parliament. The disaster that came to the industries of the country is

dwelt upon at length by the English chroniclers. The soil became

"dead," for there were no laborers left to till it. The price per acre

was reduced one-half, or even much more. The cattle wandered through

the meadows and fields of grain, with no one to drive them in. "The

dread fear of death made the prices of live stock cheap." Horses were

sold for one-half their usual price, 40 solidi, and a fat steer for 4

solidi. The price of labor went up, and the cost of the necessaries of

life became "very high." [223] The effect upon the Church was such as

to interrupt its ministries and perhaps check its growth. The English

bishops provided for the exigencies of the moment by issuing letters

giving to all clerics the right of absolution. The priest could now

make his price, and instead of 4 or 5 marks, as Knighton reports, he

could get 10 or 20 after the pestilence had spent its course. To make

up for the scarcity of ministers, ordination was granted before the

canonical age, as when Bateman, bishop of Norwich, set apart by the

sacred rite 60 clerks, "though only shavelings" under 21. In another

direction the evil effects of the plague were seen. Work was stopped on

the Cathedral of Siena, which was laid out on a scale of almost

unsurpassed size, and has not been resumed to this day. [224]

The Black Death was said to have invaded Europe from the East, and to

have been carried first by Genoese vessels. [225] Its victims were far

in excess of the loss of life by any battles or earthquakes known to

European history, not excepting the Sicilian earthquake of 1908.

In spite of the plague, and perhaps in gratitude for its cessation, the

Jubilee Year of 1350, like the Jubilee under Boniface at the opening of

the century, brought thousands of pilgrims to Rome. If they left scenes

of desolation in the cities and villages from which they came, they

found a spectacle of desolation and ruin in the Eternal City which

Petrarch, visiting the same year, said was enough to move a heart of

stone. Matthew Villani [226] cannot say too much in praise of the

devotion of the visiting throngs. Clement's bull extended the benefits

of his promised indulgence to those who started on a pilgrimage without

the permission of their superiors, the cleric without the permission of

his bishop, the monk without the permission of his abbot, and the wife

without the permission of her husband.

Of the three popes who followed Clement, only good can be said.

Innocent VI., 1352-1362, a native of the see of Limoges, had been

appointed cardinal by Clement VI. Following in the footsteps of

Benedict XII., he reduced the ostentation of the Avignon court,

dismissed idle bishops to their sees, and instituted the tribunal of

the rota, with 21 salaried auditors for the orderly adjudication of

disputed cases coming before the papal tribunal. Before Innocent's

election, the cardinals adopted a set of rules limiting the college to

20 members, and stipulating that no new members should be appointed,

suspended, deposed, or excommunicated without the consent of two-thirds

of their number, and that no papal relative should be assigned to a

high place. Innocent no sooner became pontiff than he set it aside as

not binding.

Soon after the beginning of his reign, Innocent released Cola di Rienzo

from confinement [227] and sent him and Cardinal Aegidius Alvarez of

Albernoz to Rome in the hope of establishing order. Cola was appointed

senator, but only a few months afterwards was put to death in a popular

uprising, Oct. 8, 1354. He dreamed of a united Italy, 500 years before

the union of its divided states was consummated, but his name remains a

powerful impulse to popular freedom and national unity in the

peninsula.

Tyrants and demagogues infested Italian municipalities and were sucking

their life-blood. The State of the Church had been parcelled up into

petty principalities ruled by rude nobles, such as the Polentas in

Ravenna, the Malatestas in Rimini, the Montefeltros in Urbino. The pope

was in danger of losing his territory in the peninsula altogether.

Soldiers of fortune from different nations had settled upon it and

spread terror as leaders of predatory bands. In no part was anarchy

more wild than in Rome itself, and in the Campagna. Albernoz had fought

in the wars against the Moors, and had administered the see of Toledo.

He was a statesman as well as a soldier. He was fully equal to his

difficult task and restored the papal government. [228]

In 1355, Albernoz, as administrator of Rome, placed the crown of the

empire on the head of Charles IV. To such a degree had the imperial

dignity been brought that Charles was denied permission by the pope to

enter the city till the day appointed for his coronation. His arrival

in Italy was welcomed by Petrarch as Henry VII.'s arrival had been

welcomed by Dante. But the emperor disappointed every expectation, and

his return from Italy was an inglorious retreat. He placed his own

dominion of Bohemia in his debt by becoming the founder of the

University of Prag. [229] It was he also who, in 1356, issued the

celebrated Golden Bull, which laid down the rules for the election of

the emperor. They placed this transaction wholly in the hands of the

electors, a majority of whom was sufficient for a choice. The pope is

not mentioned in the document. Frankfurt was made the place of meeting.

The electors designated were the archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and

Cologne, the Count Palatine, the king of Bohemia, the Margrave of

Brandenburg, and the duke of Saxony. [230]

Urban V., 1362-1370, at the time of his election abbot of the

Benedictine convent of St. Victor in Marseilles, developed merits which

secured for him canonization by Pius IX., 1870. He was the first of the

Avignon popes to visit Rome. Petrarch, as he had written before to

Benedict XII. and Clement VI., now, in his old age, wrote to the new

pontiff rebuking the curia for its vices and calling upon him to be

faithful to his part as Roman bishop. Why should Urban hide himself

away in a corner of the earth? Italy was fair, and Rome, hallowed by

history and legend of empire and Church, was the theocratic capital of

the world. Charles IV. visited Avignon and offered to escort the

pontiff. But the French king opposed the plan and was supported by the

cardinals in a body. Only three Italians were left in it. Urban started

for the home of his spiritual ancestors in April, 1367. A fleet of

sixty vessels furnished by Naples, Genoa, Venice, and Pisa conducted

the distinguished traveller from Marseilles to Genoa and Corneto, where

he was met by envoys from Rome, who put into his hands the keys of the

castle of St. Angelo, the symbol of full municipal power. All along the

way transports of wine, fish, cheese, and other provisions, sent on

from Avignon, met the papal party, and horses from the papal stables on

the Rhone were in waiting for the pope at every stage of the journey.

[231]

At Viterbo, a riot was called forth by the insolent manners of the

French, and the pope launched the interdict against the city. The papal

ledgers contain the outlay by the apothecary for medicines for the

papal servants who were wounded in the melee. Here Albernoz died, to

whom the papacy owed a large debt for his services in restoring order

to Rome. The legend runs that, when he was asked by the pope for an

account of his administration, he loaded a car with the keys of the

cities he had recovered to the papal authority, and sent them to him.

Urban chose as his residence the Vatican in preference to the Lateran.

The preparations for his advent included the restoration of the palace

and its gardens. A part of the garden was used as a field, and the rest

was overgrown with thorns. Urban ordered it replanted with grape-vines

and fruit trees. The papal ledger gives the cost of these improvements

as 6,621 gold florins, or about $15,000. Roofs, floors, doors, walls,

and other parts of the palace had to be renewed. The expenses from

April 27, 1367, to November, 1368, as shown in the report of the papal

treasurer, Gaucelin de Pradello, were 15,559 florins, or $39,000. [232]

During the sixty years that had elapsed since Clement V. fixed the

papal residence in France, Rome had been reduced almost to a museum of

Christian monuments, as it had before been a museum of pagan ruins. The

aristocratic families had forsaken the city. The Lateran had again

fallen a prey to the flames in 1360. St. Paul's was desolate. Rubbish

or stagnant pools filled the streets. The population was reduced to

20,000 or perhaps 17,000. [233] The return of the papacy was compared

by Petrarch to Israel returning out of Egypt.

Urban set about the restoration of churches. He gave 1000 florins to

the Lateran and spent 5000 on St. Paul's. Rome showed signs of again

becoming the centre of European society and politics. Joanna, queen of

Naples, visited the city, and so did the king of Cyprus and the

emperor, Charles IV. In 1369 John V. Palaeologus, the Byzantine

emperor, arrived, a suppliant for aid against the Turks, and publicly

made solemn abjuration of his schismatic tenets.

The old days seemed to have returned, but Urban was not satisfied. He

had not the courage nor the wide vision to sacrifice his own pleasure

for the good of his office. Had he so done, the disastrous schism might

have been averted. He turned his face back towards Avignon, where he

arrived "at the hour of vespers," Sept. 27, 1370. He survived his

return scarcely two months, and died Dec. 19, 1370, universally beloved

and already honored as a saint.

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[213] Pastor, I. 76, says, "Luxury and fast living prevailed to the

most flagrant degree under Clement's rule." For detailed description of

Avignon and the papal palace, see A. Penjon, Avignon, la ville et le

palais des papes, pp. 134, Avignon, 1878; F. Digonnet: Le palais des

papes en Avignon, Avignon, 1907.

[214] This awful denunciation runs: Veniat ei laqueus quem ignorat, et

cadat in ipsum. Sit maledictus ingrediens, sit maledictus egrediens.

Percutiat eum dominus amentia et caecitate ac mentis furore. Coelum

super eum fulgura mittat. Omnipotentis dei ira et beatorum Petri et

Pauli ... in hoc et futuro seculo exardescat in ipsum. Orbis terrarum

pugnet contra eum, aperiatur terra et ipsum absorbeat vivum. Mirbt:

Quellen, p. 153. See M�ller: Kampf Ludwigs, etc., II. 214.

[215] Quoted by Gasquet, Black Death, p. 46.

[216] Whitcomb, Source Book of the Renaissance, pp. 15-18, gives a

translation.

[217] Knighton's account, Chronicon, Rolls Series II. 58-65.

[218] Quoted by Gasquet, p. 46 sqq.

[219] Gasquet, p. 40.

[220] Thorold Rogers saw the remains of a number of skeletons at the

digging for the new divinity school at Cambridge, and pronounced the

spot the plague-pit of this awful time. Six Centuries of Work and

Wages, I. 157.

[221] Gasquet, p. 128.

[222] These are the figures of Jessopp, Coming of the Friars, Gasquet,

p. 226, and Cunningham, Growth of English Industries and Commerce, p.

275. Thorold Rogers, however, in Six Centuries of Work, etc., and

England before and after the Black Death, Fortnightly Review, VIII. 190

sqq. reduces the number. Jessopp bases his calculations upon local

documents and death lists of the diocese of Norwich and finds that in

some cases nine tenths of the population died. The Augustinians at

Heveringland, prior and canons, died to a man. At Hickling only one

survived. Whether this fell mortality among the clergy, especially the

orders, points to luxuriant living and carelessness in habits of

cleanliness, we will not attempt to say.

[223] Knighton, II. 62, 65.

[224] Gasquet, p. 253. This author, pp. viii, 8, compares the ravages

of the bubonic plague in India, 1897-1905, to the desolations of the

Black Death. He gives the mortality in India in this period as

3,250,000 persons. He emphasizes the bad effects of the plague in

undoing the previous work of the Church and checking its progress.

[225] Ralph, bishop of Bath and Wells, in a pastoral letter warned

against the "pestilence which had come into a neighboring kingdom from

the East." Knighton refers its origin to India, Thomas Walsingham,

Hist. Angl., Rolls Series I. 273, thus speaks of it: "Beginning in the

regions of the North and East it advanced over the world and ended with

so great a destruction that scarcely half of the people remained. Towns

once full of men became destitute of inhabitants, and so violently did

the pestilence increase that the living were scarcely able to bury the

dead. In certain houses of men of religion, scarcely two out of twenty

men survived. It was estimated by many that scarcely one-tenth of

mankind had been left alive."

[226] Muratori, XV. 56.

[227] Cola had roamed about till he went to Prag, where Charles IV.

seized him and sent him to Avignon in 1352. Petrarch, who corresponded

with him, speaks of seeing him in Avignon, attended by two guards. See

Robinson, Petrarch, pp. 341-343 sqq.

[228] The full term of Albernoz' service in Italy extended from

1353-1368. By his code, called the Aegidian Constitutions, he became

the legislator of the State of the Church for centuries. For text, see

Mansi, XXVI. 299-307. Gregorovius, VI. 430, calls him "the most gifted

statesman who ever sat in the college of cardinals," and Wurm, his

biographer, "the second founder of the State of the Church."

[229] In 1334 Clement had set off the diocese of Prag from the diocese

of Mainz and made it an archbishopric.

[230] Bryce, ch. XIV., says well that the Golden Bull completed the

Germanization of the Holy Roman Empire by separating the imperial power

from the papacy. See Mirot, La politique pontificale, p. 2.

[231] Kirsch: R�ckkehr, etc., pp. xii, 74-90. During the stop of five

days at Genoa, Urban received timely help in the payment of the feoffal

tax of Naples, 8000 ounces of gold. Kirsch, in his interesting and

valuable treatment, publishes the ledger entries made in the official

registers, deposited in Rome and Avignon and giving in detail the

expenses incurred on the visits of Urban and Gregory XI. Gregorovius,

VI. 430 sqq., gives an account of Urban's pilgrimage in his most

brilliant style.

[232] The accounts are published entire by Kirsch, pp. ix sqq. xxx,

109-165.

[233] D�llinger, The Church and the Churches, Engl. trans., 1862, p.

363, puts the population at 17,000. Gregorovius, VI. 438, makes the

estimate somewhat higher

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� 11. The Re-establishment of the Papacy in Rome. 1377.

Of the nineteen cardinals who entered the conclave at the death of

Urban V., all but four were Frenchmen. The choice immediately fell on

Gregory XI., the son of a French count. At 17 he had been made cardinal

by his uncle, Clement VI. His contemporaries praised him for his moral

purity, affability, and piety. He showed his national sympathies by

appointing 18 Frenchmen cardinals and filling papal appointments in

Italy with French officials. In English history he is known for his

condemnation of Wyclif. His pontificate extended from 1370-1378.

With Gregory's name is associated the re-establishment of the papacy in

its proper home on the Tiber. For this change the pope deserves no

credit. It was consummated against his will. He went to Rome, but was

engaged in preparations to return to Avignon, when death suddenly

overtook him.

That which principally moved Gregory to return to Rome was the flame of

rebellion which filled Central and Northern Italy, and threatened the

papacy with the permanent loss of its dominions. The election of an

anti-pope was contemplated by the Italians, as a delegation from Rome

informed him. One remedy was open to crush revolt on the banks of the

Tiber. It was the presence of the pope himself. [234]

Gregory had carried on war for five years with the disturbing elements

in Italy. In the northern parts of the peninsula, political anarchy

swept from city to city. Soldiers of fortune, the most famous of whom

was the Englishman, John Hawkwood, spread terror wherever they went. In

Milan, the tyrant Bernabo was all-powerful and truculent. In Florence,

the revolt was against the priesthood itself, and a red flag was

unfurled, on which was inscribed the word "Liberty." A league of 80

cities was formed to abolish the pope's secular power. The interdict

hurled against the Florentines, March 31, 1376, for the part they were

taking in the sedition, contained atrocious clauses, giving every one

the right to plunder the city and to make slaves of her people wherever

they might be found. [235] Genoa and Pisa followed Florence and

incurred a like papal malediction. The papal city, Bologna, was

likewise stirred to rebellion in 1376 by its sister city on the Arno.

Florence fanned the flames of rebellion in Rome and the other papal

towns, calling upon them to throw off the yoke of tyranny and return to

their pristine liberty. What Italian, its manifesto proclaimed, "can

endure the sight of so many noble cities, serving barbarians appointed

by the pope to devour the goods of Italy?" [236] But Rome remained true

to the pope, as did Ancona. On the other hand, Perugia, Narni, Viterbo,

and Ferrara, in 1375, raised the banner of rebellion until revolt

threatened to spread over the whole of the papal patrimony. The bitter

feeling against the French officials was intensified by a detachment of

10,000 Breton mercenaries which the pope sent to crush the revolution.

They were under the leadership of Cardinal Robert of Geneva,--afterward

Clement VII.,--an iron-hearted soldier and pitiless priest. It was as

plain as day, Pastor says, that Gregory's return was the only thing

that could save Rome to the papacy.

To the urgency of these civil commotions were added the pure voices of

prophetesses, which rose above the confused sounds of revolt and arms,

the voices of Brigitta of Sweden and Catherine of Siena, both canonized

saints.

Petrarch, who for nearly half a century had been urging the pope's

return, now, in his last days, replied to a French advocate who

compared Rome to Jericho, the town to which the man was going who fell

among thieves, and stigmatized Avignon as the sewer of the earth. He

died 1374, without seeing the consuming desire of his life fulfilled.

Guided by patriotic instincts, he had carried into his appeals the

feeling of an Italian's love of his country. Brigitta and Catherine

made their appeals to Gregory on higher than national grounds, the

utility of Christendom and the advantage of the kingdom of God.

Emerging from visions and ecstatic moods of devotion, they called upon

the Church's chief bishop to be faithful to the obligations of his holy

office.

On the death of her husband, St. Brigitta left her Scandinavian home

and joined the pilgrims whose faces were set towards Rome in the

Jubilee year of 1350. [237] Arriving in the papal city, the hope of

seeing both the emperor and the pope once more in that centre of

spiritual and imperial power moved her to the devotions of the saint

and the messages of the seer. She spent her time in going from church

to church and ministering to the sick, or sat clad in pilgrim's garb,

begging. Her revelations, which were many, brought upon her the

resentment of the Romans. She saw Urban enter the city and, when he

announced his purpose to return again to France, she raised her voice

in prediction of his speedy death, in case he persisted in it. When

Gregory ascended the throne, she warned him that he would die

prematurely if he kept away from the residence divinely appointed for

the supreme pontiff. But to her, also, it was not given to see the

fulfilment of her desire. The worldliness of the popes stirred her to

bitter complaints. Peter, she exclaimed, "was appointed pastor and

minister of Christ's sheep, but the pope scatters them and lacerates

them. He is worse than Lucifer, more unjust than Pilate, more cruel

than Judas. Peter ascended the throne in humility, Boniface in pride."

To Gregory she wrote, "in thy curia arrogant pride rules, insatiable

cupidity and execrable luxury. It is the very deepest gulf of horrible

simony. [238] Thou seizest and tearest from the Lord innumerable

sheep." And yet she was worthy to be declared a saint. She died in

1373. Her daughter Catherine took the body to Sweden.

Catherine of Siena was more fortunate. She saw the papacy

re-established in Italy, but she also witnessed the unhappy beginnings

of the schism. This Tuscan prophetess, called by a sober Catholic

historian, "one of the most wonderful appearances in history," [239]

wrote letter after letter to Gregory XI. whom she called "sweet Christ

on earth," appealing to him and admonishing him to do his duty as the

head of the Church, and to break away from his exile, which she

represented as the source of all the evils with which Christendom was

afflicted. "Be a true successor of St. Gregory," she wrote. "Love God.

Do not bind yourself to your parents and your friends. Do not be held

by the compulsion of your surroundings. Aid will come from God." His

return to Rome and the starting of a new crusade against the Turks, she

represented as necessary conditions of efficient measures to reform the

Church. She bade him return "swiftly like a gentle lamb. Respond to the

Holy Spirit who calls you. I tell you, Come, come, come, and do not

wait for time, since time does not wait for you. Then you will do like

the Lamb slain, whose place you hold, who, without weapons in his

hands, slew our foes. Be manly in my sight, not fearful. Answer God,

who calls you to hold and possess the seat of the glorious shepherd,

St. Peter, whose vicar you are." [240]

Gregory received a letter purporting to come from a man of God, warning

him of the poison which awaited him at Rome and appealing to his

timidity and his love of his family. In a burning epistle, Catherine

showed that only the devil or one of his emissaries could be the author

of such a communication, and called upon him as a good shepherd to pay

more honor to God and the well-being of his flock than to his own

safety, for a good shepherd, if necessary, lays down his life for the

sheep. The servants of God are not in the habit of giving up a

spiritual act for fear of bodily harm. [241]

In 1376, Catherine saw Gregory face to face in Avignon, whither she

went as a commissioner from Florence to arrange a peace between the

city and the pope. The papal residence she found not a paradise of

heavenly virtues, as she expected, but in it the stench of infernal

vices. [242] The immediate object of the mission was not accomplished;

but her unselfish appeals confirmed Gregory in his decision to return

to Rome--a decision he had already formed before Catherine's visit, as

the pope's own last words indicate. [243]

As early as 1374, Gregory wrote to the emperor that it was his

intention to re-establish the papacyon the Tiber. [244] A member of the

papal household, Bertrand Raffini, was sent ahead to prepare the

Vatican for his reception. The journey was delayed. It was hard for the

pope to get away from France. His departure was vigorously resisted by

his relatives as well as by the French cardinals and the French king,

who sent n delegation to Avignon, headed by his brother, the duke of

Anjou, to dissuade Gregory from his purpose.

The journey was begun Sept. 13, 1376. Six cardinals were left behind at

Avignon to take care of the papal business. The fleet which sailed from

Marseilles was provided by Joanna of Naples, Peter IV. of Aragon, the

Knights of St. John, and the Italian republics, but the vessels were

not sufficient to carry the large party and the heavy cargo of personal

baggage and supplies. The pope was obliged to rent a number of

additional galleys and boats. Fernandez of Heredia, who had just been

elected grand-master of the Knights of St. John, acted as admiral. A

strong force of mercenaries was also required for protection by sea and

at the frequent stopping places along the coast, and for service, if

necessary, in Rome itself. The expenses of this peaceful

Armada--vessels, mercenaries, and cargo--are carefully tabulated in the

ledgers preserved in Avignon and the Vatican. [245] The first entries

of expense are for the large consignments of Burgundy and other wines

which were to be used on the way, or stored away in the vaults of the

Vatican. [246] The cost of the journey was heavy, and it should

occasion no surprise that the pope was obliged to increase the funds at

his control at this time by borrowing 30,000 gold florins from the king

of Navarre. [247] The papal moneys, amounting to 85,713 florins, were

carried from Avignon to Marseilles in twelve chests on pack horses and

mules, and in boats. To this amount were added later 41,527 florins,

or, in all, about $300,000 of our present coinage. The cost of the

boats and mercenaries was very large, and several times the boatmen

made increased demands for their services and craft to which the papal

party was forced to accede. Raymund of Turenne, who was in command of

the mercenaries, received 700 florins a month for his "own person,"

each captain with a banner 24 florins, and each lance with three men

under him 18 florins monthly. Nor were the obligations of charity to be

overlooked. Durandus Andreas, the papal eleemosynary, received 100

florins to be distributed in alms on the journey, and still another 100

to be distributed after the party's arrival at Rome. [248]

The elements seemed to war with the expedition. The fleet had no sooner

set sail from Marseilles than a fierce storm arose which lasted several

weeks and made the journey tedious. Urban V. was three days in reaching

Genoa, Gregory sixteen. From Genoa, the vessels continued southwards

the full distance to Ostia, anchorage being made every night off towns.

From Ostia, Gregory went up the Tiber by boat, landing at Rome Dec. 16,

1377. The journey was made by night and the banks were lit up by

torches, showing the feverish expectation of the people. Disembarking

at St. Paul's, the pope proceeded the next day, Jan. 17, to St.

Peter's, accompanied by rejoicing throngs. In the procession were bands

of buffoons who added to the interest of the spectacle and afforded

pastime to the populace. The pope abode in the Vatican and, from that

time till this day, it has continued to be the papal residence.

Gregory survived his entrance into the Eternal City a single year. He

spent the warmer months in Anagni, where he must have had mixed

feelings as he recalled the experiences of his predecessor Boniface

VIII., which had been the immediate cause of the transfer of the papal

residence to French soil. The atrocities practised at Cesena by

Cardinal Robert cast a dark shadow over the events of the year. An

uprising of the inhabitants in consequence of the brutality of his

Breton troops drove them and the cardinal to seek refuge in the

citadel. Hawkwood was called in, and, in spite of the cardinal's

pacific assurances, the mercenaries fell upon the defenceless people

and committed a butchery whose shocking details made the ears of all

Italy to tingle. Four thousand were put to death, including friars in

their churches, and still other thousands were sent forth naked and

cold to find what refuge they could in neighboring towns. But, in spite

of this barbarity, the pope's authority was acknowledged by an

enlarging circle of Italian commonwealths, including Bologna. Florence,

even, sued for peace.

When Gregory died, March 27, 1378, he was only 47 years old. By his

request, his body was laid to rest in S. Maria Nuova on the Forum. In

his last hours, he is said to have regretted having given his ear to

the voice of Catherine of Siena, and he admonished the cardinals not to

listen to prophecies as he had done. [249] Nevertheless, the monument

erected to Gregory at Rome two hundred years later is true to history

in representing Catherine of Siena walking at the pope's side as if

conducting him back to Rome. The Babylonian captivity of the papacy had

lasted nearly three-quarters of a century. The wonder is that with the

pope virtually a vassal of France, Western Christendom remained united.

Scarcely anything in history seems more unnatural than the voluntary

residence of the popes in the commonplace town on the Rhone remote from

the burial-place of the Apostles and from the centres of European life.

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[234] Pastor, Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, Kirsch, R�ckkehr, p. xvii; Mirot, p.

viii, 7 sq., and other Catholic historians agree that this was

Gregory's chief motive. Mirot, pp. 10-18, ascribes to Gregory three

controlling ideas--the reform of the Church, the re-establishment of

peace with the East as a preliminary to a new crusade against the

Turks, and the return of the papacy to Rome.

[235] Baluz, I. 435, Gieseler, IV. 1, p. 90 sq., give the bull.

[236] Quoted by Mirot, p. 48, and Gregorovius, VI. 466 sqq.

[237] Brigitta was born near Upsala, 1303. See Gardner, St. Catherine

of Siena, p. 44 sqq. D�llinger has called attention to the failure of

her prophecies to be fulfilled, Fables and Prophecies of the Middle

Ages, trans. by Prof. Henry B. Smith, pp. 331, 398.

[238] Vorago pessima horribilis symoniae, Brigitta's Revelationes, as

quoted by Gieseler, Haller, p. 88, and Gardner, p. 78 sq.

[239] Pastor, I. 103.

[240] Scudder: Letters of St. Catherine, p. 132 sq.; Gardner, pp. 158,

176, etc.

[241] Scudder, p. 182 sqq.

[242] This was Catherine's deposition to her confessor. See Mirbt:

Quellen, p. 154, in romana curia, ubi deberet paradisus esse caelicarum

virtutum, inveniebat faetorem infernalium vitiarum.

[243] Mirot, p. 101, is quite sure Catherine had no infuence in

bringing Gregory to his original decision. So also Pastor and Gardner.

[244] Later biographers tell of a vow made by Gregory at the opening of

his pontificate to return to Rome, but no contemporary writer has any

reference to it, Mirot, p. 62.

[245] Kirsch, pp. 169-264, gives a copy of these ledger entries. One

set contains the expenses of preparation, one set the expenses from

Marseilles to Rome, and a third set, the expenses after arriving in

Rome. Still another gives the espenses of repairing the Vatican--the

wages of workmen and the prices paid for lumber, lead, iron, keys, etc.

On the back of this last volume, which is in the Vatican, are written

the words, "Expensae palatii apostolici, 1370-1380."

[246] Kirsch, pp. xviii, 171, Mirot, p. 112 sq., says, Les vins

paraissent avoir tenu une grande place dans le r�tour, et, � la veille

du d�part, on s'occupa tant d'assurer le service de la bouteillerie

durant le voyage, que de garnir en pr�vision de l'arriv�e, les caves du

Vatican.

[247] Kirsch, p. 184. For other loans made by Gregory, e.g. 30,000

florins in 1374 and 60,000 in 1376, see Mirot, p. 36.

[248] Kirsch, pp. xx, xxii, 179.

[249] So Gerson, De examinatione doctrinarum, I. 16, as quoted by

Gieseler, ut caverent ab hominibus sive viris sive mulieribus, sub

specie religionis loquentibus visiones ... quia per tales ipse

reductus. See Pastor, I. 113.

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CHAPTER II.

THE PAPAL SCHISM AND THE REFORMATORY COUNCILS. 1378-1449.

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vols. III., IV., especially the part headed de schismate, III.

552-639.--Theoderich of Nieheim (Niem): de Schismate inter papas et

antipapas, Basel, 1566, ed. by Geo. Erler, Leipzig, 1890. Nieheim, b.

near Paderborn, d. 1417, had exceptional opportunities for observing

the progress of events. He was papal secretary--notarius sacri palatii

-- at Avignon, went with Gregory XI. to Rome, was there at the breaking

out of the schism, and held official positions under three of the popes

of the Roman line. In 1408 he joined the Livorno cardinals, and

supported Alexander V. and John XXIII.--See H. V. Sauerland: D. Leben

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XXVI., XXVII.--Labbaeus: Concilia, XI., XII. 1-259.--Hermann van der

Hardt, Prof. of Hebrew and librarian at Helmst�dt, d. 1746: Magnum

oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium de universali ecclesiae

reformatione, unione et fide, 6 vols., Frankfurt and Leipzig,

1696-1700. A monumental work, noted alike as a mine of historical

materials and for its total lack of order in their arrangement. In

addition to the acts and history of the Council of Constance, it gives

many valuable contemporary documents, e.g. the De corrupto statu

eccles., also entitled De ruina eccles., of Nicolas Of Clamanges; the

De modis uniendi et reformandi eceles. in concilio universali; De

difficultate reformationis;and Monita de necessitate reformationis

Eccles. in capite et membris,--all probably by Nieheim; and a Hist. of

the Council, by Dietrich Vrie, an Augustinian, finished at Constance,

1417. These are all in vol. I. Vol. II. contains Henry of Langenstein's

Consilium pacis: De unione ac reformatione ecclesiae, pp. 1-60; a Hist.

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Johannem XXIII. and de vita Johan. XXIII. usque ad fugam et carcerem

ejus, pp. 296-459, etc. The vols. are enriched with valuable

illustrations. Volume V. contains a stately array of pictures of the

seals and escutcheons of the princes and prelates attending the council

in person or by proxy, and the fourteen universities represented. The

work also contains biogg. of D'Ailly, Gerson, Zarabella,

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For � 17. The Council Of Basel.--Lives of Martin V. and Eugenius IV. in

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Ferrara-Florenz, in Wetzer-Welte: IV. 1363-1380. Tschackert, art.

Ferrara-Florenz, in Herzog, VI. 46 48.--D�llinger-Friedrich: Papstthum,

pp. 166-171.

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� 13. The Schism Begun. 1378.

The death of Gregory XI. was followed by the schism of Western

Christendom, which lasted forty years, and proved to be a greater

misfortune for the Church than the Avignon captivity. Anti-popes the

Church had had, enough of them since the days of Gregory VII., from

Wibert of Ravenna chosen by the will of Henry IV. to the feeble Peter

of Corbara, elected under Lewis the Bavarian. Now, two lines of popes,

each elected by a college of cardinals, reigned, the one at Rome, the

other in Avignon, and both claiming to be in the legitimate succession

from St. Peter.

Gregory XI. foresaw the confusion that was likely to follow at his

death, and sought to provide against the catastrophe of a disputed

election, and probably also to insure the choice of a French pope, by

pronouncing in advance an election valid, no matter where the conclave

might be held. The rule that the conclave should convene in the

locality where the pontiff died, was thus set aside. Gregory knew well

the passionate feeling in Rome against the return of the papacy to the

banks of the Rhone. A clash was almost inevitable. While the pope lay

a-dying, the cardinals at several sittings attempted to agree upon his

successor, but failed.

On April 7, 1378, ten days after Gregory's death, the conclave met in

the Vatican, and the next day elected the Neapolitan, Bartholomew

Prignano, archbishop of Bari. Of the sixteen cardinals present, four

were Italians, eleven Frenchmen, and one Spaniard, Peter de Luna, who

later became famous as Benedict XIII. The French party was weakened by

the absence of the six cardinals, left behind at Avignon, and still

another was absent. Of the Italians, two were Romans, Tebaldeschi, an

old man, and Giacomo Orsini, the youngest member of the college. The

election of an Italian not a member of the curia was due to factions

which divided the French and to the compulsive attitude of the Roman

populace, which insisted upon an Italian for pope.

The French cardinals were unable to agree upon a candidate from their

own number. One of the two parties into which they were split, the

Limousin party, to which Gregory XI. and his predecessors had belonged,

numbered six cardinals. The Italian mob outside the Vatican was as much

a factor in the situation as the divisions in the conclave itself. A

scene of wild and unrestrained turbulence prevailed in the square of

St. Peter's. The crowd pressed its way into the very spaces of the

Vatican, and with difficulty a clearing was made for the entrance of

all the cardinals. To prevent the exit of the cardinals, the Banderisi,

or captains of the thirteen districts into which Rome was divided, had

taken possession of the city and closed the gates. The mob, determined

to keep the papacy on the Tiber, filled the air with angry shouts and

threats. "We will have a Roman for pope or at least an

ltalian."--Romano, romano, lo volemo, o almanco Italiano was the cry.

On the first night soldiers clashed their spears in the room underneath

the chamber where the conclave was met, and even thrust them through

the ceiling. A fire of combustibles was lighted under the window. The

next morning, as their excellencies were saying the mass of the Holy

Spirit and engaged in other devotions, the noises became louder and

more menacing. One cardinal, d'Aigrefeuille, whispered to Orsini,

"better elect the devil than die."

It was under such circumstances that the archbishop of Bari was chosen.

After the choice had been made, and while they were waiting to get the

archbishop's consent, six of the cardinals dined together and seemed to

be in good spirits. But the mob's impatience to know what had been done

would brook no delay, and Orsini, appearing at the window, cried out

"go to St. Peter." This was mistaken for an announcement that old

Tebaldeschi, cardinal of St. Peter's, had been chosen, and a rush was

made for the cardinal's palace to loot it, as the custom was when a

cardinal was elected pope. The crowd surged through the Vatican and

into the room where the cardinals had been meeting and, as Valois puts

it, "the pillage of the conclave had begun." To pacify the mob, two of

the cardinals, half beside themselves with fright, pointed to

Tebaldeschi, set him up on a chair, placed a white mitre on his head,

and threw a red cloak over his shoulders. The old man tried to indicate

that he was not the right person. But the throngs continued to bend

down before him in obeisance for several hours, till it became known

that the successful candidate was Prignano.

In the meantime the rest of the cardinals forsook the building and

sought refuge, some within the walls of St. Angelo, and four by flight

beyond the walls of the city. The real pope was waiting for recognition

while the members of the electing college were fled. But by the next

day the cardinals had sufficiently regained their self-possession to

assemble again,--all except the four who had put the city walls behind

them,--and Cardinal Peter de Vergne, using the customary formula,

proclaimed to the crowd through the window: "I announce to you a great

joy. You have a pope, and he calls himself Urban VI." The new pontiff

was crowned on April 18, in front of St. Peter's, by Cardinal Orsini.

The archbishop had enjoyed the confidence of Gregory XI. He enjoyed a

reputation for austere morals and strict conformity to the rules of

fasting and other observances enjoined by the Church. He wore a hair

shirt, and was accustomed to retire with the Bible in his hand. At the

moment of his election no doubt was expressed as to its validity.

Nieheim, who was in the city at the time, declared that Urban was

canonical pope-elect. "This is the truth," he wrote, "and no one can

honestly deny it." [250] All the cardinals in Rome yielded Urban

submission, and in a letter dated May 8 they announced to the emperor

and all Christians the election and coronation. The cardinals at

Avignon wrote acknowledging him, and ordered the keys to the castle of

St. Angelo placed in his hands. It is probable that no one would have

thought of denying Urban's rights if the pope had removed to Avignon,

or otherwise yielded to the demands of the French members of the curia.

His failure to go to France, Urban declared to be the cause of the

opposition to him.

Seldom has so fine an opportunity been offered to do a worthy thing and

to win a great name as was offered to Urban VI. It was the opportunity

to put an end to the disturbance in the Church by maintaining the

residence of the papacy in its ancient seat, and restoring to it the

dignity which it had lost by its long exile. Urban, however, was not

equal to the occasion, and made an utter failure. He violated all the

laws of common prudence and tact. His head seemed to be completely

turned. He estranged and insulted his cardinals. He might have made

provision for a body of warm supporters by the prompt appointment of

new members to the college, but even this measure he failed to take

till it was too late. The French king, it is true, was bent upon having

the papacy return to French soil, and controlled the French cardinals.

But a pope of ordinary shrewdness was in position to foil the king.

This quality Urban VI. lacked, and the sacred college, stung by his

insults, came to regard him as an intruder in St. Peter's chair.

In his concern for right living, Urban early took occasion in a public

allocution to reprimand the cardinals for their worldliness and for

living away from their sees. He forbade their holding more than a

single appointment and accepting gifts from princes. To their demand

that Avignon continue to be the seat of the papacy, Urban brusquely

told them that Rome and the papacy were joined together, and he would

not separate them. As the papacy belonged not to France but to the

whole world, he would distribute the promotions to the sacred college

among the nations.

Incensed at the attack made upon their habits and perquisites, and upon

their national sympathies, the French cardinals, giving the heat of the

city as the pretext, removed one by one to Anagni, while Urban took up

his summer residence at Tivoli. His Italian colleagues followed him,

but they also went over to the French. No pope had ever been left more

alone. Forming a compact body, the French members of the curia demanded

the pope's resignation. The Italians, who at first proposed the calling

of a council, acquiesced. The French seceders then issued a

declaration, dated Aug. 2, in which Urban was denounced as an apostate,

and his election declared void in view of the duress under which it was

accomplished. [251] It asserted that the cardinals at the time were in

mortal terror from the Romans. Now that he would not resign, they

anathematized him. Urban replied in a document called the Factum,

insisting upon the validity of his election. Retiring to Fondi, in

Neapolitan territory, the French cardinals proceeded to a new eIection,

Sept. 20, 1378, the choice falling upon one of their number, Robert of

Geneva, the son of Amadeus, count of Geneva. He was one of those who,

four months before, had pointed out Tebaldeschi to the Roman mob. The

three Italian cardinals, though they did not actively participate in

the election, offered no resistance. Urban is said to have received the

news with tears, and to have expressed regret for his untactful and

self-willed course. Perhaps he recalled the fate of his

fellow-Neapolitan, Peter of Murrhone, whose lack of worldly wisdom a

hundred years before had lost him the papal crown. To establish himself

on the papal throne, he appointed 29 cardinals. But it was too late to

prevent the schism which Gregory XI. had feared and a wise ruler would

have averted.

Robert of Geneva, at the time of his election 36 years old, came to the

papal honor with his hands red from the bloody massacre of Cesena. He

had the reputation of being a politician and a fast liver. He was

consecrated Oct. 31 under the name of Clement VII. It was a foregone

conclusion that he would remove the papal seat back to Avignon. He

first attempted to overthrow Urban on his own soil, but the attempt

failed. Rome resisted, and the castle of St. Angelo, which was in the

hands of his supporters, he lost, but not until its venerable walls

were demolished, so that at a later time the very goats clambered over

the stones. He secured the support of Joanna, and Louis of Anjou whom

she had chosen as the heir of her kingdom, but the war which broke out

between Urban and Naples fell out to Urban's advantage. The duke of

Anjou was deposed, and Charles of Durazzo, of the royal house of

Hungary, Joanna's natural heir, appointed as his successor. Joanna

herself fell into Charles' hands and was executed, 1882, on the charge

of having murdered her first husband. The duke of Brunswick was her

fourth marital attempt. Clement VII. bestowed upon the duke of Anjou

parts of the State of the Church and the high-sounding but empty title

of duke of Adria. A portion of Urban's reward for crowning Charles,

1881, was the lordship over Capria, Amalfi, Fondi, and other

localities, which he bestowed upon his unprincipled and worthless

nephew, Francis Prignano. In the war over Naples, the pope had made

free use of the treasure of the Roman churches.

Clement's cause in Italy was lost, and there was nothing for him to do

but to fall back upon his supporter, Charles V. He returned to France

by way of the sea and Marseilles.

Thus the schism was completed, and Western Europe had the spectacle of

two popes elected by the same college of cardinals without a dissenting

voice, and each making full claims to the prerogative of the supreme

pontiff of the Christian world. Each pope fulminated the severest

judgments of heaven against the other. The nations of Europe and its

universities were divided in their allegiance or, as it was called,

their "obedience." The University of Paris, at first neutral, declared

in favor of Robert of Geneva, [252] as did Savoy, the kingdoms of

Spain, Scotland, and parts of Germany. England, Sweden, and the larger

part of Italy supported Urban. The German emperor, Charles IV., was

about to take the same side when he died, Nov. 29, 1378. Urban also had

the vigorous support of Catherine of Siena. Hearing of the election

which had taken place at Fondi she wrote to Urban: "I have heard that

those devils in human form have resorted to an election. They have

chosen not a vicar of Christ, but an anti-Christ. Never will I cease,

dear father, to look upon you as Christ's true vicar on earth."

The papal schism which Pastor has called "the greatest misfortune that

could be thought of for the Church" [253] soon began to call forth

indignant protests from the best men of the time. Western Christendom

had never known such a scandal. The seamless coat of Christ was rent in

twain, and Solomon's words could no longer be applied, "My dove is but

One." [254] The divine claims of the papacy itself began to be matter

of doubt. Writers like Wyclif made demands upon the pope to return to

Apostolic simplicity of manners in sharp language such as no one had

ever dared to use before. Many sees had two incumbents; abbeys, two

abbots; parishes, two priests. The maintenance of two popes involved an

increased financial burden, and both papal courts added to the old

practices new inventions to extract revenue. Clement VII.'s agents went

everywhere, striving to win support for his obedience, and the nations,

taking advantage of the situation, magnified their authority to the

detriment of the papal power.

The following is a list of the popes of the Roman and Avignon lines,

and the Pisan line whose legitimacy has now no advocates in the Roman

communion.

Roman Line

Urban VI., 1378-1389.

Boniface IX., 1389-1404.

Innocent VII., 1404-1406.

Gregory XII., 1406-1415.

Deposed at Pisa, 1409. d. 1424 Resigned

at Constance, 1415, d. 1417.

Avignon Line

Clement VII., 1378-1394.

Benedict XIII., 1394-1409.

Deposed at Pisa, 1409, and at

Constance, 1417,.

Pisan Line

Alexander V., 1409-1410.

John XXIII., 1410-1415.

Martin V., 1417-1431.

Acknowledged by the whole Latin Church.

The question of the legitimacy of Urban VI.'s pontificate is still a

matter of warm dispute. As neither pope nor council has given a

decision on the question, Catholic scholars feel no constraint in

discussing it. French writers have been inclined to leave the matter

open. This was the case with Bossuet, Mansi, Martene, as it is with

modern French writers. Valois hesitatingly, Salembier positively,

decides for Urban. Historians, not moved by French sympathies,

pronounce strongly in favor of the Roman line, as do Hefele, Funk,

Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, Denifle, and Pastor. The formal recognition of

Urban by all the cardinals and their official announcement of his

election to the princes would seem to put the validity of his election

beyond doubt. On the other hand, the declaratio sent forth by the

cardinals nearly four months after Urban's election affirms that the

cardinals were in fear of their lives when they voted; and according to

the theory of the canon law, constraint invalidates an election as

constraint invalidated Pascal II.'s concession to Henry V. It was the

intention of the cardinals, as they affirm, to elect one of their

number, till the tumult became so violent and threatening that to

protect themselves they precipitately elected Prignano. They state that

the people had even filled the air with the cry, "Let them be killed,"

moriantur. A panic prevailed. When the tumult abated, the cardinals sat

down to dine, and after dinner were about to proceed to a re-election,

as they say, when the tumult again became threatening, and the doors of

the room where they were sitting were broken open, so that they were

forced to flee for their lives.

To this testimony were added the depositions of individual cardinals

later. Had Prignano proved complaisant to the wishes of the French

party, there is no reason to suspect that the validity of his election

would ever have been disputed. Up to the time when the vote was cast

for Urban, the cardinals seem not to have been under duress from fear,

but to have acted freely. After the vote had been cast, they felt their

lives were in danger. [255] If the cardinals had proceeded to a second

vote, as Valois has said, Urban might have been elected. The constant

communications which passed between Charles V. and the French party at

Anagni show him to have been a leading factor in the proceedings which

followed and the reconvening of the conclave which elected Robert of

Geneva. [256]

On the other hand, the same body of cardinals which elected Urban

deposed him, and, in their capacity as princes of the Church,

unanimously chose Robert as his successor. The question of the

authority of the sacred college to exercise this prerogative is still a

matter of doubt. It received the abdication of Coelestine V. and

elected a successor to him while he was still living. In that case,

however, the papal throne became vacant by the supreme act of the pope

himself.

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[250] Erler's ed., p. 16.

[251] The document is given by Hefele, VI. 730-734.

[252] The full documentary accounts are given in the Chartularium, III.

561-575. Valois gives a very detailed treatment of the allegiance

rendered to the two popes, especially in vol. II. Even in Sweden and

Ireland Clement had some support, but England, in part owing to her

wars with France, gave undivided submission to Urban.

[253] Pastor, p. 143 sqq., quotes a German poem which strikingly sets

forth the evils of the schism, and Pastor himself says that nothing did

so much as the schism to prepare the way for the defection from the

papacy in the sixteenth century.

[254] Adam of Usk, p. 218, and other writers.

[255] This is the judgment of Pastor, I. 119.

[256] Valois, I. 144, devotes much space to the part Charles took in

preparing the way for the schism, and declares he was responsible for

the part France took in it and in rejecting Urban VI. Hergenr�ther says

all the good he can of the Roman line and all the evil he can of the

Avignon line. Clement he pronounces a man of elastic conscience, and

Benedict XIII., his successor, as always ready in words for the

greatest sacrifices, and farthest from them when it came to deeds.

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� 14. Further Progress of the Schism. 1378-1409.

The territory of Naples remained the chief theatre of the conflict

between the papal rivals, Louis of Anjou, who had the support of

Clement VII., continuing to assert his claim to the throne. In 1383

Urban secretly left Rome for Naples, but was there held in virtual

confinement till he had granted Charles of Durazzo's demands. He then

retired to Nocera, which belonged to his nephew. The measures taken by

the cardinals at Anagni had taught him no lesson. His insane severity

and self-will continued, and brought him into the danger of losing the

papal crown. Six of his cardinals entered into a conspiracy to dethrone

him, or at least to make him subservient to the curia. The plot was

discovered, and Urban launched the interdict against Naples, whose king

was supposed to have been a party to it. The offending cardinals were

imprisoned in an old cistern, and afterwards subjected to the torture.

[257] Forced to give up the town and to take refuge in the fortress,

the relentless pontiff is said to have gone three or four times daily

to the window, and, with candles burning and to the sound of a bell, to

have solemnly pronounced the formula of excommunication against the

besieging troops. Allowed to depart, and proceeding with the members of

his household across the country, Urban reached Trani and embarked on a

Genoese ship which finally landed him at Genoa, 1386. On the way, the

crew threatened to carry him to Avignon, and had to be bought off by

the unfortunate pontiff. Was ever a ruler in a worse predicament,

beating about on the Mediterranean, than Urban! Five of the cardinals

who had been dragged along in chains now met with a cruel end. Adam

Aston, the English cardinal, Urban had released at the request of the

English king. But towards the rest of the alleged conspirators he

showed the heartless relentlessness of a tyrant. The chronicler

Nieheim, who was with the pope at Naples and Nocera, declares that his

heart was harder than granite. Different rumors were afloat concerning

the death the prelates were subjected to, one stating they had been

thrown into the sea, another that they had their heads cut off with an

axe; another report ran that their bodies were buried in a stable after

being covered with lime and then burnt.

In the meantime, two of the prelates upon whom Urban had conferred the

red hat, both Italians, went over to Clement VII. and were graciously

received.

Breaking away from Genoa, Urban went by way of Lucca to Perugia, and

then with another army started off for Naples. Charles of Durazzo, who

had been called to the throne of Hungary and murdered in 1386, was

succeeded by his young son Ladislaus (1386~1414), but his claim was

contested by the heir of Louis of Anjou (d. 1384). The pontiff got no

farther than Ferentino, and turning back was carried in a carriage to

Rome, where he again entered the Vatican, a few months before his

death, Oct. 15, 1389.

Bartholomew Prignano had disappointed every expectation. He was his own

worst enemy. He was wholly lacking in common prudence and the spirit of

conciliation. It is to his credit that, as Nieheim urges, he never made

ecclesiastical preferment the object of sale. Whatever were his virtues

before he received the tiara, he had as pope shown himself in every

instance utterly unfit for the responsibilities of a ruler.

Clement VII., who arrived in Avignon in June, 1379, stooped before the

kings of France, Charles V. (d. 1380) and Charles VI. He was diplomatic

and versatile where his rival was impolitic and intractable. He knew

how to entertain at his table with elegance. [258] The distinguished

preacher, Vincent Ferrer, gave him his support. Among the new cardinals

he appointed was the young prince of Luxemburg, who enjoyed a great

reputation for saintliness. At the prince's death, in 1387, miracles

were said to be performed at his tomb, a circumstance which seemed to

favor the claims of the Avignon pope.

Clement's embassy to Bohemia for a while had hopes of securing a

favorable declaration from the Bohemian king, Wenzil, but was

disappointed. [259] The national pride of the French was Clement's

chief dependence, and for the king's support he was obliged to pay a

humiliating price by granting the royal demands to bestow

ecclesiastical offices and tax Church property. As a means of healing

the schism, Clement proposed a general council, promising, in case it

decided in his favor, to recognize Urban as leading cardinal. The first

schismatic pope died suddenly of apoplexy, Sept. 16, 1394, having

outlived Urban VI. five years.

Boniface IX., who succeeded Urban VI., was, like him, a Neapolitan, and

only thirty-five at the time of his election. He was a man of fine

presence, and understood the art of ruling, but lacked the culture of

the schools, and could not even write, and was poor at saying the

services. [260] He had the satisfaction of seeing the kingdom of Naples

yield to the Roman obedience. He also secured from the city of Rome

full submission, and the document, by which it surrendered to him its

republican liberties, remained for centuries the foundation of the

relations of the municipality to the Apostolic See. [261] Bologna,

Perugia, Viterbo, and other towns of Italy which had acknowledged

Clement, were brought into submission to him, so that before his death

the entire peninsula was under his obedience except Genoa, which

Charles VI. had reduced. All men's eyes began again to turn to Rome.

In 1390, the Jubilee Year which Urban VI. had appointed attracted

streams of pilgrims to Rome from Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and

England and other lands, as did also the Jubilee of 1400, commemorating

the close of one and the beginning of another century. If Rome profited

by these celebrations, Boniface also made in other ways the most of his

opportunity, and his agents throughout Christendom returned with the

large sums which they had realized from the sale of dispensations and

indulgences. Boniface left behind him a reputation for avarice and

freedom in the sale of ecclesiastical concessions. [262] He was also

notorious for his nepotism, enriching his brothers Andrew and John and

other relatives with offices and wealth. Such offences, however, the

Romans could easily overlook in view of the growing regard throughout

Europe for the Roman line of popes and the waning influence of the

Avignon line.

The preponderant influence of Ladislaus secured the election of still

another Neapolitan, Cardinal Cosimo dei Migliorati, who took the name

of Innocent VII. He also was only thirty-five years old at the time of

his elevation to the papal chair, a doctor of both laws and expert in

the management of affairs. The members of the conclave, before

proceeding to an election, signed a document whereby each bound

himself, if elected pope, to do all in his power to put an end to the

schism. The English chronicler, Adam of Usk, who was present at the

coronation, concludes the graphic description he gives of the

ceremonies [263] with a lament over the desolate condition of the Roman

city. How much is Rome to be pitied! he exclaims, "for, once thronged

with princes and their palaces, she is now a place of hovels, thieves,

wolves, worms, full of desert spots and laid waste by her own citizens

who rend each other in pieces. Once her empire devoured the world with

the sword, and now her priesthood devours it with mummery. Hence the

lines --

" 'The Roman bites at all, and those he cannot bite, he hates.

Of rich he hears the call, but 'gainst the poor he shuts his gates.' "

Following the example of his two predecessors, Innocent excommunicated

the Avignon anti-pope and his cardinals, putting them into the same

list with heretics, pirates, and brigands. In revenge for his nephew's

cold-blooded slaughter of eleven of the chief men of the city, whose

bodies he threw out of a window, he was driven from Rome, and after

great hardships he reached Viterbo. But the Romans soon found

Innocent's rule preferable to the rule of Ladislaus, king of Naples and

papal protector, and he was recalled, the nephew whose hands were

reeking with blood making public entry into the Vatican with his uncle.

The last pope of the Roman line was Gregory XII. Angelo Correr,

cardinal of St. Marks, Venice, elected 1406, was surpassed in tenacity

as well as ability by the last of the Avignon popes, elected 1394, and

better known as Peter de Luna of Aragon, one of the cardinals who

joined in the revolt against Urban VI. and in the election of Clement

VII. at Fondi.

Under these two pontiffs the controversy over the schism grew more and

more acute and the scandal more and more intolerable. The nations of

Western Europe were weary of the open and flagitious traffic in

benefices and other ecclesiastical privileges, the fulminations of one

pope against the other, and the division of sees and parishes between

rival claimants. The University of Paris took the leading part in

agitating remedial measures, and in the end the matter was taken wholly

out of the hands of the two popes. The cardinals stepped into the

foreground and, in the face of all canonical precedent, took the course

which ultimately resulted in the reunion of the Church under one head.

Before Gregory's election, the Roman cardinals, numbering fourteen,

again entered into a compact stipulating that the successful candidate

should by all means put an end to the schism, even, if necessary, by

the abdication of his office. Gregory was fourscore at the time, and

the chief consideration which weighed in his choice was that in men

arrived at his age ambition usually runs low, and that Gregory would be

more ready to deny himself for the good of the Church than a younger

man.

Peter de Luna, one of the most vigorous personalities who have ever

claimed the papal dignity, had the spirit and much of the ability of

Hildebrand and his namesake, Gregory IX. But it was his bad star to be

elected in the Avignon and not in the Roman succession. Had he been in

the Roman line, he would probably have made his mark among the great

ruling pontiffs. His nationality also was against him. The French had

little heart in supporting a Spaniard and, at Clement's death, the

relations between the French king and the Avignon pope at once lost

their cordiality. Peter was energetic of mind and in action, a shrewd

observer, magnified his office, and never yielded an inch in the matter

of papal prerogative. Through the administrations of three Roman

pontiffs, he held on firmly to his office, outlived the two Reformatory

councils of Pisa and Constance, and yielded not up this mortal flesh

till the close of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and was

still asserting his claims and maintaining the dignity of pope at the

time of his death. Before his election, he likewise entered into a

solemn compact with his cardinals, promising to bend every effort to

heal the unholy schism, even if the price were his own abdication.

The professions of both popes were in the right direction. They were

all that could be desired, and all that remained was for either of them

or for both of them to resign and make free room for a new candidate.

The problem would thus have been easily settled, and succeeding

generations might have canonized both pontiffs for their voluntary

self-abnegation. But it took ten years to bring Gregory to this state

of mind, and then almost the last vestige of power had been taken from

him. Peter de Luna never yielded.

Undoubtedly, at the time of the election of Gregory XII., the papacy

was passing through one of the grave crises in its history. There were

not wanting men who said, like Langenstein, vice-chancellor of the

University of Paris, that perhaps it was God's purpose that there

should be two popes indefinitely, even as David's kingdom was divided

under two sovereigns. [264] Yea, and there were men who argued publicly

that it made little difference how many there were, two or three, or

ten or twelve, or as many as there were nations. [265]

At his first consistory Gregory made a good beginning, when he asserted

that, for the sake of the good cause of securing a united Christendom,

he was willing to travel by land or by sea, by land, if necessary, with

a pilgrim's staff, by sea in a fishing smack, in order to come to an

agreement with Benedict. He wrote to his rival on the Rhone, declaring

that, like the woman who was ready to renounce her child rather than

see it cut asunder, so each of them should be willing to cede his

authority rather than be responsible for the continuance of the schism.

He laid his hand on the New Testament and quoted the words that "he who

exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be

exalted." He promised to abdicate, if Benedict would do the same, that

the cardinals of both lines might unite together in a new election; and

he further promised not to add to the number of his cardinals, except

to keep the number equal to the number of the Avignon college.

Benedict's reply was shrewd, if not equally demonstrative. He, too,

lamented the schism, which he pronounced detestable, wretched, and

dreadful, [266] but gently setting aside Gregory's blunt proposal,

suggested as the best resort the via discussionis, or the path of

discussion, and that the cardinals of both lines should meet together,

talk the matter over, and see what should be done, and then, if

necessary, one or both popes might abdicate. Both popes in their

communications called themselves "servant of the servants of God."

Gregory addressed Benedict as "Peter de Luna, whom some peoples in this

wretched--miserabili -- schism call Benedict XIII."; and Benedict

addressed the pope on the Tiber as "Angelus Correr, whom some, adhering

to him in this most destructive--pernicioso -- schism, call Gregory

XII." "We are both old men," wrote Benedict. "Time is short; hasten,

and do not delay in this good cause. Let us both embrace the ways of

salvation and peace."

Nothing could have been finer, but it was quickly felt that while both

popes expressed themselves as ready to abdicate, positive as the

professions of both were, each wanted to have the advantage when the

time came for the election of the new pontiff to rule over the reunited

Church.

As early as 1381, the University of Paris appealed to the king of

France to insist upon the calling of a general council as the way to

terminate the schism. But the duke of Anjou had the spokesman of the

university, Jean Ronce, imprisoned, and the university was commanded to

keep silence on the subject.

Prior to this appeal, two individuals had suggested the same idea,

Konrad of Gelnhausen, and Henry of Langenstein, otherwise known as

Henry of Hassia. Konrad, who wrote in 1380, [267] and whose views led

straight on to the theory of the supreme authority of councils, [268]

affirmed that there were two heads of the Church, and that Christ never

fails it, even though the earthly head may fail by death or error. The

Church is not the pope and the cardinals, but the body of the faithful,

and this body gets its inner life directly from Christ, and is so far

infallible. In this way he answers those who were forever declaring

that in the absence of the pope's call there would be no council, even

if all the prelates were assembled, but only a conventicle.

In more emphatic terms, Henry of Langenstein, in 1381, justified the

calling of a council without the pope's intervention. [269] The

institution of the papacy by Christ, he declared, did not involve the

idea that the action of the pope was always necessary, either in

originating or consenting to legislation. The Church might have

instituted the papacy, even had Christ not appointed it. If the

cardinals should elect a pontiff not agreeable to the Church, the

Church might set their choice aside. The validity of a council did not

depend upon the summons or the ratification of a pope. Secular princes

might call such a synod. A general council, as the representative of

the entire Church, is above the cardinals, yea, above the pope himself.

Such a council cannot err, but the cardinals and the pope may err.

The views of Langenstein, vice-chancellor of the University of Paris,

represented the views of the faculties of that institution. They were

afterwards advocated by John Gerson, one of the most influential men of

his century, and one of the most honored of all the centuries. Among

those who took the opposite view was the English Dominican and

confessor of Benedict XIII., John Hayton. The University of Paris he

called "a daughter of Satan, mother of error, sower of sedition, and

the pope's defamer, "and declared the pope was to be forced by no human

tribunal, but to follow God and his own conscience.

In 1394, the University of Paris proposed three methods of healing the

schism [270] which became the platform over which the issue was

afterwards discussed, namely, the via cessionis, or the abdication of

both popes, the via compromissi, an adjudication of the claims of both

by a commission, and the via synodi, or the convention of a general

council to which the settlement of the whole matter should be left. No

act in the whole history of this famous literary institution has given

it wider fame than this proposal, coupled with the activity it

displayed to bring the schism to a close. The method preferred by its

faculties was the first, the abdication of both popes, which it

regarded as the simplest remedy. It was suggested that the new

election, after the popes had abdicated, should be consummated by the

cardinals in office at the time of Gregory XI.'s decease, 1378, and

still surviving, or by a union of the cardinals of both obediences.

The last method, settlement by a general council, which the university

regarded as offering the most difficulty, it justified on the ground

that the pope is subject to the Church as Christ was subject to his

mother and Joseph. The authority of such a council lay in its

constitution according to Christ's words, "where two or three are

gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Its

membership should consist of doctors of theology and the laws taken

from the older universities, and deputies of the orders, as well as

bishops, many of whom were uneducated,--illiterati. [271]

Clement VII. showed his displeasure with the university by forbidding

its further intermeddling, and by condemning his cardinals who, without

his permission, had met and recommended him to adopt one of the three

ways. At Clement's death the king of France called upon the Avignon

college to postpone the election of a successor, but, surmising the

contents of the letter, they prudently left it unopened until they had

chosen Benedict XIII. Benedict at once manifested the warmest zeal in

the healing of the schism, and elaborated his plan for meeting with

Boniface IX., and coming to some agreement with him. These friendly

propositions were offset by a summons from the king's delegates,

calling upon the two pontiffs to abdicate, and all but two of the

Avignon cardinals favored the measure. But Benedict declared that such

a course would seem to imply constraint, and issued a bull against it.

The two parties continued to express deep concern for the healing of

the schism, but neither would yield. Benedict gained the support of the

University of Toulouse, and strengthened himself by the promotion of

Peter d'Ailly, chancellor of the University of Paris, to the

episcopate. The famous inquisitor, Nicolas Eymericus, also one of his

cardinals, was a firm advocate of Benedict's divine claims. The

difficulties were increased by the wavering course of Charles VI.,

1380-1412, a man of feeble mind, and twice afflicted with insanity,

whose brothers and uncles divided the rule of the kingdom amongst

themselves. French councils attempted to decide upon a course for the

nation to pursue, and a third council, meeting in Paris, 1398, and

consisting of 11 archbishops and 60 bishops, all theretofore supporters

of the Avignon pope, decided upon the so-called subtraction of

obedience from Benedict. In spite of these discouragements, Benedict

continued loyal to himself. He was forsaken by his cardinals and

besieged by French troops in his palace and wounded. The spectacle of

his isolation touched the heart and conscience of the French people,

and the decree ordering the subtraction of obedience was annulled by

the national parliament of 1403, which professed allegiance anew, and

received from him full absolution.

When Gregory XII. was elected in 1406, the controversy over the schism

was at white heat. England, Castile, and the German king, Wenzil, had

agreed to unite with France in bringing it to an end. Pushed by the

universal clamor, by the agitation of the University of Paris, and

especially by the feeling which prevailed in France, Gregory and

Benedict saw that the situation was in danger of being controlled by

other hands than their own, and agreed to meet at Savona on the Gulf of

Genoa to discuss their differences. In October, 1407, Benedict,

attended by a military guard, went as far as Porto Venere and Savona.

Gregory got as far as Lucca, when he declined to go farther, on the

plea that Savona was in territory controlled by the French and on other

pretexts. Nieheim represents the Roman pontiff as dissimulating during

the whole course of the proceedings and as completely under the

influence of his nephews and other favorites, who imposed upon the

weakness of the old man, and by his doting generosity were enabled to

live in luxury. At Lucca they spent their time in dancing and

merry-making. This writer goes on to say that Gregory put every

obstacle in the way of union. [272] He is represented by another writer

as having spent more in bonbons than his predecessors did for their

wardrobes and tables, and as being only a shadow with bones and skin.

[273]

Benedict's support was much weakened by the death of the king's

brother, the duke of Orleans, who had been his constant supporter.

France threatened neutrality, and Benedict, fearing seizure by the

French commander at Genoa, beat a retreat to Perpignan, a fortress at

the foot of the Pyrenees, six miles from the Mediterranean. In May of

the same year France again decreed "subtraction," and a national French

assembly in 1408 approved the calling of a council. The last stages of

the contest were approaching.

Seven of Gregory's cardinals broke away from him, and, leaving him at

Lucca, went to Pisa, where they issued a manifesto appealing from a

poorly informed pope to a better informed one, from Christ's vicar to

Christ himself, and to the decision of a general council. Two more

followed. Gregory further injured his cause by breaking his solemn

engagement and appointing four cardinals, May, 1408, two of them his

nephews, and a few months later he added ten more. Cardinals of the

Avignon obedience joined the Roman cardinals at Pisa and brought the

number up to thirteen. Retiring to Livorno on the beautiful Italian

lake of that name, and acting as if the popes were deposed, they as

rulers of the Church appointed a general council to meet at Pisa, March

25, 1409.

As an offset, Gregory summoned a council of his own to meet in the

territory either of Ravenna or Aquileja. Many of his closest followers

had forsaken him, and even his native city of Venice withdrew from him

its support. In the meantime Ladislaus had entered Rome and been hailed

as king. It is, however, probable that this was with the consent of

Gregory himself, who hoped thereby to gain sympathy for his cause.

Benedict also exercised his sovereign power as pontiff and summoned a

council to meet at Perpignan, Nov. 1, 1408.

The word "council," now that the bold initiative was taken, was hailed

as pregnant with the promise of sure relief from the disgrace and

confusion into which Western Christendom had been thrown and of a

reunion of the Church.

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[257] Nieheim, p. 91. See also pp. 103 sq., 110, for the further

treatment of the cardinals, which was worthy of Pharaoh.

[258] Nieheim, p. 124.

[259] Valois, II. 282, 299 sqq.

[260] Nesciens scribere etiam male cantabat, Nieheim, p. 130.

[261] Gregorovius, VI. 647 sqq.; Valois, II. 162, 166 sqq.

[262] Erat insatiabilis vorago et in avaricia nullus similis ei,

Nieheim, p. 119. Nieheim, to be sure, was disappointed in not receiving

office under Boniface, but other contemporaries say the same thing.

Adam of Usk, p. 269, states that, "though gorged with simony, Boniface

to his dying day was never filled."

[263] Chronicle, p. 262 sqq. This is one of the most full and

interesting accounts extant of the coronation of a mediaeval pope. Usk

describes the conclave as well as the coronation, and he mentions

expressly how, on his way from St. Peter's to the Lateran, Innocent

purposely turned aside from St. Clement's, near which stood the bust of

Pope Joan and her son.

[264] Du Pin, II. 821.

[265] Letter of the Univ. of Paris to Clement VII., dated July 17,

1394. Chartul. III. 633, nihil omnino curandum quot papae sint, et non

modo duos aut tres, sed decem aut duodecim immo et singulis regnis

singulos prefici posse, etc.

[266] Haec execranda et detestanda, diraque divisio, Nieheim, pp.

209-213, gives both letters entire.

[267] Gelnhausen's tract, De congregando concilio in tempore

schismatis, in Mart�ne-Durand, Thesaurus nov. anecd., II. 1200-1226.

[268] So Pastor, I. 186. See also, Schwab, Gerson, p. 124 sqq.

[269] Consilium pacis de unione et reformatione ecclesiae in concilio

universali quaerenda, Van der Hardt, II. 3-60, and Du Pin, Opp. Gerson,

II. 810

[270] Chartul III. p. 608 sqq.

[271] Chartul., I. 620.

[272] Nieheim, pp. 237, 242, 274, etc., manifeste impedire modis

omnibus conabantur.

[273] Vita, Muratori, III., II., 838, solum spiritus cum ossibus et

pelle.

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� 15. The Council of Pisa.

The three councils of Pisa, 1409, Constance, 1414, and Basel, 1431, of

which the schism was the occasion, are known in history as the

Reformatory councils. Of the tasks they set out to accomplish, the

healing of the schism and the institution of disciplinary reforms in

the Church, the first they accomplished, but with the second they made

little progress. They represent the final authority of general councils

in the affairs of the Church--a view, called the conciliary theory--in

distinction from the supreme authority of the papacy.

The Pisan synod marks an epoch in the history of Western Christendom

not so much on account of what it actually accomplished as because it

was the first revolt in council against the theory of papal absolutism

which had been accepted for centuries. It followed the ideas of Gerson

and Langenstein, namely, that the Church is the Church even without the

presence of a pope, and that an oecumenical council is legitimate which

meets not only in the absence of his assent but in the face of his

protest. Representing intellectually the weight of the Latin world and

the larger part of its constituency, the assembly was a momentous event

leading in the opposite direction from the path laid out by Hildebrand,

Innocent III., and their successors. It was a mighty blow at the old

system of Church government.

While Gregory XII. was tarrying at Rimini, as a refugee, under the

protection of Charles Malatesta, and Benedict XIII. was confined to the

seclusion of Perpignan, the synod was opened on the appointed day in

the cathedral of Pisa. There was an imposing attendance of 14

cardinals,--the number being afterwards increased to 24,--4 patriarchs,

10 archbishops, 79 bishops and representatives of 116 other bishops,

128 abbots and priors and the representatives of 200 other abbots. To

these prelates were added the generals of the Dominican, Franciscan,

Carmelite, and Augustinian orders, the grand-master of the Knights of

St. John, who was accompanied by 6 commanders, the general of the

Teutonic order, 300 doctors of theology and the canon law, 109

representatives of cathedral and collegiate chapters, and the deputies

of many princes, including the king of the Romans, Wenzil, and the

kings of England, France, Poland, and Cyprus. A new and significant

feature was the representation of the universities of learning,

including Paris, [274] Bologna, Oxford and Cambridge, Montpellier,

Toulouse, Angers, Vienna, Cracow, Prag, and Cologne. Among the most

important personages was Peter d'Ailly, though there is no indication

in the acts of the council that he took a prominent public part. John

Gerson seems not to have been present.

The second day, the archbishop of Milan, Philargi, himself soon to be

elected pope, preached from Judg. 20:7: "Behold, ye are all children of

Israel. Give here your advice and counsel," and stated the reasons

which had led to the summoning of the council. Guy de Maillesec, the

only cardinal surviving from the days prior to the schism, presided

over the first sessions. His place was then filled by the patriarch of

Alexandria, till the new pope was chosen.

One of the first deliverances was a solemn profession of the Holy

Trinity and the Catholic faith, and that every heretic and schismatic

will share with the devil and his angels the burnings of eternal fire

unless before the end of this life he make his peace with the Catholic

Church. [275]

The business which took precedence of all other was the healing of the

schism, the causa unionis, as, it was called, and disposition was first

made of the rival popes. A formal trial was instituted, which was

opened by two cardinals and two archbishops proceeding to the door of

the cathedral and solemnly calling Gregory and Benedict by name and

summoning them to appear and answer for themselves. The formality was

gone through three times, on three successive days, and the offenders

were given till April 15 to appear.

By a series of declarations the synod then justified its existence, and

at the eighth session declared itself to be "a general council

representing the whole universal Catholic Church and lawfully and

reasonably called together." [276] It thought along the lines marked

out by D'Ailly and Gerson and the other writers who had pronounced the

unity of the Church to consist in oneness with her divine Head and

declared that the Church, by virtue of the power residing in herself,

has the right, in response to a divine call, to summon a council. The

primitive Church had called synods, and James, not Peter, had presided

at Jerusalem.

D'Ailly, in making definite announcement of his views at a synod,

meeting at Aix, Jan. 1, 1409, had said that the Church's unity depends

upon the unity of her head, Christ. Christ's mystical body gets its

authority from its divine head to meet in a general council through

representatives, for it is written, "where two or three are gathered

together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." The words are

not "in Peter's name," or "in Paul's name," but "in my name." And when

the faithful assemble to secure the welfare of the Church, there Christ

is in their midst.

Gerson wrote his most famous tract bearing on the schism and the

Church's right to remove a pope--De auferibilitate papae ab ecclesia --

while the council of Pisa was in session. [277] In this elaborate

treatment he said that, in the strict sense, Christ is the Church's

only bridegroom. The marriage between the pope and the Church may be

dissolved, for such a spiritual marriage is not a sacrament. The pope

may choose to separate himself from the Church and resign. The Church

has a similar right to separate itself from the pope by removing him.

All Church officers are appointed for the Church's welfare and, when

the pope impedes its welfare, it may remove him. It is bound to defend

itself. This it may do through a general council, meeting by general

consent and without papal appointment. Such a council depends

immediately upon Christ for its authority. The pope may be deposed for

heresy or schism. He might be deposed even where he had no personal

guilt, as in case he should be taken prisoner by the Saracens, and

witnesses should testify he was dead. Another pope would then be chosen

and, if the reports of the death of the former pope were proved false,

and he be released from captivity, he or the other pope would have to

be removed, for the Church cannot have more than one pontiff.

Immediately after Easter, Charles Malatesta appeared in the council to

advocate Gregory's cause. A commission, appointed by the cardinals,

presented forty reasons to show that an agreement between the synod and

the Roman pontiff was out of the question. Gregory must either appear

at Pisa in person and abdicate, or present his resignation to a

commission which the synod would appoint and send to Rimini.

Gregory's case was also represented by the rival king of the Romans,

Ruprecht, [278] through a special embassy made up of the archbishop of

Riga, the bishops of Worms and Verden, and other commissioners. It

presented twenty-four reasons for denying the council's jurisdiction.

The paper was read by the bishop of Verden at the close of a sermon

preached to the assembled councillors on the admirable text, "Peace be

unto you." The most catching of the reasons was that, if the cardinals

questioned the legitimacy of Gregory's pontificate, what ground had

they for not questioning the validity of their own authority, appointed

as they had been by Gregory or Benedict.

In a document of thirty-eight articles, read April 24, the council

presented detailed specifications against the two popes, charging them

both with having made and broken solemn promises to resign.

The argument was conducted by Peter de Anchorano, professor of both

laws in Bologna, and by others. Peter argued that, by fostering the

schism, Gregory and his rival had forfeited jurisdiction, and the duty

of calling a representative council of Christendom devolved on the

college of cardinals. In certain cases the cardinals are left no option

whether they shall act or not, as when a pope is insane or falls into

heresy or refuses to summon a council at a time when orthodox doctrine

is at stake. The temporal power has the right to expel a pope who acts

illegally.

In an address on Hosea 1:11, "and the children of Judah and the

children of Israel shall be gathered together and shall appoint

themselves one head," Peter Plaoul, of the University of Paris, clearly

placed the council above the pope, an opinion which had the support of

his own university as well as the support of the universities of

Toulouse, Angers, and Orleans. The learned canonist, Zabarella,

afterwards appointed cardinal, took the same ground.

The trial was carried on with all decorum and, at the end of two

months, on June 5, sentence was pronounced, declaring both popes

"notorious schismatics, promoters of schism, and notorious heretics,

errant from the faith, and guilty of the notorious and enormous crimes

of perjury and violated oaths." [279]

Deputies arriving from Perpignan a week later, June 14, were hooted by

the council when the archbishop of Tarragona, one of their number,

declared them to be "the representatives of the venerable pope,

Benedict XIII." Benedict had a short time before shown his defiance of

the Pisan fathers by adding twelve members to his cabinet. When the

deputies announced their intention of waiting upon Gregory, and asked

for a letter of safe conduct, Balthazar Cossa, afterwards John XXIII.,

the master of Bologna, is said to have declared, "Whether they come

with a letter or without it, he would burn them all if he could lay his

hands upon them."

The rival popes being disposed of, it remained for the council to

proceed to a new election, and it was agreed to leave the matter to the

cardinals, who met in the archiepiscopal palace of Pisa, June 26, and

chose the archbishop of Milan, Philargi, who took the name of Alexander

V. He was about seventy, a member of the Franciscan order, and had

received the red hat from Innocent VII. I. He was a Cretan by birth,

and the first Greek to wear the tiara since John VII., in 706. He had

never known his father or mother and, rescued from poverty by the

Minorites, he was taken to Italy to be educated, and later sent to

Oxford. After his election as pope, he is reported to have said, "as a

bishop I was rich, as a cardinal poor, and as pope I am a beggar

again." [280]

In the meantime Gregory's side council at Cividale, near Aquileja, was

running its course. There was scarcely an attendant at the first

session. Later, Ruprecht and king Ladislaus were represented by

deputies. The assumption of the body was out of all proportion to its

size. It pronounced the pontiffs of the Roman line the legitimate

rulers of Christendom, and appointed nuncios to all the kingdoms.

However, not unmindful of his former professions, Gregory anew

expressed his readiness to resign if his rivals, Peter of Luna and

Peter of Candia (Crete), would do the same. Venice had declared for

Alexander, and Gregory, obliged to flee in the disguise of a merchant,

found refuge in the ships of Ladislaus.

Benedict's council met in Perpignan six months before, November, 1408.

One hundred and twenty prelates were in attendance, most of them from

Spain. The council adjourned March 26, 1409, after appointing a

delegation of seven to proceed to Pisa and negotiate for the healing of

the schism.

After Alexander's election, the members lost interest in the synod and

began to withdraw from Pisa, and it was found impossible to keep the

promise made by the cardinals that there should be no adjournment till

measures had been taken to reform the Church "in head and members."

Commissions were appointed to consider reforms, and Alexander prorogued

the body, Aug. 7, 1409, after appointing another council for April 12,

1412. [281]

At the opening of the Pisan synod there were two popes; at its close,

three. Scotland and Spain still held to Benedict, and Naples and parts

of Central Europe continued to acknowledge the obedience of Gregory.

The greater part of Christendom, however, was bound to the support of

Alexander. This pontiff lacked the strength needed for the emergency,

and he aroused the opposition of the University of Paris by extending

the rights of the Mendicant orders to hear confessions. [282] He died

at Bologna, May 3, 1410, without having entered the papal city. Rumor

went that Balthazar Cossa, who was about to be elected his successor,

had poison administered to him.

As a rule, modern Catholic historians are inclined to belittle the

Pisan synod, and there is an almost general agreement among them that

it lacked oecumenical character. Without pronouncing a final decision

on the question, Bellarmin regarded Alexander V. as legitimate pope.

Gerson and other great contemporaries treated it as oecumenical, as did

also Bossuet and other Gallican historians two centuries later. Modern

Catholic historians treat the claims of Gregory XII. as not affected by

a council which was itself illegitimate and a high-handed revolt

against canon law. [283]

But whether the name oecumenical be given or be withheld matters

little, in view of the general judgment which the summons and sitting

of the council call forth. It was a desperate measure adopted to suit

an emergency, but it was also the product of a new freedom of

ecclesiastical thought, and so far a good omen of a better age. The

Pisan synod demonstrated that the Church remained virtually a unit in

spite of the double pontifical administration. It branded by their

right names the specious manoevres of Gregory and Peter de Luna. It

brought together the foremost thinkers and literary interests of Europe

and furnished a platform of free discussion. Not its least service was

in preparing the way for the imposing council which convened in

Constance five years later.

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[274] Schwab, p. 223 sq. The address which Gerson is said to have

delivered and which Mansi includes in the acts of the council was a

rhetorical composition and never delivered at Pisa. Schwab, p. 243.

[275] Mansi, XXVII. 358.

[276] Mansi, XXVII. 366.

[277] See Schwab, p. 250 sqq.

[278] The electors deposed Wenzil in 1400 for incompetency, and elected

Ruprecht of the Palatinate.

[279] Eorum utrumque fuisse et esse notorios schismaticos et antiqui

schimatis nutritores ... necnon notorios haereticos et a fide devios,

notoriisque criminibus enormibus perjuriis et violantionis voti

irretitos, etc., Mansi, XXVI. 1147, 1225 sq. Hefele, VI. 1025 sq., also

gives the judgment in full.

[280] Nieheim, p. 320 sqq., gives an account of Alexander's early life.

[281] Creighton is unduly severe upon Alexander and the council for

adjourning, without carrying out the promise of reform. Hefele, VI.

1042, treats the matter with fairness, and shows the difficulty

involved in a disciplinary reform where the evils were of such long

standing.

[282] The number of ecclesiastical gifts made by Alexander in his brief

pontificate was large, and Nieheim pithily says that when the waters

are confused, then is the time to fish.

[283] Pastor, I. 192, speaks of the unholy Pisan synod--segenslose

Pisaner Synode. All ultramontane historians disparage it, and

Hergenr�ther-Kirsch uses a tone of irony in describing its call and

proceedings. They do not exonerate Gregory from having broken his

solemn promise, but they treat the council as wholly illegitimate,

either because it was not called by a pope or because it had not the

universal support of the Catholic nations. Hefele, I. 67 sqq., denies

to it the character of an oecumenical synod, but places it in a

category by itself. Pastor opens his treatment with a discourse on the

primacy of the papacy, dating from Peter, and the sole right of the

pope to call a council. The cardinals who called it usurped an

authority which did not belong to them.

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� 16. The Council of Constance. 1414-1418.

At Alexander's death, seventeen cardinals met in Bologna and elected

Balthazar Cossa, who took the name of John XXIII. He was of noble

Neapolitan lineage, began his career as a soldier and perhaps as a

corsair, [284] was graduated in both laws at Bologna and was made

cardinal by Boniface IX. He joined in the call of the council of Pisa.

A man of ability, he was destitute of every moral virtue, and capable

of every vice.

Leaning for support upon Louis of Anjou, John gained entrance to Rome.

In the battle of Rocca Secca, May 14, 1411, Louis defeated the troops

of Ladislaus. The captured battle-flags were sent to Rome, hung up in

St. Peter's, then torn down in the sight of the people, and dragged in

the dust in the triumphant procession through the streets of the city,

in which John participated. Ladislaus speedily recovered from his

defeat, and John, with his usual faithlessness, made terms with

Ladislaus, recognizing him as king, while Ladislaus, on his part,

renounced his allegiance to Gregory XII. That pontiff was ordered to

quit Neapolitan territory, and embarking in Venetian vessels at Gaeta,

fled to Dalmatia, and finally took refuge with Charles Malatesta of

Rimini, his last political ally.

The Council of Constance, the second of the Reformatory councils, was

called together by the joint act of Pope John XXIII. and Sigismund,

king of the Romans. It was not till he was reminded by the University

of Paris that John paid heed to the action of the Council of Pisa and

called a council to meet at Rome, April, 1412. Its sessions were

scantily attended, and scarcely a trace of it is left. [285] After

ordering Wyclif's writings burnt, it adjourned Feb. 10, 1413. John had

strengthened the college of cardinals by adding fourteen to its number,

among them men of the first rank, as D'Ailly, Zabarella of Florence,

Robert Hallum, bishop of Salisbury, and Fillastre, dean of Rheims.

Ladislaus, weary of his treaty with John and ambitious to create a

unified Latin kingdom, took Rome, 1413, giving the city over to sack.

The king rode into the Lateran and looked down from his horse on the

heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, which he ordered the canons to

display. The very churches were robbed, and soldiers and their

courtesans drank wine out of the sacred chalices. Ladislaus left Rome,

struck with a vicious disease, rumored to be due to poison administered

by an apothecary's daughter of Perugia, and died at Naples, August,

1414. He had been one of the most prominent figures in Europe for a

quarter of a century and the chief supporter of the Roman line of

pontiffs.

Driven from Rome, John was thrown into the hands of Sigismund, who was

then in Lombardy. This prince, the grandson of the blind king, John,

who was killed at Cr�cy, had come to the throne of Hungary through

marriage with its heiress. At Ruprecht's death he was elected king of

the Romans, 1411. Circumstances and his own energy made him the most

prominent sovereign of his age and the chief political figure in the

Council of Constance. He lacked high aims and moral purpose, but had

some taste for books, and spoke several languages besides his own

native German. Many sovereigns have placed themselves above national

statutes, but Sigismund went farther and, according to the story,

placed himself above the rules of grammar. In his first address at the

Council of Constance, so it is said, he treated the Latin word schisma,

schism, as if it were feminine. [286] When Priscian and other learned

grammarians were quoted to him to show it was neuter, he replied, "Yes;

but I am emperor and above them, and can make a new grammar." The fact

that Sigismund was not yet emperor when the mistake is said to have

been made--for he was not crowned till 1433--seems to prejudice the

authenticity of the story, but it is quite likely that he made mistakes

in Latin and that the bon-mot was humorously invented with reference to

it.

Pressed by the growing troubles in Bohemia over John Huss, Sigismund

easily became an active participant in the measures looking towards a

new council. Men distrusted John XXIII. The only hope of healing the

schism seemed to rest with the future emperor. In many documents, and

by John himself, he was addressed as "advocate and defender of the

Church" [287] -- advocatus et defensor ecclesiae. [288]

Two of John's cardinals met Sigismund at Como, Oct. 13, 1413, and

discussed the time and place of the new synod. John preferred an

Italian city, Sigismund the small Swabian town of Kempten; Strassburg,

Basel, and other places were mentioned, but Constance, on German

territory, was at last fixed upon. On Oct. 30 Sigismund announced the

approaching council to all the prelates, princes, and doctors of

Christendom, and on Dec. 9 John attached his seal to the call.

Sigismund and John met at Lodi the last of November, 1413, and again at

Cremona early in January, 1414, the pope being accompanied by thirteen

cardinals. Thus the two great luminaries of this mundane sphere were

again side by side. [289] They ascended together the great Torazzo,

close to the cathedral of Cremona, accompanied by the lord of the town,

who afterwards regretted that he had not seized his opportunity and

pitched them both down to the street. Not till the following August was

a formal announcement of the impending council sent to the Kaufhaus

Gregory XII., who recognized Sigismund as king of the Romans. [290]

Gregory complained to Archbishop Andrew of Spalato, bearer of the

notice, of the lateness of the invitation, and that he had not been

consulted in regard to the council. Sigismund promised that, if Gregory

should be deposed, he would see to it that he received a good life

position. [291]

The council, which was appointed for Nov. 1, 1414, lasted nearly four

years, and proved to be one of the most imposing gatherings which has

ever convened in Western Europe. It was a veritable parliament of

nations, a convention of the leading intellects of the age, who pressed

together to give vent to the spirit of free discussion which the

Avignon scandals and the schism had developed, and to debate the most

urgent of questions, the reunion of Christendom under one undisputed

head." [292]

Following the advice of his cardinals, John, who set his face

reluctantly towards the North, reached Constance Oct. 28, 1414. The

city then contained 5500 people, and the beauty of its location, its

fields, and its vineyards, were praised by Nieheim and other

contemporaries. They also spoke of the salubriousness of the air and

the justice of the municipal laws for strangers. It seemed to be as a

field which the Lord had blessed. [293] As John approached Constance,

coming by way of the Tirol, he is said to have exclaimed, "Ha, this is

the place where foxes are trapped." He entered the town in great style,

accompanied by nine cardinals and sixteen hundred mounted horsemen. He

rode a white horse, its back covered with a red rug. Its bridles were

held by the count of Montferrat and an Orsini of Rome. The city council

sent to the pope's lodgings four large barrels of Elsass wine, eight of

native wine, and other wines. [294]

The first day of November, John attended a solemn mass at the

cathedral. The council met on the 5th, with fifteen cardinals present.

The first public session was held Nov. 16. In all, forty-five public

sessions were held, the usual hour of assembling being 7 in the

morning. Gregory XII. was represented by two delegates, the titular

patriarch of Constantinople and Cardinal John Dominici of Ragusa, a man

of great sagacity and excellent spirit.

The convention did not get into full swing until the arrival of

Sigismund on Christmas Eve, fresh from his coronation, which occurred

at Aachen, Nov. 8, and accompanied by his queen, Barbara, and a

brilliant suite. After warming themselves, the imperial party proceeded

to the cathedral and, at cock-crowing Christmas morning, were received

by the pope. Services were held lasting eight, or, according to another

authority, eleven hours without interruption. Sigismund, wearing his

crown and a dalmatic, exercised the functions of deacon and read the

Gospel, and the pope conferred upon him a sword, bidding him use it to

protect the Church.

Constance had become the most conspicuous locality in Europe. It

attracted people of every rank, from the king to the beggar. A scene of

the kind on so great a scale had never been witnessed in the West

before. The reports of the number of strangers in the city vary from

50,000 to 100,000. Richental, the indefatigable Boswell of the council,

himself a resident of Constance, gives an account of the arrival of

every important personage, together with the number of his retainers.

One-half of his Chronicle is a directory of names. He went from house

to house, taking a census, and to the thousands he mentions by name, he

adds 5000 who rode in and out of the town every day. He states that

80,000 witnessed the coronation of Martin V. The lodgings of the more

distinguished personages were marked with their coats of arms. Bakers,

beadles, grooms, scribes, goldsmiths, merchantmen of every sort, even

to traffickers from the Orient, flocked together to serve the dukes and

prelates and the learned university masters and doctors. There were in

attendance on the council, 33 cardinals, 5 patriarchs, 47 archbishops,

145 bishops, 93 titular bishops, 217 doctors of theology, 361 doctors

in both laws, 171 doctors of medicine, besides a great number of

masters of arts from the 37 universities represented, 83 kings and

princes represented by envoys, 38 dukes, 173 counts, 71 barons, more

than 1500 knights, 142 writers of bulls, 1700 buglers, fiddlers, and

players on other musical instruments. Seven hundred women of the street

practised their trade openly or in rented houses, while the number of

those who practised it secretly was a matter of conjecture. [295] There

were 36,000 beds for strangers. Five hundred are said to have been

drowned in the lake during the progress of the council. Huss wrote,

"This council is a scene of foulness, for it is a common saying among

the Swiss that a generation will not suffice to cleanse Constance from

the sins which the council has committed in this city." [296]

The English and Scotch delegation, which numbered less than a dozen

persons, was accompanied by 700 or 800 mounted men, splendidly

accoutred, and headed by fifers and other musicians, and made a great

sensation by their entry into the city. The French delegation was

marked by its university men and other men of learning. [297]

The streets and surroundings presented the spectacle of a merry fair.

There were tournaments, dances, acrobatic shows, processions, musical

displays. But in spite of the congestion, good order seems to have been

maintained. By order of the city council, persons were forbidden to be

out after curfew without a light. Chains were to be stretched across

some of the streets, and all shouting at night was forbidden. It is

said that during the council's progress only two persons were punished

for street brawls. A check was put upon extortionate rates by a strict

tariff. The price of a white loaf was fixed at a penny, and a bed for

two persons, with sheets and pillows, at a gulden and a half a month,

the linen to be washed every two weeks. Fixed prices were put upon

grains, meat, eggs, birds, and other articles of food. [298] The

bankers present were a great number, among them the young Cosimo de'

Medici of Florence.

Among the notables in attendance, the pope and Sigismund occupied the

chief place. The most inordinate praise was heaped upon the king. He

was compared to Daniel, who rescued Susanna, and to David. He was fond

of pleasure, very popular with women, always in debt and calling for

money, but a deadly foe of heretics, so that whenever he roared, it was

said, the Wyclifites fled. [299] There can be no doubt that to

Sigismund were due the continuance and success of the council. His

queen, Barbara, the daughter of a Styrian count, was tall and fair, but

of questionable reputation, and her gallantries became the talk of the

town.

The next most eminent persons were Cardinals D'Ailly, Zabarella,

Fillastre, John of Ragusa, and Hallum, bishop of Salisbury, who died

during the session of the council, and was buried in Constance, the

bishop of Winchester, uncle to the English king, and John Gerson, the

chief representative of the University of Paris. Zabarella was the most

profound authority on civil and canon law in Europe, a professor at

Bologna, and in 1410 made bishop of Florence. He died in the midst of

the council's proceedings, Sept. 26, 1417. Fillastre left behind him a

valuable daily journal of the council's proceedings. D'Ailly had been

for some time one of the most prominent figures in Europe. Hallum is

frequently mentioned in the proceedings of the council. Among the most

powerful agencies at work in the assemblies were the tracts thrown off

at the time, especially those of Diedrich of Nieheim, one of the most

influential pamphleteers of the later Middle Ages. [300]

The subjects which the council was called together to discuss were the

reunion of the Church under one pope, and Church reforms. [301] The

action against heresy, including the condemnation of John Huss and

Jerome of Prag, is also conspicuous among the proceedings of the

council, though not treated by contemporaries as a distinct subject.

From the start, John lost support. A sensation was made by a tract, the

work of an Italian, describing John's vices both as man and pope. John

of Ragusa and Fillastre recommended the resignation of all three papal

claimants, and this idea became more and more popular, and was, after

some delay, adopted by Sigismund, and was trenchantly advocated by

Nieheim, in his tract on the Necessity of a Reformation in the Church.

From the very beginning great plainness of speech was used, so that

John had good reason to be concerned for the tenure of his office.

December 7, 1414, the cardinals passed propositions binding him to a

faithful performance of his papal duties and abstinence from simony.

D'Ailly wrote against the infallibility of councils, and thus furnished

the ground for setting aside the papal election at Pisa.

From November to January, 1415, a general disposition was manifested to

avoid taking the initiative--the noli me tangere policy, as it was

called. [302] The ferment of thought and discussion became more and

more active, until the first notable principle was laid down early in

February, 1415, namely, the rule requiring the vote to be by nations.

The purpose was to overcome the vote of the eighty Italian bishops and

doctors who were committed to John's cause. The action was taken in the

face of John's opposition, and followed the precedent set by the

University of Paris in the government of its affairs. By this rule,

which no council before or since has followed, except the little

Council of Siena, 1423, England, France, Italy, and Germany had each a

single vote in the affairs of the council. In 1417, when Aragon,

Castile, and Scotland gave in their submission to the council, a fifth

vote was accorded to Spain. England had the smallest representation. In

the German nation were included Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary. The

request of the cardinals to have accorded to them a distinct vote as a

body was denied. They met with the several nations to which they

belonged, and were limited to the same rights enjoyed by other

individuals. This rule seems to have been pressed from the first with

great energy by the English, led by Robert of Salisbury. Strange to

say, there is no record that this mode of voting was adopted by any

formal conciliar decree. [303]

The nations met each under its own president in separate places, the

English and Germans sitting in different rooms in the convent of the

Grey Friars. The vote of the majority of the nations carried in the

public sessions of the council. The right to vote in the nations was

extended so as to include the doctors of both kinds and princes.

D'Ailly advocated this course, and Fillastre argued in favor of

including rectors and even clergymen of the lowest rank. Why, reasoned

D'Ailly, should a titular bishop have an equal voice with a bishop

ruling over an extensive see, say the archbishopric of Mainz, and why

should a doctor be denied all right to vote who has given up his time

and thought to the questions under discussion? And why, argued

Fillastre, should an abbot, having control over only ten monks, have a

vote, when a rector with a care of a thousand or ten thousand souls is

excluded? An ignorant king or prelate he called a "crowned ass."

Doctors were on hand for the very purpose of clearing up ignorance.

When the Italian tract appeared, which teemed with charges against

John, matters were brought to a crisis. Then it became evident that the

scheme calling for the removal of all three popes would go through, and

John, to avoid a worse fate, agreed to resign, making the condition

that Gregory XII. and Benedict should also resign. The formal

announcement, which was read at the second session, March 2, 1415, ran:

"I, John XXIII., pope, promise, agree, and obligate myself, vow and

swear before God, the Church, and this holy council, of my own free

will and spontaneously, to give peace to the Church by abdication,

provided the pretenders, Benedict and Gregory, do the same." [304] At

the words "vow and swear," John rose from his seat and knelt down at

the altar, remaining on his knees till he finished the reading. The

reading being over, Sigismund removed his crown, bent before John, and

kissed his feet. Five days after, John issued a bull confirming his

oath.

Constance was wild with joy. The bells rang out the glad news. In the

cathedral, joy expressed itself in tears. The spontaneity of John's

self-deposition may be questioned, in view of the feeling which

prevailed among the councillors and the report that he had made an

offer to cede the papacy for 30,000 gulden. [305]

A most annoying, though ridiculous, turn was now given to affairs by

John's flight from Constance, March 20. Rumors had been whispered about

that he was contemplating such a move. He talked of transferring the

council to Rizza, and complained of the unhealthiness of the air of

Constance. He, however, made the solemn declaration that he would not

leave the town before the dissolution of the council. To be on the safe

side, Sigismund gave orders for the gates to be kept closed and the

lake watched. But John had practised dark arts before, and, unmindful

of his oath, escaped at high noon on a "little horse," in the disguise

of a groom, wrapped in a gray cloak, wearing a gray cap, and having a

crossbow tied to his saddle. [306] The flight was made while the gay

festivities of a tournament, instituted by Frederick, duke of Austria,

were going on, and with two attendants. The pope continued his course

without rest till he reached Schaffhausen. This place belonged to the

duke, who was in the secret, and on whom John had conferred the office

of commander of the papal troops, with a yearly grant of 6000 gulden.

John's act was an act of desperation. He wrote back to the council,

giving as the reason of his flight that he had been in fear of

Sigismund, and that his freedom of action had been restricted by the

king. [307]

So great was the panic produced by the pope's flight that the council

would probably have been brought to a sudden close by a general

scattering of its members, had it not been for Sigismund's prompt

action. Cardinals and envoys despatched by the king and council made

haste to stop the fleeing pope, who continued on to Laufenburg,

Freiburg, and Breisach. John wrote to Sigismund, expressing his regard

for him, but with the same pen he was addressing communications to the

University of Paris and the duke of Orleans, seeking to awaken sympathy

for his cause by playing upon the national feelings of the French. He

attempted to make it appear that the French delegation had been

disparaged when the council proceeded to business before the arrival of

the twenty-two deputies of the University. France and Italy, with two

hundred prelates, had each only a single vote, while England, with only

three prelates, had a vote. God, he affirmed, dealt with individuals

and not with nations. He also raised the objection that married laymen

had votes at the side of prelates, and John Huss had not been put on

trial, though he had been condemned by the University of Paris.

To the envoys who found John at Breisach, April 23, he gave his promise

to return with them to Constance the next morning; but with his usual

duplicity, he attempted to escape during the night, and was let down

from the castle by a ladder, disguised as a peasant. He was soon

seized, and ultimately handed over by Sigismund to Louis III., of the

Palatinate, for safe-keeping.

In the meantime the council forbade any of the delegates to leave

Constance before the end of the proceedings, on pain of excommunication

and the loss of dignities. Its fourth and fifth sessions, beginning

April 6, 1415, mark an epoch in the history of ecclesiastical

statement. The council declared that, being assembled legitimately in

the Holy Spirit, it was an oecumenical council and representing the

whole Church, had its authority immediately from Christ, and that to it

the pope and persons of every grade owed obedience in things pertaining

to the faith and to the reformation of the Church in head and members.

It was superior to all other ecclesiastical tribunals. [308] This

declaration, stated with more precision than the one of Pisa, meant a

vast departure from the papal theory of Innocent III. and Boniface

VIII.

Gerson, urging this position in his sermon before the council, March

23, 1415, said [309] the gates of hell had prevailed against popes, but

not against the Church. Joseph was set to guard his master's wife, not

to debauch her, and when the pope turned aside from his duty, the

Church had authority to punish him. A council has the right by reason

of the vivifying power of the Holy Spirit to prolong itself, and may,

under certain conditions, assemble without call of pope or his consent.

The conciliar declarations reaffirmed the principle laid down by

Nieheim on the eve of the council in the tract entitled the Union of

the Church and its Reformation, and by other writers. [310] The Church,

Nieheim affirmed, whose head is Christ, cannot err, but the Church as a

commonwealth,--respublica,--controlled by pope and hierarchy, may err.

And as a prince who does not seek the good of his subjects may be

deposed, so may the pope, who is called to preside over the whole

Church .... The pope is born of man, born in sin--clay of clay--limus

de limo. A few days ago the son of a rustic, and now raised to the

papal throne, he is not become an impeccable angel. It is not his

office that makes him holy, but the grace of God. He is not infallible;

and as Christ, who was without sin, was subject to a tribunal, 80 is

the pope. It is absurd to say that a mere man has power in heaven and

on earth to bind and loose from sin. For he may be a simoniac, a liar,

a fornicator, proud, and worse than the devil--pejor quam diabolus. As

for a council, the pope is under obligation to submit to it and, if

necessary, to resign for the common good--utilitatem communem. A

general council may be called by the prelates and temporal rulers, and

is superior to the pope. It may elect, limit, and depose a pope--and

from its decision there is no appeal--potest papam eligere, privare et

deponere. A tali concilio nullus potest appellare.Its canons are

immutable, except as they may be set aside by another oecumenical

council.

These views were revolutionary, and show that Marsiglius of Padua, and

other tractarians of the fourteenth century, had not spoken in vain.

Having affirmed its superiority over the pope, the council proceeded to

try John XXIII. on seventy charges, which included almost every crime

known to man. He had been unchaste from his youth, had been given to

lying, was disobedient to his parents. He was guilty of simony, bought

his way to the cardinalate, sold the same benefices over and over

again, sold them to children, disposed of the head of John the Baptist,

belonging to the nuns of St. Sylvester, Rome, to Florence, for 50,000

ducats, made merchandise of spurious bulls, committed adultery with his

brother's wife, violated nuns and other virgins, was guilty of sodomy

and other nameless vices. [311] As for doctrine, he had often denied

the future life.

When John received the notice of his deposition, which was pronounced

May 29, 1415, he removed the papal cross from his room and declared he

regretted ever having been elected pope. He was taken to Gottlieben, a

castle belonging to the bishop of Constance, and then removed to the

castle at Heidelberg, where two chaplains and two nobles were assigned

to serve him. From Heidelberg the count Palatine transferred him to

Mannheim, and finally released him on the payment of 30,000 gulden.

John submitted to his successor, Martin V., and in 1419 was appointed

cardinal bishop of Tusculum, but survived the appointment only six

months. John's accomplice, Frederick of Austria, was deprived of his

lands, and was known as Frederick of the empty purse--Friedrich mit der

leeren Tasche. A splendid monument was erected to John in the

baptistery in Florence by Cosimo de' Medici, who had managed the pope's

money affairs.

While John's case was being decided, the trial of John Huss was under

way. The proceedings and the tragedy of Huss' death are related in

another place.

John XXIII. was out of the way. Two popes remained, Gregory XII. and

Benedict XIII., who were facetiously called in tracts and addresses

Errorius, a play on Gregory's patronymic, Angelo Correr, [312] and

Maledictus. Gregory promptly resigned, thus respecting his promise made

to the council to resign, provided John and Benedict should be set

aside. He also had promised to recognize the council, provided the

emperor should preside. The resignation was announced at the fourteenth

session, July 4, 1415, by Charles Malatesta and John of Ragusa,

representing the Roman pontiff. Gregory's bull, dated May 15, 1414,

which was publicly read, "convoked and authorized the general council

so far as Balthazar Cossa, John XXIII., is not present and does not

preside." The words of resignation ran, "I resign, in the name of the

Lord, the papacy, and all its rights and title and all the privileges

conferred upon it by the Lord Jesus Christ in this sacred synod and

universal council representing the holy Roman and universal Church."

[313] Gregory's cardinals now took their seats, and Gregory himself was

appointed cardinal-bishop of Porto and papal legate of Ancona. He died

at Recanati, near Ancona, Oct. 18, 1417. Much condemnation as Angelo

Correr deserves for having temporized about renouncing the papacy,

posterity has not withheld from him respect for his honorable dealing

at the close of his career. The high standing of his cardinal, John of

Ragusa, did much to make men forget Gregory's faults.

Peter de Luna was of a different mind. Every effort was made to bring

him into accord with the mind of the councilmen in the Swiss city, but

in vain. In order to bring all the influence possible to bear upon him,

Sigismund, at the council's instance, started on the journey to see the

last of the Avignon popes face to face. The council, at its sixteenth

session, July 11, 1415, appointed doctors to accompany the king, and

eight days afterwards he broke away from Constance, accompanied by a

troop of 4000 men on horse.

Sigismund and Benedict met at Narbonne, Aug. 15, and at Perpignan, the

negotiations lasting till December. The decree of deposition pronounced

at Pisa, and France's withdrawal of allegiance, had not broken the

spirit of the old man. His dogged tenacity was worthy of a better

cause. [314] Among the propositions the pope had the temerity to make

was that he would resign provided that he, as the only surviving

cardinal from the times before the schism, should have liberty to

follow his abdication by himself electing the new pontiff. Who knows

but that one who was 80 thoroughly assured of his own infallibility

would have chosen himself. Benedict persisted in calling the Council of

Constance the "congregation," or assembly. On Nov. 14 he fled to

Pe�iscola, a rocky promontory near Valencia, again condemned the Swiss

synod, and summoned a legitimate one to meet in his isolated Spanish

retreat. His own cardinals were weary of the conflict, and Dec. 13,

1415, declared him deposed. His long-time supporter, Vincent Ferrer,

called him a perjurer. The following month the kingdom of Aragon, which

had been Benedict's chief support, withdrew from his obedience and was

followed by Castile and Scotland.

Peter de Luna was now as thoroughly isolated as any mortal could well

be. The council demanded his unconditional abdication, and was

strengthened by the admission of his old supporters, the Spanish

delegates. At the thirty-seventh session, 1417, he was deposed. By

Sigismund's command the decision was announced on the streets of

Constance by trumpeters. But the indomitable Spaniard continued to defy

the synod's sentence till his death, nine years later, and from the

lonely citadel of Pe�iscola to sit as sovereign of Christendom.

Cardinal Hergenr�ther concludes his description of these events by

saying that Benedict "was a pope without a church and a shepherd

without sheep. This very fact proves the emptiness of his claims."

Benedict died, 1423, [315] leaving behind him four cardinals. Three of

these elected the canon, Gil Sauduz de Munoz of Barcelona, who took the

name of Clement VIII. Five years later Gil resigned, and was appointed

by Martin V. bishop of Majorca, on which island he was a pope with

insular jurisdiction. [316] The fourth cardinal, Jean Carrier, elected

himself pope, and took the name of Benedict XIV. He died in prison,

1433.

It remained for the council to terminate the schism of years by

electing a new pontiff and to proceed to the discussions of Church

reforms. At the fortieth session, Oct. 30, 1417, it was decided to

postpone the second item until after the election of the new pope. In

fixing this order of business, the cardinals had a large influence.

There was a time in the history of the council when they were

disparaged. Tracts were written against them, and the king at one time,

so it was rumored, proposed to seize them all. [317] But that time was

past; they had kept united, and their influence had steadily grown.

The papal vacancy was filled, Nov. 11, 1417, by the election of

Cardinal Oddo Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. The election was

consummated in the Kaufhaus, the central commercial building of

Constance, which is still standing. Fifty-three electors participated,

6 deputies from each of the 5 nations, and 23 cardinals. The building

was walled up with boards and divided into cells for the electors.

Entrance was had by a single door, and the three keys were given, one

to the king, one to the chapter of Constance, and one to the council.

When it became apparent that an election was likely to be greatly

delayed, the Germans determined to join the Italians in voting for an

Italian to avoid suspicion that advantage was taken of the synod's

location on German soil. The Germans then secured the co-operation of

the English, and finally the French and Spaniards also yielded. [318]

The pope-elect was thus the creature of the council.

The Western Church was again unified under one head. But for the

deep-seated conviction of centuries, the office of the universal papacy

would scarcely have survived the strain of the schism. [319] Oddo

Colonna, the only member of his distinguished house who has worn the

tiara, was a subdeacon at the time of his election. Even more hastily

than Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, was he rushed through the

ordination of deacon, Nov. 12, of priest, Nov. 13, and bishop, Nov. 14.

He was consecrated pope a week later, Nov. 21, Sigismund kissing his

toe. In the procession, the bridles of Martin's horse were held by

Sigismund and Frederick the Hohenzollern, lately created margrave of

Brandenburg. The margrave had paid Sigismund 250,000 marks as the price

of his elevation, a sum which the king used to defray the expenses of

his visit to Benedict.

Martin at once assumed the presidency of the council which since John's

flight had been filled by Cardinal Viviers. Measures of reform were now

the order of the day and some headway was made. The papal right of

granting indulgences was curtailed. The college of cardinals was

limited to 24, with the stipulation that the different parts of the

church should have a proportionate representation, that no monastic

order should have more than a single member in the college, and that no

cardinal's brother or nephew should be raised to the curia so long as

the cardinal was living. Schedules and programmes enough were made, but

the question of reform involved abuses of such long standing and so

deeply intrenched that it was found impossible to reconcile the

differences of opinion prevailing in the council and bring it to

promptness of action. After sitting for more than three years, the

delegates were impatient to get away.

As a substitute for further legislation, the so-called concordats were

arranged. These agreements were intended to regulate the relations of

the papacy and the nations one with the other. There were four of these

distinct compacts, one with the French, and one with the German

nations, each to be valid for five years, one with the English to be

perpetual, dated July 21, 1418, and one with the Spanish nation, dated

May 13, 1418. [320] These concordats set forth rules for the

appointment of the cardinals and the restriction of their number,

limited the right of papal reservations and the collection of annates

and direct taxes, determined what causes might be appealed to Rome, and

took up other questions. They were the foundation of the system of

secret or open treaties by which the papacy has since regulated its

relations with the nations of Europe. Gregory VII. was the first pope

to extend the system of papal legates, but he and his successors had

dealt with nations on the arbitrary principle of papal supremacy and

infallibility.

The action of the Council of Constance lifted the state to some measure

of equality with the papacy in the administration of Church affairs. It

remained for Louis XIV., 16431715, to assert more fully the Gallican

theory of the authority of the state to manage the affairs of the

Church within its territory, so far as matters of doctrine were not

touched. The first decisive step in the assertion of Gallican liberties

was the synodal action of 1407, when France withdrew from the obedience

of Benedict XIII. By this action the chapters were to elect their own

bishops, and the pope was restrained from levying taxes on their sees.

Then followed the compact of the Council of Constance, the Pragmatic

Sanction adopted at Bourges, 1438, and the concordat agreed upon

between Francis I. and Leo X. at the time of the Reformation. In 1682

the French prelates adopted four propositions, restricting the pope's

authority to spirituals, a power which is limited by the decision of

the Council of Constance, and by the precedents of the Gallican Church,

and declaring that even in matters of faith the pope is not infallible.

Although Louis, who gave his authority to these articles, afterwards

revoked them, they remain a platform of Gallicanism as against the

ultramontane theory of the infallibility and supreme authority of the

pope, and may furnish in the future the basis of a settlement of the

papal question in the Catholic communion. [321]

In the deliverance known as Frequens, passed Oct. 9, 1417, the council

decreed that a general council should meet in five years, then in seven

years, and thereafter perpetually every ten years. [322] This action

was prompted by Martin in the bull Frequens, Oct. 9, 1417. On

completing its forty-fifth session it was adjourned by Martin, April

22, 1418. The Basel-Ferrara and the Tridentine councils sat a longer

time, as did also the Protestant Westminster Assembly, 1643-1648.

Before breaking away from Constance, the pope granted Sigismund a tenth

for one year to reimburse him for the expense he had been to on account

of the synod.

The Council of Constance was the most important synod of the Middle

Ages, and more fairly represented the sentiments of Western Christendom

than any other council which has ever sat. It furnished an arena of

free debate upon interests whose importance was felt by all the nations

of Western Europe, and which united them. It was not restricted by a

programme prepared by a pope, as the Vatican council of 1870 was. It

had freedom and exercised it. While the dogma of transubstantiation

enacted by the 4th Lateran, 1215, and the dogma of papal infallibility

passed by the Vatican council injected elements of permanent division

into the Church, the Council of Constance unified Latin Christendom and

ended the schism which had been a cause of scandal for forty years. The

validity of its decree putting an oecumenical council above the pope,

after being disputed for centuries, was officially set aside by the

conciliar vote of 1870. For Protestants the decision at Constance is an

onward step towards a right definition of the final seat of religious

authority. It remained for Luther, forced to the wall by Eck at

Leipzig, and on the ground of the error committed by the Council of

Constance, in condemning the godly man, John Huss, to deny the

infallibility of councils and to place the seat of infallible authority

in the Scriptures, as interpreted by conscience.

Note on the Oecumenical Character of the Council of Constance.

Modern Roman Catholic historians deny the oecumenical character and

authority of the Council of Constance, except its four last, 42d-45th

sessions, which were presided over by Pope Martin V., or at least all

of it till the moment of Gregory XII.'s bull giving to the council his

approval, that is, after John had fled and ceased to preside.

Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, II. 862, says that before Gregory's authorization

the council was without a head, did not represent the Roman Church, and

sat against the will of the cardinals, by whom he meant Gregory's

cardinals. Salembier, p. 317, says, Il n'est devenu oecum�nique

qu'apr�s la trente-cinqui�me session, lorsque Gr�goire III. eut donn�

sa d�mission, etc. Pastor, I. 198 sq., warmly advocates the same view,

and declares that when the council in its 4th and 6th sessions

announced its superiority over the pope, it was not yet an oecumenical

gathering. This dogma, he says, was intended to set up a new principle

which revolutionized the old Catholic doctrine of the Church. Philip

Hergenr�ther, in Katholisches Kirchenrecht, p. 344 sq., expresses the

same judgment. The council was not a legitimate council till after

Gregory's resignation.

The wisdom of the council in securing the resignation of Gregory and

deposing John and Benedict is not questioned. The validity of its act

in electing Martin V., though the papal regulation limiting the right

of voting to the cardinals was set aside, is also acknowledged on the

ground that the council at the time of Martin's election was sitting by

Gregory's sanction, and Gregory was true pope until he abdicated.

A serious objection to the view, setting aside this action of the 4th

and 5th sessions, is offered by the formal statement made by Martin V.

At the final meeting of the council and after its adjournment had been

pronounced, a tumultuous discussion was precipitated over the tract

concerning the affairs of Poland and Lithuania by the Dominican,

Falkenberg, which was written in defence of the Teutonic Knights, and

justified the killing of the Polish king and all his subjects. It had

been the subject of discussion in the nations, and its heresies were

declared to be so glaring that, if they remained uncondemned by the

council, that body would go down to posterity as defective in its

testimony for orthodoxy. It was during the tumultuous debate, and after

Martin had adjourned the council, that he uttered the words which, on

their face, sanction whatever was done in council in a conciliar way.

Putting an end to the tumult, he announced he would maintain all the

decrees passed by the council in matters of faith in a conciliar

way--omnia et singula determinata et conclusa et decreta in materiis

fidei per praesens sacrum concilium generale Constantiense

conciliariter tenere et inviolabiliter observare volebat et nunquam

contravenire quoquomodo. Moreover, he announced that he sanctioned and

ratified acts made in a "conciliar way and not made otherwise or in any

other way." Ipsaque sic conciliariter facta approbat papa et ratificat

et non aliter nec alio modo. Funk, Martin V. und das Konzil zu Konstanz

in Abhandlungen, I. 489 sqq., Hefele, Conciliengesch., I. 62, and

K�pper, in Wetzer-Welte, VII. 1004 sqq., restrict the application of

these words to the Falkenberg incident. Funk, however, by a narrow

interpretation of the words "in matter of faith," excludes the acts of

the 4th and 6th sessions from the pope's approval. D�llinger (p. 464),

contends that the expression conciliariter, "in a conciliar way," is

opposed to nationaliter, "in the nations." The expression is to be

taken in its simple meaning, and refers to what was done by the council

as a council.

The only other statement made by Martin bearing upon the question

occurs in his bull Frequens, of Feb. 22, 1418, in which he recognized

the council as oecumenical, and declared its decrees binding which

pertained to faith and the salvation of souls--quod sacrum concilium

Constant., universalem ecclesiam representans approbavit et approbat in

favorem fidei et salutem animarum, quod hoc est ab universis Christi

fidelibus approbandum et tenendum. Hefele and Funk show that this

declaration was not meant to exclude matters which were not of faith,

for Martin expressly approved other matters, such as those passed upon

in the 39th session. There is no record that Martin at any time said

anything to throw light upon his meaning in these two utterances.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century, as Raynaldus, an. 1418,

shows, the view came to expression that Martin expressly intended to

except the action of the 4th and 6th sessions from his papal approval.

Martin V.'s successor, Eugenius IV., in 1446, thirty years after the

synod, asserted that its decrees were to be accepted so far as they did

not prejudice the law, dignity, and pre-eminence of the Apostolic See

-- absque tamen praejudicio juris et dignitatis et praeeminentiae

Apost. sedis. The papacy had at that time recovered its prestige, and

the supreme pontiff felt himself strong enough to openly reassert the

superiority of the Apostolic See over oecumenical councils. But before

that time, in a bull issued Dec. 13, 1443, he formally accepted the

acts of the Council of Basel, the most explicit of which was the

reaffirmation of the acts of the Council of Constance in its 4th and

5th sessions.

It occurs to a Protestant that the Council of Constance would hardly

have elected Oddo Colonna pope if he had been suspected of being

opposed to the council's action concerning its own superiority. The

council would have stultified itself in appointing a man to undo what

it had solemnly done. And for him to have denied its authority would

have been, as D�llinger says (p. 159), like a son denying his

parentage. The emphasis which recent Catholic historians lay upon

Gregory's authorization of the synod as giving it for the first time an

oecumenical character is an easy way out of the difficulty, and this

view forces the recognition of the Roman line of popes as the

legitimate successors of St. Peter during the years of the schism.

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[284] Nieheim, in Life of John, in Van der Hardt, II. 339.

[285] Finke: Forschungen, p. 2; Acta conc., p. 108 sqq.

[286] Date operam, the king said, ut ista, nefanda schisma eradicetur.

See Wylie, p. 18

[287] See Finke, Forschungen, p. 28. Sigismund gives himself the same

title. See his letter to Gregory, Mansi, XXVIII. 3.

[288] Same as fn. above.

[289] Sigismund, in his letter to Charles VI of France, announcing the

council, had used the mediaeval figure of the two lights, duo luminaria

super terram, majus videlicet minus ut in ipsis universalis ecclesiae

consistere firmamentum in quibus pontificalis auctoritas et regalis

potentia designantur, unaquae spiritualia et altera qua corporalia

regerentur. Mansi, XXVIII. 4.

[290] There is some evidence that a report was abroad in Italy that

Sigismund intended to have all three popes put on trial at Constance,

but that a gift of 60,000 gulden from John at Lodi induced him to

support that pontiff. Finke: Acta, p. 177 sq.

[291] Sigismund's letters are given by Hardt, VI. 5, 6; Mansi, XXVIII.

2-4. See Finke, Forschungen, p. 23.

[292] Funk, Kirchengesch., p. 470, calls it eine der grossartigsten

Kirchenversammlungen welche die Geschichte kennt, gewissermassen ein

Kongress des ganzen Abenlandes

[293] Hardt, II. 308.

[294] Richental, Chronik, pp. 25-28, gives a graphic description of

John's entry into the city. This writer, who was a citizen of

Constance, the office he filled being unknown, had unusual

opportunities for observing what was going on and getting the official

documents. He gives copies of several of John's bulls, and the most

detailed accounts of some of the proceedings at which he was present.

See p. 129.

[295] Offene Huren in den Hurenh�usern und solche, die selber H�user

gemiethet hatten und in den St�llen lagen und wo sie mochten, doren

waren �ber 700 und die heimlichen, die lass ich belibnen. Richental, p.

215. The numbers above are taken from Richental, whose account, from p.

154 to 215, is taken up with the lists of names. See also Van der

Hardt, V. 50-53, who gives 18,000 prelates and priests and 80,000

laymen. A later hand has attached to Richental's narrative the figures

72,460.

[296] Workman: Letters of Huss, p. 263.

[297] Usk, p. 304; Rymer, Foeder., IX. 167; Richental, p. 34, speaks of

the French as die Schulpfaffen und die gelehrten Leute aus Frankreich

[298] Richental, p. 39 sqq., gives an elaborate list of these

regulations.

[299] So de Vrie, the poet-historian of the council, Hardt, I. 193. The

following description is from the accomplished pen of Aeneas Sylvius,

afterwards Pius II: "He was tall, with bright eyes, broad forehead,

pleasantly rosy cheeks, and a long, thick beard. He was witty in

conversation, given to wine and women, and thousands of love intrigues

are laid to his charge. He had a large mind and formed many plans, but

was changeable. He was prone to anger, but ready to forgive. He could

not keep his money, but spent lavishly. He made more promises than he

kept, and often deceived."

[300] Finke, p. 133, calls him the "greatest journalist of the later

Middle Ages." The tracts De modisuniendi, De difficultate

reformationis, De necessitate reformationis are now all ascribed to

Nieheim by Finke, p. 133, who follows Lenz, and with whom Pastor

concurs as against Erler.

[301] In hoc generali concilio agendum fait de pace et unione perfecta

ecclesiae secundo de reformatione illius, Fillastre's Journal, in

Finke, p. 164. Haec synodus ... pro exstirpatione praesentis schismatis

et unione ac reformatione ecclesiae Dei in capite et membris is the

councils own declaration, Mansi, XXVII. 585

[302] Apud aliquos erat morbus "noli me tangere," Fillastre's Journal,

p. 164.

[303] See Finke, Forschungen, p. 31. Richental, pp. 50-53, gives a

quaint account of the territorial possessions of the five nations.

[304] Hardt, II. 240, also IV. 44; Mansi, XXVII. 568. Also Richental,

p. 56.

[305] According to a MS. found at Vienna by Finke, Forschungen, p. 148.

[306] Richental, pp. 62-72, gives a vivid account of John's flight and

seizure.

[307] Fillastre; Finke, Forschungen, p. 169, papa dicebat quod pro

timore regis Romanorum recesserat.

[308] Hardt, IV. 89 sq., and Mansi, XXVII. 585-590. The deliverance

runs: haec sancta synodus Constantiensis primo declarat ut ipsa synodus

in S. Spiritu legitime congregata, generale concilium faciens, Eccles.

catholicam militantem representans, potestatem a Christo immediate

habeat, cui quilibet cujusmodi status vel dignitatis, etiamsi papalis

existat, obedire tenetur in his quae pertinent ad fidem et

exstirpationem praesentis schismatis et reformationem eccles. in capite

et membris.

[309] Hardt, II. 265-273; Du Pin, II. 201 sqq.

[310] Hardt, vol. I., where it occupies 175 pp. Du Pin, II., 162-201.

This tract, formerly ascribed to Gerson, Lenz and Finke give reason for

regarding as the work of Nieheim.

[311] Hardt, IV. 196-208; Mansi, XXVIII. 662-673, 715. Adam of Usk, p.

306, says, Our pope, John XXIII., false to his promises of union, and

otherwise guilty of perjuries and murders, adulteries, simonies,

heresy, and other excesses, and for that he twice fled in secret, and

cowardly, in vile raiment, by way of disguise, was delivered to

perpetual imprisonment by the council.

[312] This name is given to Gregory constantly by Nieheim in his De

schismate

[313] The document is given in Hardt, IV. 380. See, for the various

documents, Hardt, IV. 192 sq., 346-381; Mansi, XXVII. 733-745.

[314] Pastor, Hefele, and Hergenr�ther call it stubbornness,

Hartn�ckigkeit. D�llinger is more favorable, and does not withhold his

admiration from Peter.

[315] Valois, IV. 450 454, gives strong reasons for this date as

against 1424.

[316] Mansi, XXVIII. 1117 sqq., gives Clement's letter of abdication.

For an account of Benedict's two successors and their election, see

Valois, IV. 455-478.

[317] Fillastre's Journal, p. 224. For the tracts hostile to the

cardinals, see Finke, Forschungen, p. 81 sq.

[318] Richental, p. 116 sqq., gives a detailed account of the walling

up of the Kaufhaus and the election, and of the ceremonies attending

Martin's coronation. He also, p. 123, tells the pretty story that,

before the electors met, ravens, jackdaws, and other birds of the sort

gathered in great numbers on the roof of the Kaufhaus, but that as soon

as Martin was elected, thousands of greenfinches and other little birds

took their places and chattered and sang and hopped about as if

approving what had been done.

[319] Catholic historians regard the survival of the papacy as a proof

of its divine origin. Salembier, p. 395, says, "The history of the

great Schism would have dealt a mortal blow to the papacy if Christ's

promises had not made it immortal."

[320] See Mirbt, art. Konkordat, in Herzog, X. 705 sqq. Hardt gives the

concordats with Germany and England, I. 1056-1083, and France, IV. 155

sqq. Mansi, XXVII. 1189 sqq., 1193 sqq.

[321] See art. Gallikanismus, in Herzog, and Der Ursprung der gallikan.

Freiheiten, in Hist. Zeitschrift, 1903, pp. 194-215.

[322] Creighton, I. 393, after giving the proper citation from Hardt,

IV. 1432, makes the mistake of saying that the next council was

appointed for seven years, and the succeeding councils every five years

thereafter.

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� 17. The council of Basel. 1431-1449.

Martin V. proved himself to be a capable and judicious ruler, with

courage enough when the exigency arose. He left Constance May 16, 1418.

Sigismund, who took his departure the following week, offered him as

his papal residence Basel, Strassburg, or Frankfurt. France pressed the

claims of Avignon, but a Colonna could think of no other city than

Rome, and proceeding by the way of Bern, Geneva, Mantua, and Florence,

he entered the Eternal city Sept. 28, 1420. [323] The delay was due to

the struggle being carried on for its possession by the forces of

Joanna of Naples under Sforza, and the bold chieftain Braccio. [324]

Martin secured the withdrawal of Joanna's claims by recognizing that

princess as queen of Naples, and pacified by investing him with Assisi,

Perugia, Jesi, and Todi.

Rome was in a desolate condition when Martin reached it, the prey of

robbers, its streets filled with refuse and stagnant water, its bridges

decayed, and many of its churches without roofs. Cattle and sheep were

herded in the spaces of St. Paul's. Wolves attacked the inhabitants

within the walls. [325] With Martin's arrival a new era was opened.

This pope rid the city of robbers, so that persons carrying gold might

go with safety even beyond the walls. He restored the Lateran, and had

it floored with a new pavement. He repaired the porch of St. Peter's,

and provided it with a new roof at a cost of 50,000 gold gulden.

Revolutions within the city ceased. Martin deserves to be honored as

one of Rome's leading benefactors. His pontificate was an era of peace

after years of constant strife and bloodshed due to factions within the

walls and invaders from without. With him its mediaeval history closes,

and an age of restoration and progress begins. The inscription on

Martin's tomb in the Lateran, "the Felicity of his Times,"--temporum

suorum felicitas,--expresses the debt Rome owes to him.

Among the signs of Martin's interest in religion was his order securing

the transfer to Rome of some of the bones of Monica, the mother of

Augustine, and his bull canonizing her. On their reception, Martin made

a public address in which he said, "Since we possess St. Augustine,

what do we care for the shrewdness of Aristotle, the eloquence of

Plato, the reputation of Pythagoras? These men we do not need.

Augustine is enough. If we want to know the truth, learning, and

religion, where shall we find one more wise, learned, and holy than St.

Augustine?"

As for the promises of Church reforms made at Constance, Martin paid no

attention to them, and the explanation made by Pastor, that his time

was occupied with the government of Rome and the improvement of the

city, is not sufficient to exculpate him. The old abuses in the

disposition and sale of offices continued. The pope had no intention of

yielding up the monarchical claims of the papal office. Nor did he

forget his relatives. One brother, Giordano, was made duke of and

another, Lorenzo, count of Alba. One of his nephews, Prospero, he

invested with the purple, 1426. He also secured large tracts of

territory for his house. [326]

The council, appointed by Martin at Constance to meet in Pavia,

convened April, 1423, was sparsely attended, adjourned on account of

the plague to Siena, and, after condemning the errors of Wyclif and

Huss, was dissolved March 7, 1424. Martin and his successors feared

councils, and it was their policy to prevent, if possible, their

assembling, by all sorts of excuses and delays. Why should the pope

place himself in a position to hear instructions and receive commands?

However, Martin could not be altogether deaf to the demands of

Christendom, or unmindful of his pledge given at Constance. Placards

were posted up in Rome threatening him if he summoned a council. Under

constraint and not of free will, he appointed the second council, which

was to meet in seven years at Basel, 1431, but he died the same year,

before the time set for its assembling.

Eugenius IV., the next occupant of the papal throne, 1431-1447, a

Venetian, had been made bishop of Siena by his maternal uncle, Gregory

XII., at the age of twenty-four, and soon afterwards was elevated to

the curia. His pontificate was chiefly occupied with the attempt to

assert the supremacy of the papacy against the conciliar theory. It

also witnessed the most notable effort ever made for the union of the

Greeks with the Western Church.

By an agreement signed in the conclave which elevated Eugenius, the

cardinals promised that the successful candidate should advance the

interests of the impending general council, follow the decrees of the

Council of Constance in appointing cardinals, consult the sacred

college in matters of papal administration, and introduce Church

reforms. Such a compact had been signed by the conclave which elected

Innocent VI., 1352, and similar compacts by almost every conclave after

Eugenius down to the Reformation, but all with no result, for, as soon

as the election was consummated, the pope set the agreement aside and

pursued his own course.

On the day set for the opening of the council in Basel, March 7, 1431,

only a single prelate was present, the abbot of Vezelay. The formal

opening occurred July 23, but Cardinal Cesarini, who had been appointed

by Martin and Eugenius to preside, did not appear till Sept. 9. He was

detained by his duties as papal legate to settle the Hussite

insurrection in Bohemia. Sigismund sent Duke William of Bavaria as

protector, and the attendance speedily grew. The number of doctors

present was larger in comparison to the number of prelates than at

Constance. A member of the council said that out of 500 members he

scarcely saw 20 bishops. The rest belonged to the lower orders of the

clergy, or were laymen. "Of old, bishops had settled the affairs of the

Church, but now the common herd does it." [327] The most interesting

personage in the convention was Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who came to

Basel as Cardinal Capranica's secretary. He sat on some of its

important commissions.

The tasks set before the council were the completion of the work of

Constance in instituting reforms, [328] and a peaceful settlement of

the Bohemian heresy. Admirable as its effort was in both directions, it

failed of papal favor, and the synod was turned into a constitutional

battle over papal absolutism and conciliar supremacy. This battle was

fought with the pen as well as in debate. Nicolas of Cusa, representing

the scholastic element, advocated, in 1433, the supremacy of councils

in his Concordantia catholica. The Dominican, John of Turrecremata,

took the opposite view, and defended the doctrine of papal

infallibility in his Summa de ecclesia et ejus auctoritate. For years

the latter writing was the classical authority for the papal

pretension.

The business was performed not by nations but by four committees, each

composed of an equal number of representatives from the four nations

and elected for a month. When they agreed on any subject, it was

brought before the council in public session.

It soon became evident that the synod acknowledged no earthly authority

above itself, and was in no mood to hear the contrary principle

defended. On the other hand, Eugenius was not ready to tolerate free

discussion and the synod's self-assertion, and took the unfortunate

step of proroguing the synod to Bologna, making the announcement at a

meeting of the cardinals, Dec. 18, 1431. The bull was made public at

Basel four weeks later, and made an intense sensation. The synod was

quick to give its answer, and decided to continue its sittings. This

was revolution, but the synod had the nations and public opinion back

of it, as well as the decrees of the Council of Constance. It insisted

upon the personal presence of Eugenius, and on Feb. 15, 1432, declared

for its own sovereignty and that a general council might not be

prorogued or transferred by a pope without its own consent.

In the meantime Sigismund had received the iron crown at Milan, Nov.

25, 1431. He was at this period a strong supporter of the council's

claims. A French synod, meeting at Bourges early in 1432, gave its

sanction to them, and the University of Paris wrote that Eugenius'

decree transferring the council was a suggestion of the devil. Becoming

more bold, the council, at its third session, April 29, 1432, called

upon the pope to revoke his bull and be present in person. At its

fourth session, June 20, it decreed that, in case the papal office

became vacant, the election to fill the vacancy should be held in Basel

and that, so long as Eugenius remained away from Basel, he should be

denied the right to create any more cardinals. The council went still

farther, proceeded to arraign the pope for contumacy, and on Dec. 18

gave him 60 days in which to appear, on pain of having formal

proceedings instituted against him.

Sigismund, who was crowned emperor in Rome the following Spring, May

31, 1433, was not prepared for such drastic action. He was back again

in Basel in October, but, with the emperor present or absent, the

council continued on its course, and repeatedly reaffirmed its superior

authority, quoting the declarations of the Council of Constance at its

fourth and fifth sessions. The voice of Western Christendom was against

Eugenius, as were the most of his cardinals. Under the stress of this

opposition, and pressed by the revolution threatening his authority in

Rome, the pope gave way, and in the decree of Dec. 13, 1433, revoked

his three bulls, beginning with Dec. 18, 1431, which adjourned the

synod. He asserted he had acted with the advice of the cardinals, but

now pronounced and declared the "General Council of Bagel legitimate

from the time of its opening." Any utterance or act prejudicial to the

holy synod or derogatory to its authority, which had proceeded from

him, he revoked, annulled, and pronounced utterly void. [329] At the

same time the pope appointed legates to preside, and they were received

by the synod. They swore in their own names to accept and defend its

decrees.

No revocation of a former decree could have been made more explicit.

The Latin vocabulary was strained for words. Catholic historians

refrain from making an argument against the plain meaning of the bull,

which is fatal to the dogma of papal inerrancy and acknowledges the

superiority of general councils. At best they pass the decree with as

little comment as possible, or content themselves with the assertion

that Eugenius had no idea of confirming the synod's reaffirmation of

the famous decrees of Constance, or with the suggestion that the pope

was under duress when he issued the document. [330] Both assumptions

are without warrant. The pope made no exception whatever when he

confirmed the acts of the synod "from its opening." As for the

explanation that the decree was forced, it needs only to be said that

the revolt made against the pope in Rome, May, 1434, in which the

Colonna took a prominent part, had not yet broken out, and there was no

compulsion except that which comes from the judgment that one's case

has failed. Cesarini, Nicolas of Cusa, Aeneas Sylvius, John, patriarch

of Antioch, and the other prominent personages at Basel, favored the

theory of the supreme authority of councils, and they and the synod

would have resented the papal deliverance if they had surmised its

utterances meant something different from what they expressly stated.

D�llinger concludes his treatment of the subject by saying that

Eugenius' bull was the most positive and unequivocal recognition

possible of the sovereignty of the council, and that the pope was

subject to it.

Eugenius was the last pope, with the exception of Pius IX., who has had

to flee from Rome. Twenty-five popes had been obliged to escape from

the city before him. Disguised in the garb of a Benedictine monk, and

carried part of the way on the shoulders of a sailor, he reached a boat

on the Tiber, but was recognized and pelted with a shower of stones,

from which he escaped by lying flat in the boat, covered with a shield.

Reaching Ostia, he took a galley to Livorno. From there he went to

Florence. He remained in exile from 1434 to 1443.

In its efforts to pacify the Hussites, the synod granted them the use

of the cup, and made other concessions. The causes of their opposition

to the Church had been expressed in the four articles of Prag. The

synod introduced an altogether new method of dealing with heretics in

guaranteeing to the Hussites and their representatives full rights of

discussion. Having settled the question of its own authority, the synod

took up measures to reform the Church "in head and members." The number

of the cardinals was restricted to 24, and proper qualifications

insisted upon, a measure sufficiently needed, as Eugenius had given the

red hat to two of his nephews. Annates, payments for the pallium, the

sale of church dignities, and other taxes which the Apostolic See had

developed, were abolished. The right of appeal to Rome was curtailed.

Measures of another nature were the reaffirmation of the law of

priestly celibacy, [331] and the prohibition of theatricals and other

entertainments in church buildings and churchyards. In 1439 the synod

issued a decree on the immaculate conception, by which Mary was

declared to have always been free from original and actual sin. [332]

The interference with the papal revenues affecting the entire papal

household was, in a measure, atoned for by the promise to provide other

sources. From the monarchical head of the Church, directly appointed by

God, and responsible to no human tribunal, the supreme pontiff was

reduced to an official of the council. Another class of measures sought

to clear Basel of the offences attending a large and promiscuous

gathering, such as gambling, dancing, and the arts of prostitutes, who

were enjoined from showing themselves on the streets.

Eugenius did not sit idly by while his prerogatives were being tampered

with and an utterly unpapal method of dealing with heretics was being

pursued. He communicated with the princes of Europe, June 1, 1436,

complaining of the highhanded measures, such as the withdrawal of the

papal revenues, the suppression of the prayer for the pope in the

liturgy, and the giving of a vote to the lower clergy in the synod. At

that juncture the union with the Greeks, a question which had assumed a

place of great prominence, afforded the pope the opportunity for

reasserting his authority and breaking up the council in the Swiss

city.

Overtures of union, starting with Constantinople, were made

simultaneously through separate bodies of envoys sent to the pope and

the council. The one met Eugenius at Bologna; the other appeared in

Basel in the summer of 1434. In discussing a place for a joint meeting

of the representatives of the two communions, the Greeks expressed a

preference for some Italian city, or Vienna. This exactly suited

Eugenius, who had even suggested Constantinople as a place of meeting,

but the synod sharply informed him that the city on the Bosphorus was

not to be considered. In urging Basel, Avignon, or a city in Savoy, the

Basel councilmen were losing their opportunity. Two delegations, one

from the council and one from the pope, appeared in Constantinople,

1437, proposing different places of meeting.

When the matter came up for final decision, the council, by a vote of

355 to 244, decided to continue the meeting at Basel, or, if that was

not agreeable to the Greeks, then at Avignon. The minority, acting upon

the pope's preference, decided in favor of Florence or Udine. In a bull

dated Sept. 18, 1437, and signed by eight cardinals, Eugenius condemned

the synod for negotiating with the Greeks, pronounced it prorogued,

and, at the request of the Greeks, as it alleged, transferred the

council to Ferrara. [333]

The synod was checkmated, though it did not appreciate its situation.

The reunion of Christendom was a measure of overshadowing importance,

and took precedence in men's minds of the reform of Church abuses. The

Greeks all went to Ferrara. The prelates, who had been at Basel,

gradually retired across the Alps, including Cardinals Cesarini and

Nicolas of Cusa. The only cardinal left at Basel was d'Aleman,

archbishop of Arles. It was now an open fight between the pope and

council, and it meant either a schism of the Western Church or the

complete triumph of the papacy. The discussions at Basel were

characterized by such vehemence that armed citizens had to intervene to

prevent violence. The conciliar theory was struggling for life. At its

28th session, October, 1437, the council declared the papal bull null

and void, and summoned Eugenius within sixty days to appear before it

in person or by deputy. Four months later, Jan. 24, 1488, it declared

Eugenius suspended, and, June 25, 1439, at its 34th session, "removed,

deposed, deprived, and cast him down," as a disturber of the peace of

the Church, a simoniac and perjurer, incorrigible, and errant from the

faith, a schismatic, and a pertinacious heretic. [334] Previous to

this, at its 33d session, it had again solemnly declared for the

supreme jurisdiction of councils, and denied the pope the right to

adjourn or transfer a general council. The holding of contrary views,

it pronounced heresy.

In the meantime the council at Ferrara had been opened, Jan. 8, 1438,

and was daily gaining adherents. Charles VII. took the side of

Eugenius, although the French people, at the synod of Bourges in the

summer of 1438, accepted, substantially, the reforms proposed by the

council of Basel. [335] This action, known as the Pragmatic Sanction,

decided for the superiority of councils, and that they should be held

every ten years, abolished annates and first-fruits, ordered the large

benefices filled by elections, and limited the number of cardinals to

twenty-four. These important declarations, which went back to the

decrees of the Council of Constance, were the foundations of the

Gallican liberties.

The attitude of the German princes and ecclesiastics was one of

neutrality or of open support of the council at Basel. Sigismund died

at the close of the year 1437, and, before the election of his

son-in-law, Albrecht II., as his successor, the electors at Frankfurt

decided upon a course of neutrality. Albrecht survived his election as

king of the Romans less than two years, and his uncle, Frederick III.,

was chosen to take his place. Frederick, after observing neutrality for

several years, gave his adhesion to Eugenius.

Unwilling to be ignored and put out of life, the council at Basel,

through a commission of thirty-two, at whose head stood d'Aleman,

elected, 1439, Amadeus, duke of Savoy, as pope. [336] After the loss of

his wife, 1435, Amadeus formed the order of St. Mauritius, and lived

with several companions in a retreat at Ripaille, on the Lake of

Geneva. He was a man of large wealth and influential family

connections. He assumed the name of Felix V., and appointed four

cardinals. A year after his election, and accompanied by his two sons,

he entered Basel, and was crowned by Cardinal d'Aleman. The tiara is

said to have cost 30,000 crowns. Thus Western Christendom again

witnessed a schism. Felix had the support of Savoy and some of the

German princes, of Alfonso of Aragon, and the universities of Paris,

Vienna, Cologne, Erfurt, and Cracow. Frederick III. kept aloof from

Basel and declined the offer of marriage to Margaret, daughter of Felix

and widow of Louis of Anjou, with a dowry of 200,000 ducats.

The papal achievement in winning Frederick III., king of the Romans,

was largely due to the corruption of Frederick's chief minister, Caspar

Schlick, and the treachery of Aeneas Sylvius, who deserted one cause

and master after another as it suited his advantage. From being a

vigorous advocate of the council, he turned to the side of Eugenius, to

whom he made a most fulsome confession, and, after passing from the

service of Felix, he became secretary to Frederick, and proved himself

Eugenius' most shrewd and pliable agent. He was an adept in diplomacy

and trimmed his sails to the wind.

The archbishops of Treves and Cologne, who openly supported the Basel

assembly, were deposed by Eugenius, 1446. The same year six of the

electors offered Eugenius their obedience, provided he would recognize

the superiority of an oecumenical council, and within thirteen months

call a new council to meet on German soil. Following the advice of

Aeneas Sylvius, the pope concluded it wise to show a conciliatory

attitude. Papal delegates appeared at the diet, meeting September,

1446, and Aeneas was successful in winning over the margrave of

Brandenburg and other influential princes. The following January he and

other envoys appeared in Rome as representatives of the archbishop of

Mainz, Frederick III., and other princes. The result of the

negotiations was a concordat,--the so-called princes'

concordat,--F�rsten Konkordat,--by which the pope restored the two

deposed archbishops, recognized the superiority of general councils,

and gave to Frederick the right during his lifetime to nominate the

incumbents of the six bishoprics of Trent, Brixen, Chur, Gurk, Trieste,

and Pilsen, and to him and his successors the right to fill, subject to

the pope's approval, 100 Austrian benefices. These concessions Eugenius

ratified in four bulls, Feb. 5-7, 1447, one of them, the bull

Salvatoria, declaring that the pope in the previous three bulls had not

meant to disparage the authority of the Apostolic See, and if his

successors found his concessions out of accord with the doctrine of the

fathers, they were to be regarded as void. The agreement was celebrated

in Rome with the ringing of bells, and was confirmed by Nicolas V. in

the so-called Vienna Concordat, Feb. 17, 1448. [337]

Eugenius died Feb. 23, 1447, and was laid at the side of Eugenius III.

in St. Peter's. He had done nothing to introduce reforms into the

Church. Like Martin V., he was fond of art, a taste he cultivated

during his exile in Florence. He succeeded in perpetuating the

mediaeval view of the papacy, and in delaying the reformation of the

Church which, when it came, involved the schism in Western Christendom

which continues to this day.

The Basel council continued to drag on a tedious and uneventful

existence. It was no longer in the stream of noticeable events. It

stultified itself by granting Felix a tenth. In June, 1448, it

adjourned to Lausanne. Reduced to a handful of adherents, and weary of

being a synonym for innocuous failure, it voted to accept Nicolas V.,

Eugenius' successor, as legitimate pope, and then quietly breathed its

last, April 25, 1449. After courteously revoking his bulls

anathematizing Eugenius and Nicolas, Felix abdicated. He was not

allowed to suffer, much less obliged to do penance, for his presumption

in exercising papal functions. He was made cardinal-bishop of Sabina,

and Apostolic vicar in Savoy and other regions which had recognized his

"obedience." Three of his cardinals were admitted to the curia, and

d'Aleman forgiven. Felix died in Geneva, 1451. [338]

The Roman Church has not since had an anti-pope. The Council of Basel

concluded the series of the three councils, which had for their chief

aims the healing of the papal schism and the reformation of Church

abuses. They opened with great promise at Pisa, where a freedom of

discussion prevailed unheard of before, and where the universities and

their learned representatives appeared as a new element in the

deliberations of the Church. The healing of the schism was

accomplished, but the abuses in the Church went on, and under the last

popes of the fifteenth century became more infamous than they had been

at any time before. And yet even in this respect these councils were

not in vain, for they afforded a warning to the Protestant reformers

not to put their trust even in ecclesiastical assemblies. As for the

theory of the supremacy of general councils which they had maintained

with such dignity, it was proudly set aside by later popes in their

practice and declared fallacious by the Fifth Lateran in 1516, [339]

and by the dogma of papal infallibility announced at the Council of the

Vatican, 1870.

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[323] Richental, pp. 149 sqq.

[324] Infessura, p. 21.

[325] Five large wolves were killed in the Vatican gardens, Jan. 23,

1411. Gregorovius, VI. 618

[326] Pastor, I. 227, Martin's warm admirer, passes lightly over the

pope's nepotism with the remark that in this regard he overstepped the

line of propriety--er hat das Mass des Erlaubten �berschritten.

[327] Traversari, as quoted by Creighton, I. 128.

[328] Ob reformationem Eccles. Dei in capite et membris specialiter

congregatur, Mansi, XXIX. 165, etc.

[329] Decernimus et declaramus generale concil. Basileense a tempore

inchoationis suae legitime continuatum fuisse et esse ... quidquid per

nos aut nostro nomine in prejudicium et derogationem sacri concil.

Basileensis seu contra ejus auctoritatem factum et attentatum seu

assertum est, cassamus, revocamus, irritamus et annullamus, nullas,

irritas fuisse et esse declaramus, Mansi, XXIX. 78.

[330] So Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, II. 919, Pastor, I. 288, etc. Funk,

Kirchengesch., p. 874, with his, usual fairness, says that Eugenius in

his bull gave unconditional assent to the council. So verstand er sich

endlich zur unbedingten Annahme der Synode

[331] De concubinariis, Mansi, XXIX. 101 sq.

[332] Immunem semper fuisse ab omni originali et actuali culpa, etc.,

Mansi, XXIX. 183.

[333] "Transfer" is the word used by the pope--transferendo hoc sacrum

concilium in civitatem Ferrarensium, Mansi, XXIX. 166. Reasons for the

transfer to an Italian city and an interesting statement of the

discussion over the place of meeting are given in Haller, Conc. Bas.,

I. 141-159.

[334] Eugenium fuisse et esse notorium et manifestum contumacem,

violatorem assiduum atque contemptorem sacrorum canonum synodalium,

pacis et unitatis Eccles. Dei perturbatorem notorium ... simoniacum,

perjurum, incorrigibilem, schismaticum, a fide devium, pertinacem

haereticum, dilapidatorem jurium et bonorum ecclesiae, inutilem et

damnosum ad administrationem romani pontificii, etc., Mansi, XXIX. 180.

[335] Mirbt gives it in part, Quellen, p. 160.

[336] H. Manger, D. Wahl Amadeos v. Savoyen zum Papste, Marburg, 1901,

p. 94. Sigismund, in 1416, raised the counts of Savoy to the dignity of

dukes.

[337] Given in Mirbt, p. 165 sqq.

[338] In his bull Ut pacis, 1449, recognizing the Lausanne act in his

favor, Nicolas V. called Amadeus "his venerable and most beloved

brother," and spoke of the Basel-Lausanne synod as being held under the

name of an oecumenical council, sub nomine generalis concilii,

Labbaeus, XII. 663, 665.

[339] Sess. XI. romanum pontificem tanquam super omnia

conciliaauctoritatem habentem, conciliorum indicendorum transferendorum

�e dissolvendorum plenum jus et potestatem habere. This council at the

same time pronounced the Council of Basel a "little council,"

conciliabulum, "or rather a conventicle," conventicula. Mansi, XXXII.

967.

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� 18. The Council of Ferrara-Florence. 1438-1445.

The council of Ferrara witnessed the submission of the Greeks to the

Roman see. It did not attempt to go into the subject of ecclesiastical

reforms, and thus vie with the synod at Basel. After sixteen sessions

held at Ferrara, Eugenius transferred the council, February, 1439, to

Florence. The reason given was the unhealthy conditions in Ferrara, but

the real grounds were the offer of the Florentines to aid Eugenius in

the support of his guests from the East and, by getting away from the

seaside, to lessen the chances of the Greeks going home before the

conclusion of the union. In 1442 the council was transferred to Rome,

where it held two sessions in the Lateran. The sessions at Ferrara,

Florence, and Rome are listed with the first twenty-five sessions of

the council of Basel, and together they are counted as the seventeenth

oecumenical council. [340]

The schism between the East and the West, dating from the middle of the

ninth century, while Nicolas I. and Photius were patriarchs

respectively of Rome and Constantinople, was widened by the crusades

and the conquest of Constantinople, 1204. The interest in a reunion of

the two branches of the Church was shown by the discussion at Bari,

1098, when Anselm was appointed to set forth the differences with

Greeks, and by the treatments of Thomas Aquinas and other theologians.

The only notable attempt at reunion was made at the second council of

Lyons, 1274, when a deputation from the East accepted articles of

agreement which, however, were rejected by the Eastern churches. In

1369, the emperor John visited Rome and abjured the schism, but his

action met with unfavorable response in Constantinople. Delegates

appeared at Constance, 1418, sent by Manuel Palaeologus and the

patriarch of Constantinople, [341] and, in 1422, Martin V. despatched

the Franciscan, Anthony Massanus, to the Bosphorus, with nine articles

as a basis of union. These articles led on to the negotiations

conducted at Ferrara.

Neither Eugenius nor the Greeks deserve any credit for the part they

took in the conference. The Greeks were actuated wholly by a desire to

get the assistance of the West against the advance of the Turks, and

not by religious zeal. So far as the Latins are concerned, they had to

pay all the expenses of the Greeks on their way to Italy, in Italy, and

on their way back as the price of the conference. Catholic historians

have little enthusiasm in describing the empty achievements of

Eugenius. [342]

The Greek delegation was large and inspiring, and included the emperor

and the patriarch of Constantinople. In Venetian vessels rented by the

pope, the emperor John VI., Palaeologus reached Venice in February,

1438. [343] He was accorded a brilliant reception, but it is fair to

suppose that the pleasure he may have felt in the festivities was not

unmixed with feelings of resentment, when he recalled the sack and

pillage of his capital, in 1204, by the ancestors of his entertainers.

John reached Ferrara March 6. The Greek delegation comprised 700

persons. Eugenius had arrived Jan. 27. In his bull, read in the synod,

he called the emperor his most beloved son, and the patriarch his most

pious brother. [344] In a public address delivered by Cardinal

Cesarini, the differences dividing the two communions were announced as

four,--the mode of the procession of the Holy Spirit, the use of

unleavened bread in the eucharist, the doctrine of purgatory, and the

papal primacy. The discussions exhibit a mortifying spectacle of

theological clipping and patchwork. They betray no pure zeal for the

religious interests of mankind. The Greeks interposed all manner of

dilatory tactics while they lived upon the hospitality of their hosts.

The Latins were bent upon asserting the supremacy of the Roman bishop.

The Orientals, moved by considerations of worldly policy, thought only

of the protection of their enfeebled empire.

Among the more prominent Greeks present were Bessarion, bishop of Nice,

Isidore, archbishop of Russian Kief, and Mark Eugenicus, archbishop of

Ephesus. Bessarion and Isidore remained in the West after the

adjournment of the council, and were rewarded by Eugenius with the red

hat. The archbishop of Ephesus has our admiration for refusing to bow

servilely to the pope and join his colleagues in accepting the articles

of union. The leaders among the Latins were Cardinals Cesarini and

Albergati, and the Spaniard Turrecremata, who was also given the red

hat after the council adjourned.

The first negotiations concerned matters of etiquette. Eugenius gave a

private audience to the patriarch, but waived the ceremony of having

his foot kissed. An important question was the proper seating of the

delegates, and the Greek emperor saw to it that accurate measurements

were taken of the seats set apart for the Greeks, lest they should have

positions of less honor than the Latins. [345] The pope's promise to

support his guests was arranged by a monthly grant of thirty florins to

the emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, four each to the prelates,

and three to the other visitors. What possible respect could the more

high-minded Latins have for ecclesiastics, and an emperor, who, while

engaged on the mission of Church reunion, were willing to be the pope's

pensioners, and live upon his dole!

The first common session was not held till Oct. 8, 1438. Most of it was

taken up with a long address by Bessarion, as was the time of the

second session by a still longer address by another Greek. The emperor

did his share in promoting delay by spending most of his time hunting.

At the start the Greeks insisted there could be no addition to the

original creed. Again and again they were on the point of withdrawing,

but were deterred from doing so by dread of the Turks and empty purses.

[346] A commission of twenty, ten Greeks and ten Latins, was appointed

to conduct the preliminary discussion on the questions of difference.

The Greeks accepted the addition made to the Constantinopolitan creed

by the synod of Toledo, 589, declaring that the Spirit proceeds from

the Father and the Son, but with the stipulation that they were not to

be required to introduce the filioque clause when they used the creed.

They justified their course on the ground that they had understood the

Latins as holding to the procession from the Father and the Son as from

two principles. The article of agreement ran: "The Spirit proceeds from

the Father and the Son eternally and substantially as it were from one

source and cause." [347]

In the matter of purgatory, it was decided that immediately at death

the blessed pass to the beatific vision, a view the Greeks had

rejected. Souls in purgatory are purified by pain and may be aided by

the suffrages of the living. At the insistence of the Greeks, material

fire as an element of purification was left out.

The use of leavened bread was conceded to the Greeks.

In the matter of the eucharist, the Greeks, who, after the words, "this

is my body," make a petition that the Spirit may turn the bread into

Christ's body, agreed to the view that transubstantiation occurs at the

use of the priestly words, but stipulated that the confession be not

incorporated in the written articles.

The primacy of the Roman bishop offered the most serious difficulty.

The article of union acknowledged him as "having a primacy over the

whole world, he himself being the successor of Peter, and the true

vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, the father and teacher

of all Christians, to whom, in Peter, Christ gave authority to feed,

govern and rule the universal Church." [348] This remarkable concession

was modified by a clause in the original document, running, "according

as it is defined by the acts of the oecumenical councils and by the

sacred canons." [349] The Latins afterwards changed the clause so as to

read, "even as it is defined by the oecumenical councils and the holy

canons." The Latin falsification made the early oecumencial councils a

witness to the primacy of the Roman pontiff.

The articles of union were incorporated in a decree [350] beginning

Laetentur coeli et exultat terra, "Let the heavens rejoice and the

earth be glad." It declared that the middle wall of partition between

the Occidental and Oriental churches has been taken down by him who is

the cornerstone, Christ. The black darkness of the long schism had

passed away before the ray of concord. Mother Church rejoiced to see

her divided children reunited in the bonds of peace and love. The union

was due to the grace of the Holy Ghost. The articles were signed July 5

by 115 Latins and 33 Greeks, of whom 18 were metropolitans. Archbishop

Mark of Ephesus was the only one of the Orientals who refused to sign.

The patriarch of Constantinople had died a month before, but wrote

approving the union. His body lies buried in S. Maria Novella,

Florence. His remains and the original manuscript of the articles,

which is preserved in the Laurentian library at Florence, are the only

relics left of the union.

On July 6, 1439, the articles were publicly read in the cathedral of

Florence, the Greek text by Bessarion, and the Latin by Cesarini. The

pope was present and celebrated the mass. The Latins sang hymns in

Latin, and the Greeks followed them with hymns of their own. Eugenius

promised for the defence of Constantinople a garrison of three hundred

and two galleys and, if necessary, the armed help of Western

Christendom. After tarrying for a month to receive the five months of

arrearages of his stipend, the emperor returned by way of Venice to his

capital, from which he had been absent two years.

The Ferrara agreement proved to be a shell of paper, and all the parade

and rejoicing at the conclusion of the proceedings were made ridiculous

by the utter rejection of its articles in Constantinople.

On their return, the delegates were hooted as Azymites, the name given

in contempt to the Latins for using unleavened bread in the eucharist.

Isidore, after making announcement of the union at Of en, was seized

and put into a convent, from which he escaped two years later to Rome.

The patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria issued a letter

from Jerusalem, 1443, denouncing the council of Florence as a synod of

robbers and Metrophanes, the Byzantine patriarch as a matricide and

heretic.

It is true the articles were published in St. Sophia, Dec. 14, 1452, by

a Latin cardinal, but six months later, Constantinople was in the hands

of the Mohammedans. A Greek council, meeting in Constantinople, 1472,

formally rejected the union.

On the other hand, the success of the Roman policy was announced

through Western Europe. Eugenius' position was strengthened by the

empty triumph, and in the same proportion the influence of the Basel

synod lessened. If cordial relations between churches of the East and

the West were not promoted at Ferrara and Florence, a beneficent

influence flowed from the council in another direction by the diffusion

of Greek scholarship and letters in the West.

Delegations also from the Armenians and Jacobites appeared at Florence

respectively in 1439 and 1442. The Copts and Ethiopians also sent

delegations, and it seemed as if the time had arrived for the reunion

of all the distracted parts of Christendom. [351] A union with the

Armenians, announced Nov. 22, 1439, declared that the Eastern delegates

had accepted the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and the

Chalcedon Council giving Christ two natures and by implication two

wills. The uniate Armenians have proved true to the union. The Armenian

catholicos, Gregory IX., who attempted to enforce the union, was

deposed, and the Turks, in 1461, set up an Armenian patriarch, with

seat at Constantinople. The union of the Jacobites, proclaimed in 1442,

was universally disowned in the East. The attempts to conciliate the

Copts and Ethiopians were futile. Eugenius sent envoys to the East to

apprise the Maronites and the Nestorians of the efforts at reunion. The

Nestorians on the island of Cyprus submitted to Rome, and a century

later, during the sessions of the Fifth Lateran, 1516, the Maronites

were received into the Roman communion.

On Aug. 7, 1445, Eugenius adjourned the long council which had begun

its sittings at Basel, continued them at Ferrara and Florence, and

concluded them in the Lateran.

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[340] Hefele-Kn�pfler, Kirchengesch., p. 477.

[341] Richental, Chronik, p. 113, has a notice of their arrival.

[342] So Hefele-Kn�pfler, Kirchengesch., p. 476; Hergenr�ther-Kirsch,

II. 949; Funk, Kirchengesch., p. 377. Pastor, II. 307, says, "Die

politische Nothlage brachte endlich die Griechen zum Nachgeben."

[343] An account of the emperor's arrival and entertainment at Venice

is given in Mansi, XXXI. 463 sqq.

[344] Dilectissimus filius noster Romaeorum imperator Cum piissimmo

fratre nostro, Josepho Const. patriarcha, Mansi, XXXI. 481.

[345] So Syrophulos. See Hefele Conciliengesch., VII. 672.

[346] Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, II. 949, lays stress upon the Greek

readiness to accept alms.

[347] Aeternaliter et substantialiter tanquam ab uno principio et

causa. The statement ex patre et filio and ex patre per filium were

declared to be identical in meaning.

[348] Diffinimus sanctam apostol. sedem et Romanam pontificem in

universum orbem tenere primatum et ipsum pontificem Romanum successorem

esse B. Petri principis apostolorum, et verum Christi vicarium,

totiusque ecclesiae caput, et omnium Christianorum patrem et doctorem

existere, etc. Mansi, XXXI. 1697.

[349] Quemadmodum et in gestis oecumenicorum conciliorum et in sacris

canonibus continetur. The change placed an etiam in the place of the

first et, so that the clause ran quemadmodum etiam in gestis, etc. See

D�llinger-Friedrich, D. Papstthum, pp. 170, 470 sq. D�llinger says that

in the Roman ed. of 1626 the Ferrara council was called the 8th

oecumenical.

[350] The document, together with the signatures, is given in Mansi,

pp. 1028-1036, 1695-1701. Hefele-Kn�pfler, Conciliengesch., VII.

742-753, has regarded it of such importance as to give the Greek and

Latin originals in full, and also a German translation.

[351] See Mansi, XXXI. 1047 sqq.; Hefele-Kn�pfler, VII. 788 sqq. The

only meeting since between Greeks and Western ecclesiastics of public

note was at the Bonn Conference, 1875, in which D�llinger and the

Old-Catholics took the most prominent part. Dr. Philip Schaff and

several Anglican divines also participated. See Creeds of Christendom,

I. 545-554, and Life of Philip Schaff, pp. 277-280.

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CHAPTER III.

LEADERS OF CATHOLIC THOUGHT.

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� 19. Literature.

For � 20. Ockam and the Decay of Scholasticism.--No complete ed. of

Ockam's works exists. The fullest lists are given by Riezler, see

below, Little: Grey Friars of Oxford, pp. 226-234, and Potthast: II.

871-873. Goldast's Monarchia, II. 313-1296, contains a number of his

works, e.g. opus nonaginta dierum, Compendium errorum Johannis XXII.,

De utili dominio rerum Eccles. et abdicatione bonorum temporalium,

Super potestatem summi pontificis, Quaestionum octo decisiones, Dial.

de potestate papali et imperiali in tres partes distinctus, (1) de

haereticis, (2) de erroribus Joh. XXII., (3) de potestate papae,

conciliorum et imperatoris (first publ. 2 vols., Paris, 1476).--Other

works: Expositio aurea super totam artem veterem, a com. on Porphyry's

Isagoge, and Aristotle's Elenchus, Bologna, 1496.--Summa logices,

Paris, 1488.--Super I V. Iibros sententiarum, Lyons, 1483.--De

sacramento altaris, Strassburg, 1491.--De praedestinatione et futuris

contingentibus, Bologna, 1496.--Quodlibeta septem, Paris,

1487.--Riezler: D. antip�pstlichen und publizistischen Schriften Occams

in his Die literar. Widersacher, etc., 241-277.--Haureau: La philos.

scolastique.--Werner: Die Scholastik des sp�teren M. A., II., Vienna,

1883, and Der hl. Thos. von Aquino, III.--St�ckl: Die Philos. des M.

A., II. 986-1021, and art. Nominalismus in Wetzer-Welte, IX.--Baur: Die

christl. Kirche d. M. A., p. 377 sqq.--M�ller: Der Kampf Ludwigs des

Baiern.--R. L. Poole in Dict. of Natl. Biog., XLI. 357-362.--R. Seeberg

in Herzog, XIV. 260-280.--A. Dorner; D. Verh�ltniss von Kirche und

Staat nach Occam in Studien und Kritiken, 1886, pp. 672-722.--F.

Kropatscheck: Occam und Luther in Beitr. zur F�rderung christl. Theol.,

G�tersloh, 1900.--Art. Nominalismus, by St�ckl in Wetzer-Welte, IX.

423-427.

For � 21. Catherine of Siena.--Her writings. Epistole ed orazioni della

seraphica vergine s. Catterina da Siena, Venice, 1600, etc.--Best ed. 6

vols., Siena, 1707-1726.--Engl. trans. of the Dialogue of the Seraphic

Virgin Cath. of Siena, by Algar Thorold, London, 1896.--Her Letters,

ed. by N. Tommaseo: Le lettere di S. Caterina da Siena, 4 vols.,

Florence, 1860.--\*Eng. trans. by Vida D. Scudder: St. Cath. of Siena as

seen in her Letters, London, 1906, 2d ed., 1906.--Her biography is

based upon the Life written by her confessor, Raymundo de Vineis sive

de Capua, d. 1399: vita s. Cath. Senensis, included in the Siena ed. of

her works and in the Acta Sanctt. III. 863-969.--Ital. trans. by

Catherine's secretary, Neri De Landoccio, Fr. trans. by E. Cartier,

Paris, 1863, 4th ed., 1877.--An abbreviation of Raymund's work, with

annotations, Leggenda della Cat. da Siena, usually called La Leggenda

minore, by Tommaso d'antonio Nacci Caffarini, 1414.--K. Hase: Caterina

von Siena, Ein Heiligenbild, Leipzig, 1804, new ed., 1892.--J. E.

Butler: Cath. of Siena, London, 1878, 4th ed., 1895.--Augusta T. Drane,

Engl. Dominican: The Hist. of Cath. of Siena, compiled from the Orig.

sources, London, 1880, 3d ed., 1900, with a trans. of the

Dialogue.--St. Catherine of Siena and her Times, by the author of

Mademoiselle Mori (Margaret D. Roberts), New York, 1906, pays little

attention to the miraculous element, and presents a full picture of

Catherine's age.--\*E. G. Gardner: St. Catherine of Siena: A Study in

the Religion, Literature, and History of the fourteenth century in

Italy, London, 1907.

For � 22. Peter d'ailly.--Paul Tschackert: Peter von Ailli. Zur Gesch.

des grossen abendl�ndischen Schismas und der Reformconcilien von Pisa

und Constanz, Gotha, 1877, and Art. in Herzog, I. 274-280.--Salembier:

Petrus de Alliaco, Lille, 1886.--Lenz: Drei Traktate aus d.

Schriftencyclus d. Konst. Konz., Marburg, 1876.--Bess: Zur Gesch. des

Konst. Konzils, Marburg, 1891.--Finke: Forschungen und Quellen, etc.,

pp. 103-132.--For a list of D'Ailly's writings, See Tschackert, pp.

348-365.--Some of them are given in Van der Hardt and in Du Pin's ed.

of Gerson's Works, I. 489-804, and the De difficultate reform. eccles.,

and the De necessitate reform. eccles., II. 867-903.

For � 23. John Gerson.--Works. Best ed. by L. E. Du Pin, Prof. of

Theol. in Paris, 5 vols., Antwerp, 1706; 2d ed., Hague Com., 1728. The

2d ed. has been consulted in this work and is pronounced by Schwab

"indispensable." It contains the materials of Gerson's life and the

contents of his works in an introductory essay, Gersoniana, I. i-cxlv,

and also writings by D'ailly, Langenstein, Aleman and other

contemporaries. A number of Gerson's works are given in Goldast's

Monarchia and Van der Hardt.--A Vita Gersonis is given in Hardt's Conc.

Const., IV. 26-57.--Chartul. Univ. Paris., III., IV., under John Arnaud

and Gerson.--J. B. Schwab: Johannes Gerson, Prof. der Theologie und

Kanzler der Universit�t Paris, W�rzburg, 1858, an exhaustive work,

giving also a history of the times, one of the most thorough of

biographies and to be compared with Hurter's Innocent III.--A. Masson:

J. Gerson, sa vie, son temps et ses oeuvres, Lyons, 1894.--A. Lambon:

J. Gerson, sa r�forme de l'enseigement Theol. et de l'�ducation

populaire, Paris, 1888.--Bess: Zur Gesch. d. Konstanz. Konzils; art.

Gerson in Herzog, VI. 612-617.--Lafontaine: Jehas Gerson, 1363-1429,

Paris, 1906, pp. 340.--J. Schwane: Dogmengesch.--Werner: D. Scholastik

d. sp�teren M. A., IV., V.

For � 24. Nicolas of Clamanges.--Works, ed. by J. M. Lydius, 2 vols.,

Leyden, 1013, with Life.--The De ruina ecclesiae, with a Life, in Van

der Hardt: Conc. Constan., vol. I., pt. lII.--Writings not in Lydius

are given by Bulaeus in Hist. univ. Paris.--Baluzius: Miscellanea, and

D'Achery: Spicilegium.--Life in Du Pin's Works of Gerson, I., p. xxxix

sq.--A. M�ntz: Nic. de Clem., sa vie et ses �crits, Strassburg,

1846.--J. Schwab: J. Gerson, pp. 493-497.--Artt. by Bess in Herzog, IV.

138-147, and by Kn�pfsler in Wetzer-Welte, IX. 298-306.--G. Schubert:

Nic. von Clem. als Verfasser der Schrift de corrupto ecclesiae statu,

Grossenhain, 1888.

For � 25. Nicolas of Cusa.--Edd. of his Works, 1476 (place not given),

as ed. by Faber Stapulensis, 3 vols., 1514, Basel.--German trans. of a

number of the works by F. A. Schrapff, Freiburg, 1862.--Schrapff: Der

Cardinal und Bischof Nic. von Cusa Mainz, 1843; Nic. von Cusa als

Reformator in Kirche, Reich und Philosophie des 15ten Jahrh., T�bingen,

1871.--J. M. D�x: Der deutsche Card. Nic. von Cusa und die Kirche

seiner Zeit, 2 vols., Regensburg, 1847.--J. Uebinger: D. Gotteslehre

des Nic. von Cusa, M�nster, 1888.--J. Marx: Nik. von Cues und seine

Stiftungen au Cues und Deventer, Treves, 1906, pp. 115.--C. Schmitt:

Card. Nic. Cusanus, Coblenz, 1907. Presents him as astronomer,

geographer, mathematician, historian, homilete, orator, philosopher,

and theologian.--St�ckl, III. 23-84.--Schwane, pp. 98-102.--Art. by

Funk in Wetzer-Welte, IX. 306-315.

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� 20. Ockam and the Decay of Scholasticism.

Scholasticism had its last great representative in Duns Scotus, d.

1308. After him the scholastic method gradually passed into disrepute.

New problems were thrust upon the mind of Western Europe, and new

interests were engaging its attention. The theologian of the school and

the convent gave way to the practical theological disputant setting

forth his views in tracts and on the floor of the councils. Free

discussion broke up the hegemony of dogmatic assertion. The authority

of the Fathers and of the papacy lost its exclusive hold, and thinkers

sought another basis of authority in the general judgment of

contemporary Christendom, in the Scriptures alone or in reason. The new

interest in letters and the natural world drew attention away from

labored theological systems which were more adapted to display the

ingenuity of the theologian than to be of practical value to society.

The use of the spoken languages of Europe in literature was fitted to

force thought into the mould of current exigencies. The discussions of

Roger Bacon show that at the beginning of the fourteenth century men's

minds, sated with abstruse metaphysical solutions of theological

questions, great and trivial, were turning to a world more real and

capable of proof.

The chief survivors of the dialectical Schoolmen were Durandus and

William Ockam. Gabriel Biel of T�bingen, who died just before the close

of the fifteenth century, is usually called the last of the Schoolmen.

[352] Such men as D'Ailly, Gerson and Wyclif, sometimes included under

the head of mediaeval scholastics, evidently belong to another class.

A characteristic feature of the scholasticism of Durandus and Ockam is

the sharper distinction they made between reason and revelation.

Following Duns Scotus, they declared that doctrines peculiar to

revealed theology are not susceptible of proof by pure reason. The body

of dogmatic truth, as accepted by the Church, they did not question.

A second characteristic is the absence of originality. They elaborated

what they received. The Schoolmen of former periods had exhausted the

list of theological questions and discussed them from every standpoint.

The third characteristic is the revival and ascendency of nominalism,

the principle Roscellinus advocated more than two hundred years before.

The Nominalists were also called Terminists, because they represent

words as terms which do not necessarily have ideas and realities to

correspond to them. A universal is simply a symbol or term for a number

of things or for that which is common to a number of things. [353]

Universality is nothing more than a mode of mental conception. The

University of Paris resisted the spread of nominalism, and in 1839 the

four nations forbade the promulgation of Ockam's doctrine or listening

to its being expounded in private or public. [354] In 1473, Louis XI.

issued a mandate forbidding the doctors at Paris teaching it, and

prohibiting the use of the writings of Ockam, Marsiglius and other

writers. In 1481 the law was rescinded.

Durandus, known as doctor resolutissimus, the resolute doctor, d. 1334,

was born at Pour�ain, in the diocese of Clermont, entered the Dominican

order, was appointed by Fohn XXII. bishop of Limoux, 1317, and was

later elevated to the sees of Puy and Meaux. He attacked some of the

rules of the Franciscans and John XXII.'s theory of the beatific

vision, and in 1333 was declared by a commission guilty of eleven

errors. His theological views are found in his commentary on the

Lombard, begun when he was a young man and finished in his old age. He

showed independence by assailing some of the views of Thomas Aquinas.

He went beyond his predecessors in exalting the Scriptures above

tradition and pronouncing their statements more authoritative than the

dicta of Aristotle and other philosophers. [355] All real existence is

in the individual. The universal is not an entity which can be divided

as a chunk of wood is cut into pieces. The universal, the unity by

which objects are grouped together as a class, is deduced from

individuals by an act of the mind. That which is common to a class has,

apart from the individuals of the class, no real existence.

On the doctrine of the eucharist Durandus seems not to have been fully

satisfied with the view held by the Church, and suggested that the

words "this is my body," may mean "contained under"--contentum sub hoc.

This marks an approach to Luther's view of consubstantiation. This

theologian was held in such high esteem by Gerson that he recommended

him, together with Thomas Aquinas, Bradwardine and Henry of Ghent, to

the students of the college of Navarre. [356]

The most profound scholastic thinker of the fourteenth century was the

Englishman, William Ockam, d. 1349, called doctor invincibilis, the

invincible doctor, or, with reference to his advocacy of nominalism,

venerabilis inceptor, the venerable inaugurator. His writings, which

were more voluminous than lucid, were much published at the close of

the fifteenth century, but have not been put into print for several

hundred years. There is no complete edition of them. Ockam's views

combined elements which were strictly mediaeval, and elements which

were adopted by the Reformers and modern philosophy. His identification

with the cause of the Spiritual Franciscans involved him in controversy

with two popes, John XXII. and Benedict XII. His denial of papal

infallibility has the appearance not 80 much of a doctrine proceeding

from theological conviction as the chance weapon laid hold of in time

of conflict to protect the cause of the Spirituals.

Of the earlier period of Ockam's life, little is known. He was born in

Surrey, studied at Oxford, where he probably was a student of Duns

Scotus, entered the Franciscan order, and was probably master in Paris,

1315-1320. For his advocacy of the doctrine of Christ's absolute

poverty he was, by order of John XXII., tried and found guilty and

thrown into confinement. [357] With the aid of Lewis the Bavarian, he

and his companions, Michael of Cesena and Bonagratia, escaped in 1328

to Pisa. from that time on, the emperor and the Schoolman, as already

stated, defended one another. Ockam accompanied the emperor to Munich

and was excommunicated. At Cesena's death the Franciscan seal passed

into his hands, but whatever authority he possessed he resigned the

next year into the hands of the acknowledged Franciscan general,

Farinerius. Clement VI. offered him absolution on condition of his

abjuring his errors. Whether he accepted the offer or not is unknown.

He died at Munich and is buried there. The distinguished Englishman

owes his reputation to his revival of nominalism, his political

theories and his definition of the final seat of religious authority.

His theory of nominalism was explicit, and offered no toleration to the

realism of the great Schoolmen from Anselm on. Individual things alone

have factual existence. The universals are mere terms or symbols,

fictions of the mind--fictiones, signa mentalia, nomina, signa

verbalia. They are like images in a mirror. A universal stands for an

intellectual act--actus intelligenda -- and nothing more. Did ideas

exist in God's mind as distinct entities, then the visible world would

have been created out of them and not out of nothing. [358]

Following Duns Scotus, Ockam taught determinism. God's absolute will

makes things what they are. Christ might have become wood or stone if

God had so chosen. In spite of Aristotle, a body might have different

kinds of motion at the same time. In the department of morals, what is

now bad might have been good, if God had so willed it.

In the department of civil government, Ockam, advocating the position

taken by the electors at Rense, 1338, declared the emperor did not need

the confirmation of the pope. The imperial office is derived

immediately from God. [359] The Church is a priestly institution,

administers the sacraments and shows men the way of salvation, but has

no civil jurisdiction, [360] potestas coactiva.

The final seat of authority, this thinker found in the Scriptures.

Truths such as the Trinity and the incarnation cannot be deduced by

argument. The being of God cannot be proven from the so-called idea of

God. A plurality of gods may be proven by the reason as well as the

existence of the one God. Popes and councils may err. The Bible alone

is inerrant. A Christian cannot be held to believe anything not in the

Scriptures. [361]

The Church is the community of the faithful--communitas, or congregatio

fidelium. [362] The Roman Church is not identical with it, and this

body of Christians may exist independently of the Roman Church. If the

pope had plenary power, the law of the Gospel would be more galling

than the law of Moses. All would then be the pope's slaves. [363] The

papacy is not a necessary institution.

In the doctrine of the eucharist, Ockam represents the traditional view

as less probable than the view that Christ's body is at the side of the

bread. This theory of impanation, which Rupert of Deutz taught,

approached Luther's theory of consubstantiation. However, Ockam

accepted the Church's view, because it was the less intelligible and

because the power of God is unlimited. John of Paris, d. 1308, had

compared the presence of Christ in the elements to the co-existence of

two natures in the incarnation and was deposed from his chair at the

University of Paris, 1304. Gabriel Biel took a similar view. [364]

Ockam's views on the authority of the civil power, papal errancy, the

infallibility of the Scriptures and the eucharist are often compared

with the views of Luther. [365] The German reformer spoke of the

English Schoolman as "without doubt the leader and most ingenious of

the Schoolmen"--scholasticorum doctorum sine dubio princeps et

ingeniosissimus. He called him his "dear teacher," and declared himself

to be of Ockam's party--sum Occamicae factionis. [366] The two men

were, however, utterly unlike. Ockam was a theorist, not a reformer,

and in spite of his bold sayings, remained a child of the mediaeval

age. He started no party or school in theological matters. Luther

exalted personal faith in the living Christ. He discovered new

principles in the Scriptures, and made them the active forces of

individual and national belief and practice. We might think of Luther

as an Ockam if he had lived in the fourteenth century. We cannot think

of Ockam as a reformer in the sixteenth century. He would scarcely have

renounced monkery. Ockam's merit consists in this that, in common with

Marsiglius and other leaders of thought, he imbibed the new spirit of

free discussion, and was bold enough to assail the traditional dogmas

of his time. In this way he contributed to the unsettlement of the

pernicious mediaeval theory of the seat of authority.

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[352] Seeberg gives a good deal of attention to Biel in his

Dogmengeschichte. St�ckl carries the history of scholasticism down to

Cardinal Cajetan, who wrote a commentary on Thomas Aquinas'

Summatheologica, and includes the German mystics, Eck, Luther, etc.,

who clearly belong in another category. Professor Seth, in art.

Scholasticism in the Enc. Brit., and Werner, close the history with

Francis Suarez, 1617. The new age had begun a hundred years before that

time.

[353] Terminus prolatus vel scriptus nihil significat nisi secundum

voluntariam institutionem. Ockam, as quoted by St�ckl, II. 962.

[354] Chartul. II. 485. Also p. 507, etc.

[355] Naturalis philosophiae non est scire quid Aristoteles vel alii

philosophi senserunt sed quid habet veritas rerum, quoted by Deutsch,

p. 97. Durandus' commentary on the sentences of the Lombard was publ.

Paris, 1508, 1515, etc. See Deutsch, art. Durandus, in Herzog, V.

95-104.

[356] Schwab: J. Gerson, p. 312.

[357] It lasted four years, M�ller,Ludwig der Baier, p. 208.

[358] Nullum universale est aliqua substantia extra animam existens,

quoted by Seeberg, in Herzog, p. 269. Quoddam fictum existens objective

in mente. Werner, 115. The expression objective in mente is equivalent

to our word subjective.

[359] Imperialis dignitas et potestas est immediate a solo Deo.

Goldast, IV. 99, Frankf. ed. See also Dorner, p. 675.

[360] Kropatscheck, p. 55 sq., Matt. 30:26 sqq. Clement VI. declared

Ockam had sucked his political heresies from Marsiglius of Padua.

[361] See Riezler, p. 273, and Seeberg, pp. 271, 278, Christianus de

necessitate salutis non tenetur ad credendum nec credere quod nec in

biblia continetur nec ex solis contentis in biblia potest consequentia

necessaria et manifesta inferri.

[362] Romana ecclesia est distincta a congregatione fidelium et potest

contra fidem errare. Ecclesiae autem universalis errare non potest. See

Kropatscheck p. 65 sqq., and also Dorner, p. 696.

[363] See Werner, III. 120, who quotes Scaliger as saying of Ockam,

omnium mortalium subtillissimus, cujus ingenium vetera subvertit, nova

ad invictas insanias et incomprehensibiles subtilitates fabricavit et

conformavit.

[364] See Werner, D. hl. Thomas, III. 111; Harnack, Dogmengesch., III.

494; Seeberg, 276.

[365] For example, Kropatscheck, especially p. 66 sqq., and Seeberg, p.

289.

[366] Weimar, ed. VI. 183, 195, 600, as quoted by Seeberg.

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� 21. Catherine of Siena, the Saint.

Next to Francis d'Assisi, the most celebrated of the Italian saints is

Catherine of Siena--Caterina da Siena--1347-1380. With Elizabeth of

Thuringia, who lived more than a century before her, she is the most

eminent of the holy women of the Middle Ages whom the Church has

canonized. Her fame depends upon her single-hearted piety and her

efforts to advance the interests of the Church and her nation. She left

no order to encourage the reverence for her name. She was the most

public of all the women of the Middle Ages in Italy, and yet she passed

unscathed and without a taint through streets and in courts. Now, as

the daughter of an humble citizen of Siena, she ministers to the poor

and the sick: now, as the prophetess of heaven, she appeals to the

conscience of popes and of commonwealths. Her native Sienese have

sanctified her with the fragrant name la beata poplana, the blessed

daughter of the people. Although much in her career, as it has been

handed down by her confessor and biographer, may seem to be legendary,

and although the hysterical element may not be altogether wanting from

her piety, she yet deserves and will have the admiration of all men who

are moved by the sight of a noble enthusiasm. It would require a

fanatical severity to read the account of her unwearied efforts and the

letters, into which she equally poured the fire of her soul, without

feeling that the Sienese saint was a very remarkable woman, the

Florence Nightingale of her time or more, "one of the most wonderful

women that have ever lived," as her most recent English biographer has

pronounced her. Or, shall we join Gregorovius, the thorough student of

mediaeval Rome, in saying, "Catherine's figure flits like that of an

angel: through the darkness of her time, over which her gracious genius

sheds a soft radiance. Her life is more worthy and assuredly a more

human subject for history than the lives of the popes of her age."

[367]

Catherine Benincasa was the twenty-third of a family of twenty-five

children. Her twin sister, Giovanna, died in infancy. Her father was a

dyer in prosperous circumstances. Her mother, Monna Lapa, survived the

daughter. Catherine treated her with filial respect, wrote her letters,

several of which are extant, and had her with her on journeys and in

Rome during her last days there. Catherine had no school training, and

her knowledge of reading and writing she acquired after she was grown

up.

As a child she was susceptible to religious impressions, and frequented

the Dominican church near her father's home. The miracles of her

earlier childhood were reported by her confessor and biographer,

Raymund of Capua. At twelve her parents arranged for her a marriage,

but to avoid it Catherine cut off her beautiful hair. She joined the

tertiary order of the Dominicans, the women adherents being called the

mantellate from their black mantles. Raymund declares "that nature had

not given her a face over-fair," and her personal appearance was marred

by the marks of the smallpox. And yet she had a winning expression, a

fund of good spirits, and sang and laughed heartily. Once devoted to a

religious life, she practised great austerities, flagellating herself

three times a day,--once for herself, once for the living and once for

the dead. She wore a hair undergarment and an iron chain. During one

Lenten season she lived on the bread taken in communion. These

asceticisms were performed in a chamber in her father's house. She was

never an inmate of a convent. Such extreme asceticisms as she practised

upon herself she disparaged at a later period.

At an early age Catherine became the subject of visions and

revelations. On one of these occasions and after hours of dire

temptation, when she was tempted to live like other girls, the Saviour

appeared to her stretched on the cross and said: "My own daughter,

Catherine, seest thou how much I have suffered for thee? Let it not be

hard for thee to suffer for me." Thrilled with the address, she asked:

"Where wert thou, Lord, when I was tempted with such impurity?" and He

replied, "In thy heart." In 1367, according to her own statement, the

Saviour betrothed himself to her, putting a ring on her finger. The

ring was ever afterwards visible to herself though unseen by others.

Five years before her death, she received the stigmata directly from

Christ. Their impression gave sharp pain, and Catherine insisted that,

though they likewise were invisible to others, they were real to her.

In obedience to a revelation, Catherine renounced the retired life she

had been living, and at the age of twenty began to appear in public and

perform the active offices of charity. This was in 1367. She visited

the poor and sick, and soon became known as the ministering angel of

the whole city. During the plague of 1374, she was indefatigable by day

and night, healed those of whom the physicians despaired, and she even

raised the dead. The lepers outside the city walls she did not neglect.

One of the remarkable incidents in her career which she vouches for in

one of her letters to Raymund was her treatment of Niccolo Tuldo, a

young nobleman condemned to die for having uttered words disrespectful

of the city government. The young man was in despair, but under

Catherine's influence he not only regained composure, but became joyful

in the prospect of death. Catherine was with him at the block and held

his head. She writes, "I have just received a head into my hands which

was to me of such sweetness as no heart can think, or tongue describe."

Before the execution she accompanied the unfortunate man to the mass,

where he received the communion for the first time. His last words were

"naught but Jesus and Catherine. And, so saying," wrote his

benefactress, "I received his head in my hands." She then saw him

received of Christ, and as she further wrote, "When he was at rest, my

soul rested in peace, in so great fragrance of blood that I could not

bear to remove the blood which had fallen on me from him."

The fame of such a woman could not be held within the walls of her

native city. Neighboring cities and even the pope in Avignon heard of

her deeds of charity and her revelations. The guide of minds seeking

the consolations of religion, the minister to the sick and dying,

Catherine now entered into the wider sphere of the political life of

Italy and the welfare of the Church. Her concern was divided between

efforts to support the papacy and to secure the amelioration of the

clergy and establish peace. With the zeal of a prophet, she urged upon

Gregory XI. to return to Rome. She sought to prevent the rising of the

Tuscan cities against the Avignon popes and to remove the interdict

which was launched against Florence, and she supported Urban VI.

against the anti-pope, Clement VII. With equal fervor she urged Gregory

to institute a reformation of the clergy, to allow no weight to

considerations of simony and flattery in choosing cardinals and pastors

and "to drive out of the sheep-fold those wolves, those demons

incarnate, who think only of good cheer, splendid feasts and superb

liveries." She also was zealous in striving to stir up the flames of a

new crusade. To Sir John Hawkwood, the freelance and terror of the

peninsula, she wrote, calling upon him that, as he took such pleasure

in fighting, he should thenceforth no longer direct his arms against

Christians, but against the infidels. She communicated to the Queen of

Cyprus on the subject. Again and again she urged it upon Gregory XI.,

and chiefly on the grounds that he "might minister the blood of the

Lamb to the wretched infidels," and that converted, they might aid in

driving pride and other vices out of the Christian world. [368]

Commissioned by Gregory, she journeyed to Pisa to influence the city in

his favor. She was received with honors by the archbishop and the head

of the republic, and won over two professors who visited her with the

purpose of showing her she was self-deceived or worse. She told them

that it was not important for her to know how God had created the

world, but that "it was essential to know that the Son of God had taken

our human nature and lived and died for our salvation." One of the

professors, removing his crimson velvet cap, knelt before her and asked

for forgiveness. Catherine's cures of the sick won the confidence of

the people. On this visit she was accompanied by her mother and a group

of like-minded women.

A large chapter in Catherine's life is interwoven with the history of

Florence. The spirit of revolt against the Avignon regime was rising in

upper Italy and, when the papal legate in Bologna, in a year of dearth,

forbade the transportation of provisions to Florence, it broke out into

war. At the invitation of the Florentines, Catherine visited the city,

1375 and, a year later, was sent as a delegate to Avignon to negotiate

terms of peace. She was received with honor by the pope, but not

without hesitancy. The other members of the delegation, when they

arrived, refused to recognize her powers and approve her methods. The

cardinals treated her coolly or with contempt, and women laid snares at

her devotions to bring ridicule upon her. Such an attempt was made by

the pope's niece, Madame de Beaufort Turenne, who knelt at her side and

ran a sharp knife into her foot so that she limped from the wound.

The dyer's daughter now turned her attention to the task of confirming

the supreme pontiff in his purpose to return to Rome and counteract the

machinations of the cardinals against its execution. Seeing her desire

realized, she started back for Italy and, met by her mother at Leghorn,

went on to Florence, carrying a commission from the pope. Her effort to

induce the city to bow to the sentence of interdict, which had been

laid upon it, was in a measure successful. Her reverence for the papal

office demanded passive obedience. Gregory's successor, Urban VI.,

lifted the ban. Catherine then returned to Siena where she dictated the

Dialogue, a mystical treatise inculcating prayer, obedience, discretion

and other virtues. Catherine declared that God alone had been her guide

in its composition.

In the difficulties, which arose soon after Urban's election, that

pontiff looked to Siena and called its distinguished daughter to Rome.

They had met in Avignon. Accompanied by her mother and other

companions, she reached the holy city in the Autumn of 1378. They

occupied a house by themselves and lived upon alms. [369] Her summons

to Urban "to battle only with the weapons of repentance, prayer, virtue

and love" were not heeded. Her presence, however, had a beneficent

influence, and on one occasion, when the mob raged and poured into the

Vatican, she appeared as a peacemaker, and the sight of her face and

her words quieted the tumult.

She died lying on boards, April 29, 1380. To her companions standing at

her side, she said: "Dear children, let not my death sadden you, rather

rejoice to think that I am leaving a place of many sufferings to go to

rest in the quiet sea, the eternal God, and to be united forever with

my most sweet and loving Bridegroom. And I promise to be with you more

and to be more useful to you, since I leave darkness to pass into the

true and everlasting light." Again and again she whispered, "I have

sinned, O Lord; be merciful to me." She prayed for Urban, for the whole

Church and for her companions, and then she departed, repeating the

words, "Into thy hands I commit my spirit."

At the time of her death Catherine of Siena was not yet thirty-three

years old. A magnificent funeral was ordered by Urban. A year after,

her head, enclosed in a reliquary, was sent to her native Siena, and in

1461 she was canonized by the city's famous son, pope Pius II., who

uttered the high praise "that none ever approached her without going

away better." In 1865 when Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome was

reopened, her ashes were carried through the streets, the silver urn

containing them being borne by four bishops. Lamps are kept ever

burning at the altar dedicated to her in the church. In 1866 Pius IX.

elevated the dyer's daughter to the dignity of patron saint and

protectress of Rome, a dignity she shares with the prince of the

Apostles. With Petrarch she had been the most ardent advocate of its

claims as the papal residence, and her zeal was exclusively religious.

In her correspondence and Dialogue we have the biography of Catherine's

soul. Nearly four hundred of her letters are extant. [370] Not only

have they a place of eminence as the revelations of a saintly woman's

thoughts and inner life, but are, next to the letters written by

Petrarch, the chief specimens of epistolary literature of the

fourteenth century. She wrote to persons of all classes, to her mother,

the recluse in the cloister, her confessor, Raymund of Capua, to men

and women addicted to the pleasures of the world, to the magistrates of

cities, queens and kings, to cardinals, and to the popes, Gregory XI.

and Urban VI., gave words of counsel, set forth at length measures and

motives of action, used the terms of entreaty and admonition, and did

not hesitate to employ threats of divine judgment, as in writing to the

Queen of Naples. They abound in wise counsels.

The correspondence shows that Catherine had some acquaintance with the

New Testament from which she quotes the greater precepts and draws

descriptions from the miracle of the water changed into wine and the

expulsion of the moneychangers from the temple and such parables as the

ten virgins and the marriage-feast. One of her most frequent

expressions is the blood of Christ, and in truly mystical or conventual

manner she bids her correspondents, even the pope and the cardinals,

bathe and drown and inebriate themselves in it, yea, to clothe and fill

themselves with it, "for Christ did not buy us with gold or silver or

pearls or other precious stones, but with his own precious blood."

[371]

To Catherine the religious life was a subjection of the will to the

will of God and the outgoing of the soul in exercises of prayer and the

practice of love. "I want you to wholly destroy your own will that it

may cling to Christ crucified." So she wrote to a mother bereft of her

children. Writing to the recluse, Bartolomea della Seta, she

represented the Saviour as saying, "Sin and virtue consist in the

consent of the will, there is no sin or virtue unless voluntarily

wrought."

To another she wrote, "I have already seen many penitents who have been

neither patient nor obedient because they have studied to kill their

bodies but not their wills." [372]

Her sound religious philosophy showed itself in insisting again and

again that outward discipline is not the only or always the best way to

secure the victory of the spirit. If the body is weak or fallen into

illness, the rule of discretion sets aside the exercises of bodily

discipline. She wrote, "Not only should fasting be abandoned but flesh

be eaten and, if once a day is not enough, then four times a day."

Again and again she treats of penance as an instrument. "The little

good of penance may hinder the greater good of inward piety. Penance

cuts off," so she wrote in a remarkable letter to Sister Daniella of

Orvieto, "yet thou wilt always find the root in thee, ready to sprout

again, but virtue pulls up by the root."

Monastic as Catherine was, yet no evangelical guide-book could write

more truly than she did in most particulars. And at no point does this

noble woman rise higher than when she declined to make her own states

the standard for others, and condemned those "who, indiscreetly, want

to measure all bodies by one and the same measure, the measure by which

they measure themselves." Writing to her niece, Nanna Benincasa, she

compared the heart to a lamp, wide above and narrow below. A bride of

Christ must have lamp and oil and light. The heart should be wide

above, filled with holy thoughts and prayer, bearing in memory the

blessings of God, especially the blessing of the blood by which we are

bought. And like a lamp, it should be narrow below, "not loving or

desiring earthly things in excess nor hungering for more than God wills

to give us."

To the Christian virtues of prayer and love she continually returns.

Christian love is compared to the sea, peaceful and profound as God

Himself, for "God is love." This passage throws light upon the

unsearchable mystery of the Incarnate Word who, constrained by love,

gave Himself up in all humility. We love because we are loved. He loves

of grace, and we love Him of duty because we are bound to do so; and to

show our love to Him we ought to serve and love every rational creature

and extend our love to good and bad, to all kinds of people, as much to

one who does us ill as to one who serves us, for God is no respecter of

persons, and His charity extends to just men and sinners. Peter's love

before Pentecost was sweet but not strong. After Pentecost he loved as

a son, bearing all tribulations with patience. So we, too, if we remain

in vigil and continual prayer and tarry ten days, shall receive the

plenitude of the Spirit. More than once in her letters to Gregory, she

bursts out into a eulogy of love as the remedy for all evils. "The soul

cannot live without love," she wrote in the Dialogue, "but must always

love something, for it was created through love. Affection moves the

understanding, as it were, saying, 'I want to love, for the food

wherewith I am fed is love.' " [373]

Such directions as these render Catherine's letters a valuable manual

of religious devotion, especially to those who are on their guard

against being carried away by the underlying quietistic tone. Not only

do they have a high place as the revelation of a pious woman's soul.

They deal with unconcealed boldness and candor with the low conditions

into which the Church was fallen. Popes are called upon to institute

reforms in the appointment of clergymen and to correct abuses in other

directions. As for the pacification of the Tuscan cities, a cause which

lay so close to Catherine's heart, she urged the pontiff to use the

measures of peace and not of war, to deal as a father would deal with a

rebellious son,--to put into practice clemency, not the pride of

authority. Then the very wolves would nestle in his bosom like lambs.

[374]

As for the pope's return to Rome, she urged it as a duty he owed to God

who had made him His vicar. In view of the opposition on the Rhone,

almost holding him as by physical force, she called upon him to "play

the man," "to be a manly man, free from fear and fleshly love towards

himself or towards any creature related to him by kin," "to be stable

in his resolution and to believe and trust in Christ in spite of all

predictions of the evil to follow his return to Rome." [375] To this

impassioned Tuscan woman, the appointment of unworthy shepherds and bad

rectors was responsible for the rebellion against papal authority,

shepherds who, consumed by self-love, far from dragging Christ's sheep

away from the wolves, devoured the very sheep themselves. It was

because they did not follow the true Shepherd who has given His life

for the sheep. Likening the Church to a garden, she invoked the pope to

uproot the malodorous plants full of avarice, impurity and pride, to

throw them away that the bad priests and rulers who poison the garden

might no longer have rule. To Urban VI. she addressed burning words of

condemnation. "Your sons nourish themselves on the wealth they receive

by ministering the blood of Christ, and are not ashamed of being

money-changers. In their great avarice they commit simonies, buying

benefices with gifts or flatteries or gold." And to the papal legate of

Bologna, Cardinal d'Estaing, she wrote, "make the holy father consider

the loss of souls more than the loss of cities, for God demands souls."

The stress Catherine laid upon the pope's responsibility to God and her

passionate reproof of an unworthy and hireling ministry, inclined some

to give her a place among the heralds of the Protestant Reformation.

Flacius Illyricus included her in the list of his witnesses for the

truth--Catalogus testium veritatis. [376] With burning warmth she spoke

of a thorough-going reformation which was to come upon the Church. "The

bride, now all deformed and clothed in rags," she exclaimed, "will then

gleam with beauty and jewels, and be crowned with the diadem of all

virtues. All believing nations will rejoice to have excellent

shepherds, and the unbelieving world, attracted by her glory, will be

converted unto her." Infidel peoples would be brought into the Catholic

fold,--ovile catholicum,--and be converted unto the true pastor and

bishop of souls. But Catherine, admirable as these sentiments were,

moved within the limits of the mediaeval Church. She placed piety back

of penitential exercises in love and prayer and patience, but she never

passed beyond the ascetic and conventual conception of the Christian

life into the open air of liberty through faith. She had the spirit of

Savonarola, the spirit of fiery self-sacrifice for the well-being of

her people and the regeneration of Christendom, but she did not see

beyond the tradition of the past. Living a hundred years and more

before the Florentine prophet, she was excelled by none in her own age

and approached by none of her own nation in the century between her and

Savonarola, in passionate effort to save her people and help spread

righteousness. Hers was the voice of the prophet, crying in the

wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord."

In recalling the women of the century from 1350 to 1450, the mind

easily associates together Catherine of Siena and Joan of Arc,

1411-1431, one the passionate advocate of the Church, the other of the

national honor of France. The Maid of Orleans, born of peasant

parentage, was only twenty when she was burnt at the stake on the

streets of Rouen, 1431. Differing from her Italian sister by comeliness

of form and robustness of constitution, she also, as she thought, was

the subject of angelic communications and divine guidance. Her

unselfish devotion to her country at first brought it victory, but, at

last, to her capture and death. Her trial by the English on the charges

of heresy and sorcery and her execution are a dark sheet among the

pages of her century's history. Twenty-five years after her death, the

pope revoked the sentence, and the French heroine, whose standard was

embroidered with lilies and adorned with pictures of the creation and

the annunciation, was beatified, 1909, and now awaits the crown of

canonization from Rome. The exalted passion of these two women, widely

as they differ in methods and ideals and in the close of their careers,

diffuses a bright light over the selfish pursuits of their time, and

makes the aims of many of its courts look low and grovelling.

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[367] Gardner, p. vii; Gregorovius, VI. 521 sqq.

[368] Scudder, Letters, pp. 100, 121, 136, 179, 184, 234, etc.

[369] Gardner, p. 298, says one of the two houses is still shown where

they dwelt.

[370] None of these are in her own hand, but six of them are originals

as they were written down at her dictation. Gardner, p. xii., 373 sqq.

[371] Letters, pp. 54, 65, 75, 110, 158, 164, 226, 263, 283, etc.

[372] Letters, pp. 43, 162, 152, 149.

[373] Scudder, Letters, pp. 81, 84, 126 sq.; Gardner, Life, p. 377.

[374] Letters, p. 133.

[375] Letters, pp. 66, 185, 232, etc.

[376] D�llinger, Fables and Prophecies of the Middle Ages, p. 330,

calls attention to the failure of Catherine's predictions to reach

fulfilment. "How little have these longings of the devout maiden of

Siena been transformed into history!"

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� 22. Peter d'Ailly, Ecclesiastical Statesman.

One of the most prominent figures in the negotiations for the healing

of the papal schism, as well as one of the foremost personages of his

age, was Peter d'Ailly, born in Compiegne 1350, died in Avignon 1420.

His eloquence, which reminds us of Bossuet and other French orators of

the court of Louis XIV., won for him the title of the Eagle of

France--aquila Francia. [377]

In 1372 he entered the College of Navarre as a theological student,

prepared a commentary on the Sentences of the Lombard three years

later, and in 1380 reached the theological doctorate. He at once became

involved in the measures for the healing of the schism, and in 1381

delivered a celebrated address in the name of the university before the

French regent, the duke of Anjou, to win the court for the policy of

settling the papal controversy through a general council. His appeal

not meeting with favor, he retired to Noyon, from which he wrote a

letter purporting to come from the devil, a satire based on the

continuance of the schism, in which the prince of darkness called upon

his friends and vassals, the prelates, to follow his example in

promoting division in the Church. He warned them as their overlord that

the holding of a council might result in establishing peace and so

bring eternal shame upon them. He urged them to continue to make the

Church a house of merchandise and to be careful to tithe anise and

cummin, to make broad the borders of their garments and in every other

way to do as he had given them an example. [378]

In 1384 D'Ailly was made head of the College of Navarre, where he had

Gerson for a pupil, and in 1389 chancellor of the university.

When Benedict XIII. was chosen successor to Clement VII., he was sent

by the French king on a confidential mission to Avignon. Benedict won

his allegiance and appointed him successively bishop of Puy, 1395, and

bishop of Cambray, 1397. D'Ailly was with Benedict at Genoa, 1405, and

Savona, 1407, but by that time seems to have come to the conclusion

that Benedict was not sincere in his profession of readiness to resign,

and returned to Cambray. In his absence Cambray had decided for the

subtraction of its allegiance from Avignon. D'Ailly was seized and

taken to Paris, but protected by the king, who was his friend.

Thenceforth he favored the assemblage of a general council.

At Pisa and at Constance, D'Ailly took the position that a general

council is superior to the pope and may depose him. Made a cardinal by

John XXIII., 1411, he attended the council held at Rome the following

year and in vain tried to have a reform of the calendar put through. At

Constance, he took the position that the Pisan council? though it was

called by the Spirit and represented the Church universal, might have

erred, as did other councils reputed to be general councils. He

declared that the three synods of Pisa, Rome and Constance, though not

one body, yet were virtually one, even as the stream of the Rhine at

different points is one and the same. It was not necessary, so he held,

for the Council of Constance to pass acts confirming the Council of

Pisa, for the two were on a par. [379]

In the proceedings against John XXIII., the cardinal took sides against

him. He was the head of the commission which tried Huss in matters of

faith, June 7, 8, 1415, and was present when the sentence of death was

passed upon that Reformer. At the close of the council he appears as

one of the three candidates for the office of pope, and his defeat was

a disappointment to the French. [380] He was appointed legate by Martin

V., with his residence at Avignon, and spent his last days there.

D'Ailly followed Ockam as a nominalist. To his writings in the

departments of philosophy, theology and Church government he added

works on astronomy and geography and a much-read commentary on

Aristotle's meteorology. [381] His work on geography, The Picture of

the World,--imago mundi,--written 1410, was a favorite book with

Columbus. A printed copy of it containing marginal notes in the

navigator's own hand is preserved in the biblioteca Colombina, Seville.

This copy he probably had with him on his third journey to America,

for, in writing from Hayti, 1498, he quoted at length the eighth

chapter. Leaning chiefly upon Roger Bacon, the author represented the

coast of India or Cathay as stretching far in the direction of Europe,

so that, in a favorable wind, a ship sailing westwards would reach it

in a few days. This idea was in the air, but it is possible that it was

first impressed upon the mind of the discoverer of the New World by the

reading of D'Ailly's work. Humboldt was the first to show its value for

the history of discovery. [382]

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[377] Tschackert, Salembier and Finke consider D'Ailly under the three

aspects of theologian, philosopher and ecclesiastical diplomatist. Lenz

and Bess emphasize the part he played as an advocate of French policy

against England..

[378] Epistola diaboli Leviathan. Tschackert gives the text, Appendix,

pp. 15-21.

[379] These judgments are expressed in the Capita agendorum, a sort of

programme for the guidance of the council prepared by D'Ailly, 1414.

Finke, Forschungen, pp. 102-132, has no doubt that they proceeded from

D'Ailly's pen, a view confirmed by MSS. in Vienna and Rome. Finke gives

a r�sum� of the articles, the original of which is given by van der

Hardt., II. 201 sqq. and Mansi, XXVII. 547.

[380] Tschackert, p. 295.

[381] Tschackert gives an estimate of D'Ailly's writings, pp. 303-335.

[382] See Fiske, Discovery of America, I. 372.

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� 23. John Gerson, Theologian and Church Leader.

In John Gerson, 1363-1429, we have the most attractive and the most

influential theological leader of the first half of the fifteenth

century. He was intimately identified with the University of Paris as

professor and as its chancellor in the period of its most extensive

influence in Europe. His voice carried great weight in the settlement

of the questions rising out of the papal schism.

Jean Charlier Gerson, born Dec. 14, 1363, in the village of Gerson, in

the diocese of Rheims, was the oldest of twelve children. In a letter

to him still extant, [383] his mother, a godly woman, pours out her

heart in the prayer that her children may live in unity with each other

and with God. Two of John's brothers became ecclesiastics. In 1377

Gerson went to Paris, entering the College of Navarre. This college was

founded by Johanna, queen of Navarre, 1304, who provided for 3

departments, the arts with 20 students, philosophy with 30 and theology

with 20 students. Provision was made also for their support, 4 Paris

sous weekly for the artists, 6 for the logicians and 8 for the

theologians. These allowances were to continue until the graduates held

benefices of the value respectively of 30, 40 and 60 pounds. The

regulations allowed the theological students a fire, daily, from

November to March after dinner and supper for one half-hour. The luxury

of benches was forbidden by a commission appointed by Urban V. in 1366.

On the festival days, the theologians were expected to deliver a

collation to their fellow-students of the three classes. The rector at

the head of the college, originally appointed by the faculty of the

university, was now appointed by the king's confessor. The students

wore a special dress and the tonsure, spoke Latin amongst themselves

and ate in common.

Gerson, perhaps the most distinguished name the University of Paris has

on its list of students, was a faithful and enthusiastic son of his

alma mater, calling her "his mother," "the mother of the light of the

holy Church," "the nurse of all that is wise and good in Christendom,"

"a prototype of the heavenly Jerusalem," "the fountain of knowledge,

the lamp of our faith, the beauty and ornament of France, yea, of the

whole world." [384]

In 1382, at the age of nineteen, he passed into the theological

department, and a year later came under the guidance of D'Ailly, the

newly appointed rector, remaining under him for seven years. Gerson was

already a marked man, and was chosen in 1383 procurator of the French

"nation," and in 1387 one of the delegation to appear before Clement

VII. and argue the case against John of Montson. This Dominican, who

had been condemned for denying the immaculate conception of Mary,

refused to recant on the plea that in being condemned Thomas Aquinas

was condemned, and he appealed to the pope. The University of Paris

took up the case, and D'Ailly in two addresses before the papal

consistory took the ground that Thomas, though a saint, was not

infallible. The case went against De Montson; and the Dominicans, who

refused to bow to the decision, left the university and did not return

till 1403.

Gerson advocated Mary's exemption from original as well as actual sin,

and made a distinction between her and Christ, Christ being exempt by

nature, and Mary--domina nostra -- by an act of divine grace. This

doctrine, he said, cannot be immediately derived from the Scriptures,

[385] but, as the Apostles knew more than the prophets, so the Church

teachers know some things the Apostles did not know.

At D'Ailly's promotion to the episcopate, 1395, his pupil fell heir to

both his offices, the offices of professor of theology and chancellor

of the university. In the discussion over the healing of the schism in

which the university took the leading part, he occupied a place of

first prominence, and by tracts, sermons and public memorials directed

the opinion of the Church in this pressing matter. The premise from

which he started out was that the peace of the Church is an essential

condition to the fulfilment of its mission. This view he set forth in a

famous sermon, preached in 1404 at Tarascon before Benedict XIII. and

the duke of Orleans. Princes and prelates, he declared, both owe

obedience to law. The end for which the Church was constituted is the

peace and well-being of men. All Church authority is established to

subserve the interests of peace. Peace is so great a boon that all

should be ready to renounce dignities and position for it. Did not

Christ suffer shame? Better for a while to be without a pope than that

the Church should observe the canons and not have peace, for there can

be salvation where there is no pope. [386] A general council should be

convened, and it was pious to believe that in the treatment of the

schism it would not err--pium est credere non erraret. As Schwab has

said, no one had ever preached in the same way to a pope before. The

sermon caused a sensation.

Gerson, though not present at the council of Pisa, contributed to its

discussions by his important tracts on the Unity of the Church--De

unitate ecclesiastica-- and the Removal of a Pope--De auferbilitate

papae ab ecclesia. The views set forth were that Christ is the head of

the Church, and its monarchical constitution is unchangeable. There

must be one pope, not several, and the bishops are not equal in

authority with him. As the pope may separate himself from the Church,

so the Church may separate itself from the pope. Such action might be

required by considerations of self-defence. The papal office is of God,

and yet the pope may be deposed even by a council called without his

consent. All Church offices and officials exist for the good of the

Church, that is, for the sake of peace which comes through the exercise

of love. If a pope has a right to defend himself against, say, the

charge of unchastity, why should not the Church have a like right to

defend itself? A council acts under the immediate authority of Christ

and His laws. The council may pronounce against a pope by virtue of the

power of the keys which is given not only to one but to the

body--unitati. Aristotle declared that the body has the right, if

necessary, to depose its prince. So may the council, and whoso rejects

a council of the Church rejects God who directs its action. A pope may

be deposed for heresy and schism, as, for example, if he did not bend

the knee before the sacrament, and he might be deposed when no personal

guilt was chargeable against him, as in the case already referred to,

when he was a captive of the Saracens and was reported dead.

At the Council of Constance, where Gerson spoke as the delegate of the

French king, he advocated these positions again and again with his

voice, as in his address March 23, 1415, and in a second address July

21, when he defended the decree which the synod had passed at its fifth

session. He reasserted that the pope may be forced to abdicate, that

general councils are above the popes and that infallibility only

belongs to the Church as a body or its highest representative, a

general council. [387]

A blot rests upon Gerson's name for the active part he took in the

condemnation of John Huss. He was not above his age, and using the

language of Innocent III. called heresy a cancer. [388] He declares

that he was as zealous in the proceedings against Huss and Wyclif as

any one could be. [389] He pronounced the nineteen errors drawn from

Huss' work on the Church "notoriously heretical." Heresy, he declared,

if it is obstinate, must be destroyed even by the death of its

professors. [390] He denied Huss' fundamental position that nothing is

to be accepted as divine truth which is not found in Scripture. Gerson

also condemned the appeal to conscience, explicitly assuming the old

position of Church authority and canon law as final. The opinions of an

individual, however learned he may be in the Scriptures, have no weight

before the judgment of a council. [391]

In the controversy over the withdrawal of the cup from the laity,

involved in the Bohemian heresy, Gerson also took an extreme position,

defending it by arguments which seem to us altogether unworthy of a

genuine theology. In a tract on the subject he declared that, though

some passages of Scripture and of the Fathers favored the distribution

of both wine and bread, they do not contain a definite command, and in

the cases where an explicit command is given it must be understood as

applying to the priests who are obliged to commune under both kinds so

as to fully represent Christ's sufferings and death. But this is not

required of the laity who commune for the sake of the effect of

Christ's death and not to set it forth. Christ commanded only the

Apostles to partake of both kinds. [392] The custom of lay communion

was never universal, as is proved by Acts 2:42, 46. The essence of the

sacrament of the body and blood is more important than the elements,

John 6:54. But the whole Christ is in either element, and, if some of

the doctors take a different view, the Church's doctrine is to be

followed, and not they. From time immemorial the Church has given the

communion only in one form. The Council of Constance was right in

deciding that only a single element is necessary to a saving

participation in the sacrament. The Church may make changes in the

outward observance when the change does not touch the essence of the

right in question. The use of the two elements, once profitable, is now

unprofitable and heretical.

To these statements Gerson added practical considerations against the

distribution of the cup to laymen, such as the danger of spilling the

wine, of soiling the vessels from the long beards of laymen, of having

the wine turn to vinegar, if it be preserved for the sick and so it

cease to be the blood of Christ--et ita desineret esse sanguis Christi

-- and from the impossibility of consecrating in one vessel enough for

10,000 to 20,000 communicants, as at Easter time may be necessary.

Another danger was the encouragement such a practice would give to the

notions that priest and layman are equal, and that the chief value of

the sacrament lies in the participation and not in the consecration of

the elements. [393] Such are some of the "scandals" which this renowned

teacher ascribed to the distribution of the cup to the laity.

A subject on which Gerson devoted a great deal of energy for many years

was whether the murder of tyrants or of a traitorous vassal is

justifiable or not. He advocated the negative side of the case, which

he failed to win before the Council of Constance. The question grew out

of the treatment of the half-insane French king, Charles VI.

(1880-1422), and the attempt of different factions to get control of

the government.

On Nov. 28, 1407, the king's cousin, Louis, duke of Orleans, was

murdered at the command of the king's uncle, John, duke of Burgundy.

The duke's act was defended by the Franciscan and Paris professor, John

Petit,--Johannes Parvus,--in an address delivered before the king March

8, 1408. Gerson, who at an earlier time seems to have advocated the

murder of tyrants, answered Petit in a public address, and called upon

the king to suppress Petit's nine propositions. [394] The University of

Paris made Gerson's cause its own. Petit died in 1411, but the

controversy went on. Petit's theory was this, that every vassal

plotting against his lord is deserving of death in soul and body. He is

a tyrant, and according to the laws of nature and God any one has the

right to put him out of the way. The higher such a person is in rank,

the more meritorious is the deed. He based his argument upon Thomas

Aquinas, John of Salisbury, Aristotle, Cicero and other writers, and

referred to Moses, Zambri and St. Michael who cast Lucifer out of

heaven, and other examples. The duke of Orleans was guilty of treason

against the king, and the duke of Burgundy was justified in killing

him.

The bishop of Paris, supported by a commission of the Inquisition and

at the king's direction, condemned Petit and his views. In February,

1414, Gerson made a public address defending the condemnation, and two

days later articles taken from Petit's work were burnt in front of

Notre Dame. The king ratified the bishop's judgment, and the duke of

Burgundy appealed the case to Rome. [395]

The case was now transferred to the council, which at its fifteenth

session, July 6, 1415, passed a compromise measure condemning the

doctrine that a tyrant, in the absence of a judicial sentence, may and

ought to be put to death by any subject whatever, even by the use of

treacherous means, and in the face of an oath without committing

perjury. Petit was not mentioned by name. It was this negative and

timid action, which led Gerson to say that if Huss had had a defender,

he would not have been found guilty. It was rumored that the commission

which was appointed to bring in a report, by sixty-one out of eighty

votes, decided for the permissibility of Petit's articles declaring

that Peter meant to kill the high priest's servant, and that, if he had

known Judas' thoughts at the Last Supper, he would have been justified

in killing him. The duke of Burgundy's gold is said to have been freely

used. [396] The party led by the bishop of Arras argued that the tyrant

who takes the sword is to be punished with the sword. Gerson, who was

supported by D'Ailly replied that then the command "thou shalt not

kill" would only forbid such an act as murder, if there was coupled

with it an inspired gloss, "without judicial authority." The command

means, "thou shalt not kill the innocent, or kill out of revenge."

Gerson pressed the matter for the last time in an address delivered

before the council, Jan. 17, 1417, but the council refused to go beyond

the decree of the fifteenth session.

The duke of Burgundy got possession of Paris in 1418, and Gerson found

the doors of France closed to him. Under the protection of the duke of

Bavaria he found refuge at Rattenberg and later in Austria. On the

assassination of the duke of Burgundy himself, with the connivance of

the dauphin, Sept. 10, 1419, he returned to France, but not to Paris.

He went to Lyons, where his brother John was, and spent his last years

there in monastic seclusion. The dauphin is said to have granted him

200 livres in 1420 in recognition of his services to the crown.

It remains to speak of Gerson as a theologian, a preacher and a

patriot.

In the department of theology proper Gerson has a place among the

mystics. [397] Mysticism he defines as "the art of love," the

"perception of God through experience." Such experience is reached by

humility and penance more than through the path of speculation. The

contemplative life is most desirable, but, following Christ's example,

contemplation must be combined with action. The contemplation of God

consists of knowledge as taught in John 17:3, "This is life eternal, to

know Thee and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." Such knowledge is

mingled with love. The soul is one with God through love. His mysticism

was based, on the one hand, on the study of the Scriptures and, on the

other, on the study of Bonaventura and the St. Victors. He wrote a

special treatise in praise of Bonaventura and his mystical writings.

Far from having any conscious affinity with the German mystics, he

wrote against John of Ruysbroeck and Ruysbroeck's pupil, John of

Sch�nhofen, charging them with pantheism.

While Gerson emphasized the religious feelings, he was far from being a

religious visionary and wrote treatises against the dangers of delusion

from dreams and revelations. As coins must be tested by their weight,

hardness, color, shape and stamp, so visions are to be tested by the

humility and honesty of those who profess to have them and their

readiness to teach and be taught. He commended the monk who, when some

one offered to show him a figure like Christ, replied, "I do not want

to see Christ on the earth. I am contented to wait till I see him in

heaven."

When the negotiations were going on at the Council of Constance for the

confirmation of the canonization of St. Brigitta, Gerson laid down the

principle that, if visions reveal what is already in the Scriptures,

[398] then they are false, for God does not repeat Himself, Job 33:14.

People have itching ears for revelations because they do not study the

Bible. Later he warned [399] against the revelations of women, as women

are more open to deception than men.

The Scriptures, Gerson taught, are the Church's rule and guide to the

end of the world. If a single statement should be proved false, then

the whole volume is false, for the Holy Spirit is author of the whole.

The letter of the text, however, is not sufficient to determine their

meaning, as is proved from the translations of the Waldenses, Beghards

and other secretaries. [400] The text needs the authority of the

Church, as Augustine indicated when he said, "I would not believe the

Gospel if the authority of the Church did not compel me."

Great as Gerson's services were in other departments, it was, to follow

his sympathetic and scholarly biographer, Schwab, from the pulpit that

he exercised most influence on his generation. [401] He preached in

French as well as Latin, and his sermons had, for the most part, a

practical intent, being occupied with ethical themes such as pride,

idleness, anger, the commandments of the Decalogue, the marital state.

He held that the ordinary priest should confine himself to a simple

explanation of the Decalogue, the greater sins and the articles of

faith.

During the last ten years of his life, spent in seclusion at Lyons, he

continued his literary activity, writing more particularly in the vein

of mystical theology. His last work was on the Canticles.

The tradition runs that the great teacher in his last years conducted a

catechetical school for children in St. Paul's at Lyons, and that he

taught them to offer for himself the daily prayer, "God, my creator,

have pity upon Thy poor servant, Jean Gerson"--Mon Dieu, mon Createur,

ayez piti� de vostre pauvre serviteur, Jean Gerson. [402] It was for

young boys and perhaps for boys spending their first years in the

university that he wrote his tractate entitled Leading Children to

Christ. [403] It opens with an exposition of the words, "Suffer little

children to come unto me" and proceeds to show how much more seemly it

is to offer to God our best in youth than the dregs of sickly old age.

The author takes up the sins children should be admonished to avoid,

especially unchastity, and holds up to reprobation the principle that

vice is venial if it is kept secret, the principle expressed in the

words si non caste tamen caute.

In a threefold work, giving a brief exposition of the Ten Commandments,

a statement of the seven mortal sins and some short meditations on

death and the way to meet it, Gerson gives a sort of catechism,

although it is not thrown into the form of questions and answers. As

the author states, it was intended for the benefit of poorly instructed

curates who heard confessions, for parents who had children to

instruct, for persons not interested in the public services of worship

and for those who had the care of the sick in hospitals. [404]

The title, most Christian doctor--doctor christianissimus -- given to

John Gerson is intended to emphasize the evangelical temper of his

teaching. To a clear intellect, he added warm religious fervor. With a

love for the Church, which it would be hard to find excelled, he

magnified the body of Christian people as possessing the mind and

immediate guidance of Christ and threw himself into the advocacy of the

principle that the judgment of Christendom, as expressed in a general

council, is the final authority of religious matters on the earth.

He opposed some of the superstitions inherited from another time. He

emphasized the authority of the sacred text. In these views as in

others he was in sympathy with the progressive spirit of his age. But

he stopped short of the principles of the Reformers. He knew nothing of

the principles of individual sovereignty and the rights of conscience.

His thinking moved along churchly lines. He had none of the bold

original thought of Wyclif and little of that spirit which sets itself

against the current errors of the times in which we live. His vote for

Huss' burning proves sufficiently that the light of the new age had not

dawned upon his mind. He was not, like them, a forerunner of the

movement of the sixteenth century.

The chief principle for which Gerson contended, the supremacy of

general councils, met with defeat soon after the great chancellor's

death, and was set aside by popes and later by the judgment of a

general council. His writings, however, which were frequently published

remain the chief literary monuments in the department of theology of

the first half of the fourteenth century. [405] Separated from the

Schoolmen in spirit and method, he stands almost in a class by himself,

the most eminent theologian of his century. This judgment is an

extension of the judgment of the eminent German abbot and writer,

Trithemius, at the close of the fifteenth century: "He was by far the

chief divine of his age" [406] Theologorum sui temporis longe princeps.

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[383] Schwab, p. 51.

[384] Schwab, p. 59.

[385] In scriptura sacra neque continetur explicite neque in contentis

eadem educitur evidenter, Du Pin's ed. III. 1350. For sermons on the

conception, nativity and annunciation of the Virgin' vol. III.

1317-1377. Also III. 941, and Du Pin's Gersoniana, I. cviii. sq.

[386] Potest absque papa mortali stare salus, Du Pin, II. 72. The

Tarascon sermon is given by Du Pin Pin, II. 54-72. Schwab's analysis,

pp. 171-178.

[387] See Schwab, pp. 520 sqq., 668.

[388] In a sermon before the Council of Constance, Du Pin, II. 207.

[389] Dialog. apologet., Du Pin, II. 387

[390] Ad punitionem et exterminationem errantium, Du Pin, II. 277.

[391] See Schwab, pp. 599, 601.

[392] Contra heresin de communione laicorum sub utraque specie, Du Pin,

I. 457-468. See Schwab, p. 604 sqq.

[393] Quod virtus hujus sacramenti non principalius in consecratione

quam in sumptione, Du Pin, I. 467.

[394] Vol. V. of Gerson's works is taken up with documents bearing on

this subject. Gerson's addresses, bearing upon it at Constance, are

given in vol. II. See Schwab, p. 609 sqq., and Bess, Zur Geschichte,

etc. The Chartularium, IV. 261-285, 325 sqq., gives the nine

propositions in French, with Gerson's reply, and other matter

pertaining to the controversy.

[395] Schwab, p. 620.

[396] Mansi, XXVII. 765, Quilibet tyrannus potest et debet licite et

meritorie occidi per quemcumque ... non expectata sententia vel mandato

judicis cuiuscumque. For D'Ailly's part, see Tschackert, pp. 235-247.

[397] Gerson's mysticism is presented in such tracts as De vita

spirituali animae and De monte contemplationis, Du Pin, III. 1-77,

541-579.

[398] In his De probatione spirituum, Du Pin, I. 37-43; and De

distinctione verarum visionum a falsis, Du Pin, I. 43-59.

[399] De examinatione doctrinarum. Du Pin, I. 7-22.

[400] Si propositio aliqua J. scripturae posita assertive per auctorem

suum, qui est Sp. sanctus, esset falsa. tota s. scripturae vacillaret

auctoritas, quoted by Schwab, p. 314.

[401] Gerson hatte seine einflussreiche Stellung vorzugsweise dem Rufe

zu danken den er als Prediger genoss, Schwab, p. 376.

[402] See Schwab, p. 773, who neither accepts nor rejects the

tradition. Dr. Philip Schaff used to bring the last literary activity

of President Theodore D. Wolsey, of Yale College, into comparison with

the activity of Gerson. In his last years Dr. Wolsey wrote the

expositions of the Sunday school lessons for the Sunday School Times.

[403] De parvulis ad Christum trahendis, written according to Schwab,

1409-1412, Du Pin, III. 278-291.

[404] Opusculum tripartitum: de preceptis decalogi, de confessione, et

de arte moriendi, Du Pin, I., 425-450. Bess, in Herzog, VI. 615, calls

it "the first catechism."

[405] The first complete edition of Gerson's writings appeared from the

press of John Koelhoff. 4 vols. Cologne, 1483, 1484. The celebrated

preacher, Geiler of Strassburg, edited a second edition 1488.

[406] Schwab, p. 779, note.

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� 24. Nicolas of Clamanges, the Moralist.

The third of the great luminaries who gave fame to the University of

Paris in this period, Nicolas Poillevillain de Clamanges, was born at

Clamengis, [407] Champagne, about 1367 and died in Paris about 1437.

Shy by nature, he took a less prominent part in the settlement of the

great questions of the age than his contemporaries, D'Ailly and Gerson.

Like them, he was identified with the discussions called forth by the

schism, and is distinguished for the high value he put on the study of

the Scriptures and his sharp exposition of the corruption of the

clergy. He entered the College of Navarre at twelve, and had D'Ailly

and Gerson for his teachers. In theology he did not go beyond the

baccalaureate. It is probable he was chosen rector of the university

1393. With Peter of Monsterolio, he was the chief classical scholar of

the university and was able to write that in Paris, Virgil, Terence and

Cicero were often read in public and in private. [408]

In 1394, Clamanges took a prominent part in preparing the paper,

setting forth the conclusions of the university in regard to the

healing of the schism. [409] It was addressed to the "most Christian

king, Charles VI., most zealous of religious orthodoxy by his daughter,

the university." This, the famous document suggesting the three ways of

healing the schism,--by abdication, arbitration and by a general

council,--is characterized by firmness and moderation, two of the

elements prominent in Clamanges' character. It pronounced the schism

pestiferous, and in answer to the question who would give the council

its authority, it answered: "The communion of all the faithful will

give it; Christ will give it, who said: 'Where two or three are

gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them.' "

The Paris professor was one of the men whom the keen-eyed Peter de Luna

picked out, and when he was elected pope, Clamanges supported him and

wrote appealing to him, as the one who no longer occupied the position

of one boatman among others, but stood at the rudder of the ship, to

act in the interest of all Christendom. He was called as secretary to

the Avignon court, but became weary of the commotion and the vices of

the palace and the town. [410] In 1406, he seems to have withdrawn from

Benedict at Genoa and retired to Langres, where he held a canon's

stall. He did not, however, break with the pope, and, when Benedict in

1408 issued the bull threatening the French court with excommunication,

Clamanges was charged with being its author. He denied the charge, but

the accusation of want of patriotism had made a strong impression, and

he withdrew to the Carthusian convent, Valprofonds, and later to

Fontaine du Bosc. His seclusion he employed in writing letters and

treatises and in the study of the Bible which he now expressed regret

for having neglected in former years for classical studies.

To D'Ailly he wrote on the advantages of a secluded life.--De fructu

eremi. In another tract--De fructu rerum adversarum -- he presented the

advantages of adversity. One of more importance complained of the abuse

of the Lord's Day and of the multiplication of festivals as taking the

workman from his work while the interests of piety were not advanced.

In still another tract--De studio theologico -- addressed to a

theologian at Paris who had inquired whether it was better for him to

continue where he was or to retire to a pastorate, he emphasized the

importance and delicacy of caring for souls, but advised the inquirer

to remain at the university and to concern himself chiefly with the

study of the Scriptures. He ascribed the Church's decline to their

neglect, and pronounced the mass, processionals and festivals as of no

account unless the heart be purified by faith.

During the sessions of the Council of Constance, which he did not

attend, Clamanges sent a letter to that body urging unity of thought

and action. He expressed doubt whether general councils were always led

by the Holy Spirit. The Church, which he defined as infallible, is only

there where the Holy Spirit is, and where the Church is, can be only

known to God Himself. In 1425 he returned to Paris and lectured on

rhetoric and theology.

Clamanges' reputation rests chiefly upon his sharp criticism of the

corrupt morals of the clergy. His residence in Avignon gave him a good

opportunity for observation. His tract on the prelates who were

practising simony--De praesulibus simoniacis -- is a commentary on the

words, "But ye have made it a den of thieves," Matt. 21:13. A second

tract on the downfall of the Church--De ruina ecclesiae -- is one of

the most noted writings of the age. Here are set forth the simony and

private vices practised at Avignon where all things holy were

prostituted for gold and luxury. Here is described the corruption of

the clergy from the pope down to the lowest class of priests. The

author found ideal conditions in the first century, when the minds of

the clergy were wholly set on heavenly things. With possessions and

power came avarice and ambition, pride and luxury. The popes themselves

were guilty of pride in exalting their authority above that of the

empire and by asserting for themselves the right of appointing all

prelates, yea of filling all the benefices of Christendom. The evils

arising from annates and expectances surpass the power of statement.

The cardinals followed the popes in their greed and pride, single

cardinals having as many as 500 livings. In order to perpetuate their

"tyranny," pope and curia had entered into league with princes, which

Clamanges pronounces an abominable fornication. Many of the bishops

drew large incomes from their sees which they administered through

others, never visiting them themselves. Canons and vicars followed the

same course and divided their time between idleness and sensual

pleasure. The mendicant monks corresponded to the Pharisees of the

synagogue. Scarcely one cleric out of a thousand did what his

profession demanded. They were steeped in ignorance and given to

brawling, drinking, playing with dice and fornication. Priests bought

the privilege of keeping concubines. As for the nuns, Clamanges said,

he dared not speak of them. Nunneries were not the sanctuaries of God,

but shameful brothels of Venus, resorts of unchaste and wanton youth

for the sating of their passions, and for a girl to put on the veil was

virtually to submit herself to prostitution. [411] The Church was

drunken with the lust of power, glory and pleasures. Judgment was sure

to come, and men should bow humbly before God who alone could rectify

the evils and put an end to the schism. Descriptions such as these must

be used with discrimination, and it would be wrong to deduce from them

that the entire clerical body was corrupt. The diseases, however, must

have been deep-seated to call forth such a lament from a man of

Clamanges' position.

The author did not call to open battle like the German Reformer at a

later time, but suggested as a remedy prayers, processions and fasts.

His watchword was that the Church must humble itself before it can be

rebuilt. [412] It was, however, a bold utterance and forms an important

part of that body of literature which so powerfully moulded opinion at

the time of the Reformatory councils.

The loud complaints against the state of morals at the papal court and

beyond during the Avignon period increased, if possible, in strength

during the time of the schism. The list of abuses to be corrected which

the Council of Constance issued, Oct. 30, 1417, includes the official

offences of the curia, such as reservations, annates, the sale of

indulgences and the unrestricted right of appeals to the papal court.

The subject of chastity it remained for individual writers to press. In

describing the third Babylon, Petrarch was even more severe than

Clamanges who wrote of conditions as they existed nearly a century

later and accused the papal household of practising adultery, rape and

all manners of fornication. [413] ois, La vie en France au moyen �ge

d'apr�s quelques moralistes du temps, Paris, 1908, pp. 320, 336, etc.

Clamanges declared that many parishes insisted upon the priests keeping

concubines as a precaution in defence of their own families. Against

all canonical rules John XXIII. gave a dispensation to the illegitimate

son of Henry IV. of England, who was only ten years old, to enter

orders. [414] The case of John XXIII. was an extreme one, but it must

be remembered, that in Bologna where he was sent as cardinal-legate,

his biographer, Dietrich of Nieheim, says that two hundred matrons and

maidens, including some nuns, fell victims to the future pontiff's

amours. Dietrich Vrie in his History of the Council of Constance said:

"The supreme pontiffs, as I know, are elected through avarice and

simony and likewise the other bishops are ordained for gold. The old

proverb; 'Freely give, for freely ye have received' is now most vilely

perverted and runs 'Freely I have not received and freely I will not

give, for I have bought my bishopric with a great price and must

indemnify myself impiously for my outlay.' ... If Simon Magus were now

alive he might buy with money not only the Holy Ghost but God the

Father and Me, God the Son." [415] But bad as was the moral condition

of the hierarchy and papacy at the time of the schism, it was not so

bad as during the last half century of the Middle Ages. The Reformatory

councils are the best, though by no means the only, proof that a deep

moral vitality existed in the Church. Their very summons and assembling

were a protest against clerical corruption and hypocrisy "in head and

members,"--from the pope down to the most obscure priest,--and at the

same time a most hopeful sign of future betterment.

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[407] The spelling given by Denifle in the Chartularium.

[408] Chartul. III. pp. 5, xi. In the Chartularium Clamanges always

appears as a member of the faculty of the arts, III. 606, etc.

[409] Chartul., III 617-624.

[410] Taedebat me vehementer curiae, taedebat turbae, taedebat

tumultus, taedebat ambitionis et morum in plerisque vitiosorum, he

wrote. Quoted by Kn�pfler.

[411] Quid aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum monasteria, nisi quaedam,

non dico Dei sanctuaria sed execranda prostibula Veneris ... ut idem

hodie sit puellam velare quod ad publice scortandum exponere, Hardt, I.

38.

[412] Eccles. prius humilianda quam erigenda. The authorship of the De

ruina has been made a matter of dispute. M�ntz denied it to Clamanges

chiefly on the ground of its poor Latin and Kn�pfler is inclined to

follow him. On the other hand Schuberth and Schwab, followed somewhat

hesitatingly by Bess, accept the traditional view, Schwab brings out

the similarity between the De ruina and Clamanges' other writings and

takes the view that, while the tract was written in 1401 or 1402, it

was not published till 1409.

[413] Mitto stuprum, raptus, incestus, adulteria, qui jam pontificalis

lasciviae ludi sunt, quoted by Lea. Sacerd. Celibacy, I. 426. Gillis li

Muisis, abbot of St. Martin di Tournai, d. 1352, in the Recollections

of his Life written a year before his death, speaks of good wines, a

good table, fine attire and above all holidays as in his day the chief

occupations of monks. Cur�s and chaplains had girls and women as

valets, a troublesome habit over which there was murmuring, and it had

to be kept quiet. See C. V. Lang

[414] Jan. 16, 1412. Under the name of E. Leboorde. For the document,

see English Historical Review, 1904, p. 96 sq.

[415] Hardt, I. 104 sqq. The lament is put into the mouth of Christ.

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� 25. Nicolas of Cusa, Scholar and Churchman.

Of the theologians of the generation following Gerson and D'Ailly none

occupies a more conspicuous place than the German Nicolas of Cusa,

1401-1464. After taking a prominent part in the Basel council in its

earlier history, he went into the service of Eugenius IV. and

distinguished himself by practical efforts at Church reform and by

writings in theology and other departments of human learning.

Born at Cues near Treves, the son of a boatman, he left the parental

home on account of harsh treatment. Coming under the patronage of the

count of Manderscheid, he went to Deventer, where he received training

in the school conducted by the Brothers of the Common Life. He studied

law in Padua, and reached the doctorate, but exchanged law for theology

because, to follow the statement of his opponent, George of Heimburg,

he had failed in his first case. At Padua he had for one of his

teachers Cesarini, afterwards cardinal and a prominent figure in the

Council of Basel.

In 1432 he appeared in Basel as the representative of Ulrich of

Manderscheid, archbishop-elect of Treves, to advocate Ulrich's cause

against his rivals Rabanus of Helmstatt, bishop of Spires, whom the

pope had appointed archbishop of the Treves diocese. Identifying

himself closely with the conciliar body, Nicolas had a leading part in

the proceedings with the Hussites and went with the majority in

advocating the superiority of the council over the pope. His work on

Catholic Unity,--De concordantia catholica,--embodying his views on

this question and dedicated to the council 1433, followed the earlier

treatments of Langenstein, Nieheim and Gerson. A general council, being

inspired by the Holy Spirit, speaks truly and infallibly. The Church is

the body of the faithful--unitas fidelium -- and is represented in a

general council. The pope derives his authority from the consent of the

Church, a council has power to dethrone him for heresy and other causes

and may not be prorogued or adjourned without its own consent. Peter

received no more authority from Christ than the other Apostles.

Whatever was said to Peter was likewise said to the others. All bishops

are of equal authority and dignity, whether their jurisdiction be

episcopal, archiepiscopal, patriarchal or papal, just as all presbyters

are equal. [416]

In spite of these views, when the question arose as to the place of

meeting the Greeks, Nicolas sided with the minority in favor of an

Italian city, and was a member of the delegations appointed by the

minority which visited Eugenius IV. at Bologna and went to

Constantinople. This was in 1437 and from that time forward he was a

ready servant of Eugenius and his two successors. Aeneas Sylvius,

afterwards Pius II., called him the Hercules of the Eugenians. Aeneas

also pronounced him a man notable for learning in all branches of

knowledge and on account of his godly life. [417]

Eugenius employed his new supporter as legate to arrange terms of peace

with the German Church and princes, an end he saw accomplished in the

concordat of Vienna, 1447. He was rewarded by promotion to the college

of cardinals, and in 1452 was made bishop of Brixen in the Tyrol. Here

he sought to introduce Church reforms, and he travelled as the papal

legate in the same interest throughout the larger part of Germany.

By attempting to assert all the mediaeval feoffal rights of his

diocese, the bishop came into sharp conflict with Siegmund, duke of

Austria. Even the interdict pronounced by two popes did not bring the

duke to terms. He declared war against the bishop and, taking him

prisoner, forced from him a promise to renounce the old rights which

his predecessors for many years had not asserted. Once released, the

bishop treated his oath as null, on the ground that it had been forced

from him, and in this he was supported by Pius II. In 1460 he went to

Rome and died at Todi, Umbria, a few years later.

Nicolas of Cusa knew Greek and Hebrew, and perhaps has claim to being

the most universal scholar of Germany up to his day since Albertus

Magnus. He was interested in astronomy, mathematics and botany, and, as

D'Ailly had done before, he urged, at the Council of Basel, the

correction of the calendar. The literary production on which he spent

most labor was a discussion of the problems of theology--De docta

ignorantia. Here he attacked the scholastic method and showed the

influence upon his mind of mysticism, the atmosphere of which he

breathed at Deventer. He laid stress upon the limitations of the human

mind and the inability of the reason to find out God exhaustively.

Faith, which he defined as a state of the soul given of God's grace,

finds out truths the intellect cannot attain to. [418] His views had an

influence upon Faber Stapulensis who edited the Cusan's works and was

himself a French forerunner of Luther in the doctrine of justification

by faith.

His last labors, in connection with the crusade against the Turks

pushed by Pius II., led him to studies in the Koran and the preparation

of a tract,--De cribatione Alcoran,--in which he declared that false

religions have the true religion as their basis.

It is as an ecclesiastical mediator, and as a reformer of clerical and

conventual abuses that the cardinal has his chief place in history. He

preached in the vernacular. In Bamberg he secured the prohibition of

new brotherhoods, in Magdeburg the condemnation of the sale of

indulgences for money. In Salzburg and other places he introduced

reforms in convents, and in connection with other members of his family

he founded the hospital at Cues with beds for 33 patients. He showed

his interest in studies by providing for the training of 20 boys in

Deventer. He dwelt upon the rotation of the earth on its axis nearly a

century before Copernicus. He gave reasons for regarding the donation

of Constantine spurious, and he also called in question the genuineness

of other parts of the Isidorian Decretals.

On the other hand, the cardinal was a thorough churchman and obedient

child of the Church. As the agent of Nicolas V. he travelled in Germany

announcing the indulgence of the Jubilee Year, and through him, it is

said, indulgences to the value of 200,000 gulden were sold for the

repair of St. Peter's.

This noble and many-sided man has been coupled together with Gutenberg

by Janssen,--the able and learned apologist of the Catholic Church in

the closing years of the Middle Ages,--the one as the champion of

clerical and Church discipline, the other the inventor of the

printing-press. It is no disparagement of the impulses and work of

Nicolas to say that he had not the mission of the herald of a new age

in thought and religion as it was given to Gutenberg to promote culture

and civilization by his invention. [419] He did not possess the gift of

moral and doctrinal conviction and foresight which made the monk of

Wittenberg the exponent and the herald of a radical, religious

reformation whose permanent benefits are borne witness to by a large

section of Christendom.

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[416] John of Turrecremata, d. 1468, whose tract on the seat of

authority in the Church--Summa de Eccles. et ejus auctoritate --1450

has already been referred to, took the extreme ultramontane position.

The papal supremacy extends to all Christians throughout the world and

includes the appointment of all bishops and right to depose them, the

filling of all prelatures and benefices whatsoever and the canonizing

of saints. As the vicar of Christ, he has full jurisdiction in all the

earth in temporal as well as spiritual matters because all jurisdiction

of secular princes is derived from the pope quod omnium principum

saecularum jurisdictionalis potestas a papa in eos derivata sit. Quoted

from Gieseler, III. 5, pp. 219-227.

[417] Hist. of Fred. III., 409, Germ. transl. II. 227.

[418] Fides est habitus bonus, per bonitatem data a deo, ut per fidem

restaurentur illae veritates objectivae, quas intellectus attingere non

potest, quoted by Schwane, p. 100.

[419] Janssen, I. 2-6. Here we come for the first time into contact

with this author whose work has gone through 20 editions and made such

a remarkable sensation. Its conclusions and methods of treatment will

be referred to at length farther on. Here it is sufficient to call

attention to the seductive plausibility of the work, whose purpose it

is to show that an orderly reformation was going on in the Church in

Germany when Luther appeared and by his revolutionary and immoral

tendency brutally rived the unity of the Church and checked the orderly

reformation. Such a conclusion is a result of the manipulation of

historic materials and the use of superlatives in describing men and

influences which were like rills in the history of the onward progress

of religion and civilization. The initial comparison between Gutenberg

and Nicolas of Cusa begs the whole conclusion which Janssen had in view

in writing his work. Of the permanent consequence of the work of the

inventor of the printing-press, no one has any doubt. The author makes

a great jump when he asserts a like permanent influence for Nicolas in

the department of religion.

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� 26. Popular Preachers.

During the century and a half closing with 1450, there were local

groups of preachers as well as isolated pulpit orators who exercised a

deep influence upon congregations. The German mystics with Eckart and

John Tauler at their head preached in Strassburg, Cologne and along the

Rhine. D'Ailly and Gerson stood before select audiences, and give

lustre to the French pulpit. Wyclif, at Oxford, and John Huss in

Bohemia, attracted great attention by their sermons and brought down

upon themselves ecclesiastical condemnation. Huss was one of a number

of Bohemian preachers of eminence. Wyclif sought to promote preaching

by sending out a special class of men, his "pore preachers."

The popular preachers constitute another group, though the period does

not furnish one who can be brought into comparison with the

field-preacher, Berthold of Regensburg, the Whitefield of his century,

d. 1272. Among the popular preachers of the time the most famous were

Bernardino and John of Capistrano, both Italians, and members of the

Observant wing of the Franciscan order, and the Spanish Dominican,

Vincent Ferrer. To a later age belong those bright pulpit luminaries,

Savonarola of Florence and Geiler of Strassburg.

Bernardino of Siena, 1380-1444, was praised by Pius II. as a second

Paul. He made a marked impression upon Italian audiences and was a

favorite with pope Martin V. His voice, weak and indistinct at first,

was said to have been made strong and clear through the grace of Mary,

to whom he turned for help. He was the first vicar-general of the

Observants, who numbered only a few congregations in Italy when he

joined them, but increased greatly under his administration. In 1424 he

was in Rome and, as Infessura the Roman diarist reports, [420] so

influenced the people that they brought their games and articles of

adornment to the Capitol and made a bonfire of them. Wherever he went

to preach, a banner was carried before him containing the monogram of

Christ, IHS, with twelve rays centring in the letters. He urged priests

to put the monogram on the walls of churches and public buildings, and

such a monogram may still be seen on the city building of Siena. [421]

The Augustinians and Dominicans and also Poggio attacked him for this

practice. In 1427, he appeared in Rome to answer the charges. He was

acquitted by Martin V., who gave him permission to preach everywhere,

and instructed him to hold an eighty-days' mission in the papal city

itself. In 1419, he appeared in the Lombard cities, where the people

were carried away by his exhortations to repentance, and often burned

their trinkets and games in the public squares. His body lies in

Aquila, and he was canonized by Nicolas V., 1450.

John of Capistrano, 1386-1456, a lawyer, and at an early age intrusted

with the administration of Perugia, joined the Observants in 1416 and

became a pupil of Bernardino. He made a reputation as an inquisitor in

Northern Italy, converting and burning heretics and Jews. No one could

have excelled him in the ferocity of his zeal against heresy. His first

appointment as inquisitor was made in 1426, and his fourth appointment

23 years later in 1449. [422]

As a leader of his order, he defended Bernardino in 1427, and was made

vicar-general in 1443. He extended his preaching to Vienna and far up

into Germany, from N�rnberg to Dresden, Leipzig, Magdeburg and Breslau,

making everywhere a tremendous sensation. He used the Latin or Italian,

which had to be interpreted to his audiences. These are reported to

have numbered as many as thirty thousand. [423] He carried relics of

Bernardino with him, and through them and his own instrumentality many

miracles were said to have been performed. His attendants made a note

of the wonderful works on the spot. [424] The spell of his preaching

was shown by the burning of pointed shoes, games of cards, dice and

other articles of pleasure or vanity. Thousands of heretics are also

reported to have yielded to his persuasions. He was called by Pius II.

to preach against the Hussites, and later against the Turks. He was

present at the siege of Belgrade, and contributed to the successful

defence of the city and the defeat of Mohammed II. He was canonized in

1690.

The life of Vincent Ferrer, d. 1419, the greatest of Spanish preachers,

fell during the period of the papal schism, and he was intimately

identified with the controversies it called forth. His name is also

associated with the gift of tongues and with the sect of the

Flagellants. This devoted missionary, born in Valencia, joined the

Dominican order, and pursued his studies in the universities of

Barcelona and Lerida. He won the doctorate of theology by his tract on

the Modern Schism in the Church--De moderno ecclesiae schismate.

Returning to Valencia, he gained fame as a preacher, and was appointed

confessor to the queen of Aragon, Iolanthe, and counsellor to her

husband, John I. In 1395, Benedict XIII. called him to be chief

penitentiary in Avignon and master of the papal palace. Two years later

he returned to Valencia with the title of papal legate. He at first

defended the Avignon obedience with great warmth, but later, persuaded

that Benedict was not sincere in his professions looking to the healing

of the schism, withdrew from him his support and supported the Council

of Constance.

Ferrer's apostolic labors began in 1399. He itinerated through Spain,

Northern Italy and France, preaching two and three times a day on the

great themes of repentance and the nearness of the judgment. He has the

reputation of being the most successful of missionaries among the Jews

and Mohammedans. Twenty-five thousand Jews and eight thousand

Mohammedans are said to have yielded to his persuasions. Able to speak

only Spanish, his sermons, though they were not interpreted, are

reported to have been understood in France and Italy. The gift of

tongues was ascribed to him by his contemporaries as well as the gift

of miracles. Priests and singers accompanied him on his tours, and some

of the hymns sung were Vincent's own compositions. His audiences are

given as high as 70,000, an incredible number, and he is said to have

preached twenty thousand times. He also preached to the Waldenses in

their valleys and to the remnant of the Cathari, and is said to have

made numerous converts. He himself was not above the suspicion of

heresy, and Eymerich made the charge against him of declaring that

Judas Iscariot hanged himself because the people would not permit him

to live, and that he found pardon with God. [425] He was canonized by

Calixtus III., 1455. The tale is that Ferrer noticed this member of the

Borgia family as a young priest in Valencia, and made the prediction

that one day he would reach the highest office open to mortal man.

[426]

On his itineraries Ferrer was also accompanied by bands of Flagellants.

He himself joined in the flagellations, and the scourge with which he

scourged himself daily, consisting of six thongs, is said still to be

preserved in the Carthusian convent of Catalonia, scala coeli. Both

Gerson and D'Ailly attacked Ferrer for his adoption of the Flagellant

delusion. In a letter addressed to the Spanish preacher, written during

the sessions of the Council of Constance, Gerson took the ground that

both the Old Testament and the New Testament forbid violence done to

the body, quoting in proof Deut. 14:1, "Ye shall not cut yourselves."

He invited him to come to Constance, but the invitation was not

accepted. [427]

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[420] Diario, p. 25. For Bernardino, see Thureau-Dangin, St. Bernardin

de Sienne. Un pr�dicateur populaire Paris, 1896. Several edd. of his

sermons have appeared, including the ed. of Paris, 1650, 5 vols., by De

la Haye.

[421] See Pastor, I. 231-233.

[422] Jacob, I. 30 sq. For John's life, see E. Jacob, John of

Capistrano. His Life and Writings, 2 vols., Breslau, 1906, 1907.

Pastor, I. 463-468, 691-698; Lempp's art. in Herzog, III. 713 sqq.;

Lea, Inquisition, II 552 sqq.

[423] Yea, 60,000 at Erfurt. Jacob, I. 74.

[424] See Jacob, I. 50 sqq., etc. Aeneas Sylvius said he had not seen

any of John's miracles, but would not deny them. In Jena alone John

healed thirty lame persons. Jacob, I. 69.

[425] Lea: Inquisition. II. 156, 176, 258, 264.

[426] Razanno, a fellow-Dominican, wrote the first biography of Ferrer,

1466. The Standard Life is by P. Fages, Hist. de s. Vinc. Ferrer ap�tre

de l'Europe, 2 vols., 2d ed., Louvain, 1901. The best life written by a

Protestant is by L. Heller, Berlin, 1830. It is commended in

Wetzer-Welte, XII. 978-983.

[427] For German preaching in the fourteenth century, other than that

of the mystics, see Linsenmeyer, Gesch. der Predigt in Deutschland his

zum Ausgange d. 14ten Jahrh., Munich, 1886, pp. 301-470; Cruel:Gesch.

d. deutschen Predigt im M A., p. 414 sqq.; A. Franz: Drei deutsche

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160. The best-known German preachers were the Augustinians Henry of

Frimar, d. 1340, and Jordan of Quedlinburg, d. about 1375. See for the

fifteenth century, ch. IX.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE GERMAN MYSTICS.

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Note.--Eckart's German sermons and tracts, published in 1498 and 1521,

were his only writings known to exist till Pfeiffer's ed., 1867.

Denifle was the first to discover Eckart's Latin writings, in the

convent of Erfurt, 1880, and at Cusa on the Mosel, 1886. These are

fragments on Genesis, Exodus, Ecclesiastes and the Book of Wisdom. John

Trithemius, in his De Scripp. Eccles., 1492, gives a list of Eckart's

writings which indicates a literary activity extending beyond the works

we possess. The list catalogues four books on the Sentences,

commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, the Canticles, the Book of Wisdom, St.

John, on the Lord's Prayer, etc.

For � 30. John Tauler.--Tauler's Works, Leipzig, 1498 (84 sermons

printed from MSS. in Strassburg); Augsburg, 1508; Basel, 1521 (42 new

sermons) and 1522; Halberstadt, 1523; Cologne, 1543 (150 sermons, 23

being publ. for the first time, and found in St. Gertrude's convent,

Cologne); Frankfurt, 1565; Hamburg, 1621; Frankfurt, 3 vols., 1826 (the

edition used by Miss Winkworth); ed. by J. Hamberger, 1864, 2d ed.,

Prag, 1872. The best. Hamberger substituted modern German in the text

and used a Strassburg MS. which was destroyed by fire at the siege of

the city in 1870; ed. by Kuntze und Biesenthal containing the Introdd.

of Arndt and Spener, Berlin, 1842.--\*Engl. trans., Susanna Winkworth:

The History and Life of Rev. John Tauler with 25 Sermons, with Prefaces

by Canon Kingsley and Roswell D. Hitchcock, New York, 1858.--\*The Inner

Way, 36 Sermons for Festivals, by John Tauler, trans. with Introd. by

A. W. Huttons London, 1905.--C. Schmidt: J. Tauler von Strassburg,

Hamburg, 1841, and Nicolas von Basel, Bericht von der Bekehrung

Taulers, Strassburg, 1875.--Denifle: D. Buch von geistlicher Armuth,

etc., Munich, 1877, and Tauler's Bekehrung, M�nster, 1879.--A Jundt:

Les amis de Dieu au 14e si�cle, Paris, 1879.--Preger, III. 1-244.--F.

Cohrs: Art. Tauler in Herzog, XIX. 451-459.

Note.--Certain writings once ascribed to Tauler, and printed with his

works, are now regarded as spurious. They are (1) The Book of Spiritual

Poverty, ed. by Denifle, Munich, 1877, and previously under the title

Imitation of Christ's Life of Poverty, by D. Sudermann, Frankfurt,

1621, etc. Denifle pointed out the discord between its teachings and

the teachings of Tauler's sermons. (2) Medulla animae, consisting of 77

chapters. Preger decides some of them to be genuine. (3) Certain hymns,

including Es kommt ein Schiff geladen, which even Preger pronounces

spurious, III. 86. They are publ. by Wackernagel.

For � 31. Henry Suso,--Ed. of his works, Augsburg, 1482, and 1512.--\*M.

Diepenbrock: H. Suso's, genannt Amandus, Leben und Schriften,

Regensburg, 1829, 4th ed., 1884, with Preface by J. G�rres.--H. Seuse

Denifle: D. deutschen Schriften des seligen H. Seuse, Munich,

1880.--\*H. Seuse: Deutsche Schriften, ed. K. Bihlmeyer, Stuttgart,

1907. The first complete edition, and based upon an examination of many

MSS.--A Latin trans. of Suso's works by L. Surius, Cologne, 1555.

French trans. by Thirot: Ouvages mystiques du bienheureux H. Suso, 2

vols., Paris, 1899. Engl. extracts in Light, Life and Love, pp.

66-100.--Preger: D. Briefe H. Suso's nach einer Handschrift d. XV.

Jahrh., Leipzig, 1867.--C. Schmidt: Der Mystiker, H. Suso in Stud. und

Kritiken, 1843, pp. 835 sqq.--Preger: Deutsche Mystik, II. 309-419.--L.

K�rcher: H. Suso aus d. Predigerorden, in Freiburger Di�cesenarchiv,

1868, p. 187 sqq.--Cruel: Gesch. d. deutschen Predigt, 396 sqq.--Art.

in Wetzer- Welte, H. Seuse, V. 1721-1729.

For � 32. The Friends of God.--The works of Eckart, Tauler, Suso,

Ruysbroeck.--Jundt: Les Amis de Dieu, Paris, 1879.--Kessel: Art.

Gottesfreunde in Wetzer-Welte, V. 893-900.--The writings of Rulman

Merswin: Von den vier Jahren seines anfahenden Lebens, ed. by Schmidt,

in Reuss and Cinitz, Beitr�ge zu den Theol. Wissenschaften, V., Jena,

1854.--His Bannerb�chlein given in Jundt's Les Amis.--Das Buch von den

neun Felsen, ed. from the original MS. by C. Schmidt, Leipzig, 1859,

and in abbreviated form by Preger, III. 337-407, and Diepenbrock:

Heinrich Suso, pp. 505-572.--P. Strauch: Art. Rulman Merswin in Herzog,

XVII. 20-27.--For the "Friend of God of the Oberland" and his writings.

K. Schmidt: Nicolas von Basel: Leben und ausgew�hlte Schriften, Vienna,

1866, and Nic. von Basel, Bericht von der Bekehrung Taulers,

Strassburg, 1876.--F. Lauchert: Des Gottesfreundes im Oberland Buch von

den zwei Mannen, Bonn, 1896.--C. Schmidt: Nic. von Basel und die

Gottesfreunde, Basel, 1856.--Denifle: Der Gottesfreund im Oberland und

Nic. von Basel. Eine krit. Studie, Munich, 1875.--Jundt: Rulman Merswin

et l'Ami de Dieu de l'Oberland, Paris, 1890.--Preger, III. 290-337.--K.

Rieder: Der Gottesfreund vom Oberland. Eine Erfindung des Strassburger

Johanniterbruders Nicolaus von L�wen, Innsbruck, 1905.

For � 33. John Of Ruysbroeck.--Vier Schriften, ed. by Arnswaldt, with

Introd. by Ullmann, Hanover, 1848.--Superseded by J. B. David (Prof. in

Louvaine), 6 vols., Ghent, 1857-1868. Contains 12 writings.--Lat.

trans. by Surius, Cologne, 1549.--\*F. A. Lambert: Drei Schriften des

Mystikers J. van Ruysb., Die Zierde der geistl. Hochzeit, Vom

glanzenden Stein and Das Buch uon der h�chsten Wahrheit, Leipzig. No

date; about 1906. Selections from Ruysbroeck in Light, Life and Love,

pp. 100-196.--\*J. G. V. Engelhardt: Rich. von St. Victor u. J.

Ruysbroeck, Erlangen, 1838.--Ullmann: Reformatoren, etc., II. 35

sqq.--W. L. de Vreese: Bijdrage tot de kennis van het leven en de

werken van J. van Ruusbroec, Ghent, 1896.--\*M. Maeterlinck: Ruysbr. and

the Mystics, with Selections from Ruysb., London, 1894. A trans. by

Jane T. Stoddart of Maeterlinck's essay prefixed to his L'Ornement des

noces spirituelles de Ruysb., trans. by him from the Flemish, Brussels,

1891.--Art. Ruysbroeck in Herzog, XVII. 267-273, by Van Veen.

For � 34. Gerrit de Groote and the Brothers of the Common Life.--Lives

of Groote, Florentius and their pupils, by Thomas � Kempis: Opera

omnia, ed, by Sommalius, Antwerp, 1601, 3 vols., Cologne, 1759, etc.,

and in unpubl. MSS.-- J. Busch, d. 1479: Liber de viris illustribus, a

collection of 24 biographies of Windesheim brethren, Antwerp, 1621;

also Chronicon Windeshemense, Antwerp, 1621, both ed. by Grube, Halle,

1886.--G. H. M. Delprat Verhandeling over de broederschap van Geert

Groote en over den involoed der fraterhuizen, Arnheim, etc., 1856.--J.

G. R. Acquoy (Prof. in Leyden): Gerhardi Magni epistolae XIV., Antwerp,

1857. G. Bonet-Maury:: Gerhard de Groot d'apr�s des documents on�dites.

Paris 1878.--\*G. Kettlewell: Thomas � Kempis and the Brothers of the

Common Life, 2 vols, New York, 1882.--\*K. Grube: Johannes Busch,

Augustinerpropst in Hildesheim. Ein kathol. Reformator in 15ten Jahrh.,

Freiburg, 1881. Also G. Groote und seine Stiftungen, Cologne, 1883.--R.

Langenberg: Quellen and Forschungen, etc., Bonn, 1902.--Boerner: Die

Annalen und Akten der Br�der des Gemainsamen Lebens im Lichtenhofe zu

Hildesheim, eine Grundlage der Gesch. d. deutschen Br�derh�user und ein

Beitrag zur Vorgesch. der Reformation, F�rstenwalde, 1905.--The artt.

by K. Hirsche in Herzog, 2d ed., II. 678-760 and L. Schulze, Herzog,

3rd ed., III., 474-507, and P.A. Thijm in Wetzer-Welte, V.

1286-1289.--Ullmann: Reformatoren, II. 1-201.--Lea: Inquisition, II.

360 sqq.--Uhlhorn: Christl. Liebesth�tigkeit im M. A., Stuttgart, 1884,

pp. 350-375.

Note.--A few of the short writings of Groote were preserved by Thomas �

Kempis. To the sermons edited by Acquoy, Langenberg, pp. 3-33, has

added Groote's tract on simony, which he found in the convent of

Frenswegen, near Nordhorn. He has also found Groote's Latin writings.

The tract on simony--de simonia ad Beguttas -- is addressed to the

Beguines in answer to the question propounded to him by some of their

number as to whether it was simony to purchase a place in a Beguine

convent. The author says that simony "prevails very much everywhere,"

and that it was not punished by the Church. He declares it to be simony

to purchase a place which involves spiritual exercises, and he goes on

to apply the principle to civil offices pronouncing it simony when they

are bought for money. The work is written in Low German, heavy in

style, but interesting for the light it throws on practices current at

that time.

For � 35. The Imitation of Christ.--Edd. of � Kempis' works, Utrecht,

1473 (15 writings, and omitting the Imitation of Christ); N�rmberg,

1494 (20 writings), ed. by J. Badius, 1520, 1521, 1528; Paris, 1549;

Antwerp, 1574; Dillingen, 1676; ed. by H. Sommalius, 3 vols., Antwerp,

1599, 3d ed. 1615; ed. by M. J. Pohl, 8 vols. promised; thus far 5

vols, Freiburg im Br., 1903 sqq. Best and only complete ed.--Thomas �

Kempis hymns in Blume and Dreves: Analecta hymnica, XLVIII. pp.

475-514.--For biograph. and critical accounts.--Joh. Busch: Chron.

Windesemense.--H. Rosweyde: Chron. Mt. S. Agnetis, Antwerp, 1615, and

cum Rosweydii vindiciis Kempensibus, 1622.--J. B. Malou: Recherches

historiq. et critiq. sur le v�ritable auteur du livre de l'Imitat. de

Jesus Chr., Tournay, 1848; 3d ed., Paris 1856.--\*K. Hirsche:

Prologomena zu einer neuen Ausgabe de imitat. Chr. (with a copy of the

Latin text of the MS. dated 1441), 1873, 1883, 1894.--C. Wolfsgruber:

Giovanni Gersen sein Leben und sein Werk de Imitat. Chr., Augsburg,

1880.--\*S. Kettlewell: Th. � Kempis and the Brothers of the Common

Life, 2 vols., London, 1882. Also Authorship of the de imitat, Chr.,

London, 1877, 2d ed., 1884.--F. R. Cruise: Th. � Kempis, with Notes of

a visit to the scenes in which his life was spent, with some account of

the examination of his relics, London, 1887.--L. A. Wheatley: Story of

the Imitat. of Chr., London, 1891.--Dom Vincent Scully: Life of the

Venerable Th. � Kempis, London, 1901.--J. E. G. de Montmorency: Th. �

Kempis, His Age and Book, London, 1906--\*C. Bigg in Wayside Sketches in

Eccle. Hist., London, 1906, pp. 134-154.--D. B. Butler, Thos. � Kempis,

a Rel. Study, London, 1908.--Art. Thos. � Kempis in London Quarterly

Review, April, 1908, pp. 254-263.

First printed ed. of the Latin text of the Imitat. of Christ, Augsburg,

1472. Bound up with Jerome's de viris illust. and writings of Augustine

and Th. Aquinas.--Of the many edd. in Engl. the first was by W.

Atkynson, and Margaret, mother of Henry VII., London, 1502, reprinted

London, 1828, new ed. by J. K. Ingram, London, 1893.--The Imitat. of

Chr., being the autograph MS. of Th. � Kempis de Imitat. Chr.

reproduced in facsimile from the orig. in the royal libr. at Brussels.

With Introd. by C. Ruelens, London, 1879.--The Imitat. of Chr. Now for

the first time set forth in Rhythm and Sentences. With Pref. by Canon

Liddon, London, 1889.--Facsimile Reproduction of the 1st ed. of 1471,

with Hist. Introd. by C. Knox-Little, London, 1894.--The Imitat. of

Chr., trans. by Canon W. Benham, with 12 photogravures after celebrated

paintings, London, 1905.--An ed. issued 1881 contains a Pref. by Dean

Farrar.--R. P. A. de Backer: Essai bibliograph. sur le livre de imitat.

Chr., Li�ge, 1864.--For further Lit. on the Imitat. of Chr., see the

Note at the end of � 35.

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� 28. The New Mysticism.

In joy of inward peace, or sense

Of sorrow over sin,

He is his own best evidence

His witness is within.

--Whittier, Our Master.

At the time when the scholastic method was falling into disrepute and

the scandals of the Avignon court and the papal schism were shaking

men's faith in the foundations of the Church, a stream of pure pietism

was watering the regions along the Rhine, from Basel to Cologne, and

from Cologne to the North Sea. North of the Alps, voices issuing from

convents and from the ranks of the laity called attention to the value

of the inner religious life and God's immediate communications to the

soul.

To this religious movement has recently been given the name, the

Dominican mysticism, on account of the large number of its

representatives who belonged to the Dominican order. The older name,

German mysticism, which is to be preferred, points to the locality

where it manifested itself, and to the language which the mystics for

the most part used in their writings. Like the Protestant Reformation,

the movement had its origin on German soil, but, unlike the

Reformation, it did not spread beyond Germany and the Lowlands. Its

chief centres were Strassburg and Cologne; its leading representatives

the speculative Meister Eckart, d. 1327, John Tauler, d. 136l, Henry

Suso, d. 1366, John Ruysbroeck, d. 1381, Gerrit Groote, d. 1384, and

Thomas � Kempis, d. 1471. The earlier designation for these pietists

was Friends of God. The Brothers of the Common Life, the companions and

followers of Groote, were of the same type, but developed abiding

institutions of practical Christian philanthropy. In localities the

Beguines and Beghards also breathed the same devotional and

philanthropic spirit. The little book called the German Theology, and

the Imitation of Christ, were among the finest fruits of the movement.

Gerson and Nicolas of Cusa also had a strong mystical vein, but they

are not to be classed with the German mystics. With them mysticism was

an incidental, not the distinguishing, quality.

The mystics along the Rhine formed groups which, however, were not

bound together by any formal organization. Their only bond was the

fellowship of a common religious purpose.

Their religious thought was not always homogeneous in its expression,

but all agreed in the serious attempt to secure purity of heart and

life through union of the soul with God. Mysticism is a phase of

Christian life. It is a devotional habit, in contradistinction to the

outward and formal practice of religious rules. It is a religious

experience in contrast to a mere intellectual assent to tenets. It is

the conscious effort of the soul to apprehend and possess God and

Christ, and expresses itself in the words, "I live, and yet not I but

Christ liveth in me." It is essentially what is now called in some

quarters "personal religion." Perhaps the shortest definition of

mysticism is the best. It is the love of God shed abroad in the heart.

[428] The element of intuition has a large place, and the avenues

through which religious experience is reached are self-detachment from

the world, self-purgation, prayer and contemplation.

Without disparaging the sacraments or disputing the authority of the

Church, the German mystics sought a better way. They laid stress upon

the meaning of such passages as "he that believeth in me shall never

hunger and he that cometh unto me shall never thirst, " "he that loveth

me shall be loved of my Father "and "he that followeth me shall not

walk in darkness." The word love figures most prominently in their

writings. Among the distinctive terms in vogue among them were

Abgeschiedenheit, Eckart's word for self-detachment from the world and

that which is temporal, and Kehr, Tauler's oft-used word for

conversion. They laid stress upon the new birth, and found in Christ's

incarnation a type of the realization of the divine in the soul.

German mysticism had a distinct individuality of its own. On occasion,

its leaders quoted Augustine's Confessions and other works, Dionysius

the Areopagite, Bernard and Thomas Aquinas, but they did not have the

habit of referring back to human authorities as had the Schoolmen,

bulwarking every theological statement by patristic quotations, or

statements taken from Aristotle. The movement arose like a root out of

a dry ground at a time of great corruption and distraction in the

Church, and it arose where it might have been least expected to arise.

Its field was the territory along the Rhine where the heretical sects

had had representation. It was a fresh outburst of piety, an earnest

seeking after God by other paths than the religious externalism

fostered by sacerdotal prescriptions and scholastic dialectics. The

mystics led the people back from the clangor and tinkling of

ecclesiastical symbolisms to the refreshing springs of water which

spring up into everlasting life.

Compared with the mysticism of the earlier Middle Ages and the French

quietism of the seventeenth century, represented by Madame Guyon,

F�nelon and their predecessor the Spaniard Miguel de Molinos, German

mysticism likewise has its own distinctive features. The religion of

Bernard expressed itself in passionate and rapturous love for Jesus.

Madame Guyon and F�nelon set up as the goal of religion a state of

disinterested love, which was to be reached chiefly by prayer, an end

which Bernard felt it scarcely possible to reach in this world.

The mystics along the Rhine agreed with all genuine mystics in striving

after the direct union of the soul with God. They sought, as did

Eckart, the loss of our being in the ocean of the Godhead, or with

Tauler the undisturbed peace of the soul, or with Ruysbroeck the impact

of the divine nature upon our nature at its innermost point, kindling

with divine love as fire kindles. With this aspiration after the

complete apprehension of God, they combined a practical tendency. Their

silent devotion and meditation were not final exercises. They were

moved by warm human sympathies, and looked with almost reverential

regard upon the usual pursuits and toil of men. They approached close

to the idea that in the faithful devotion to daily tasks man may

realize the highest type of religious experience.

By preaching, by writing and circulating devotional works, and

especially by their own examples, they made known the secret and the

peace of the inner life. In the regions along the lower Rhine, the

movement manifested itself also in the care of the sick, and notably in

schools for the education of the young. These schools proved to be

preparatory for the German Reformation by training a body of men of

wider outlook and larger sympathies than the mediaeval convent was

adapted to rear.

For the understanding of the spirit and meaning of German mysticism, no

help is so close at hand as the comparison between it and mediaeval

scholasticism. This religious movement was the antithesis of the

theology of the Schoolmen; Eckart and Tauler of Thomas Aquinas, the

German Theology of the endless argumentation of Duns Scotus, the

Imitation of Christ of the cumbersome exhaustiveness of Albertus

Magnus. Roger Bacon had felt revulsion from the hairsplitting

casuistries of the Schoolmen, and given expression to it before Eckart

began his activity at Cologne. Scholasticism had trodden a beaten and

dusty highway. The German mystics walked in secluded and shady

pathways. For a catalogue of dogmatic maxims they substituted the quiet

expressions of filial devotion and assurance. The speculative element

is still prominent in Eckart, but it is not indulged for the sake of

establishing doctrinal rectitude, but for the nurture of inward

experience of God's operations in the soul. Godliness with these men

was not a system of careful definitions, it was a state of spiritual

communion; not an elaborate construction of speculative thought, but a

simple faith and walk with God. Not processes of logic but the insight

of devotion was their guide. [429] As Loofs has well said, German

mysticism emphasized above all dogmas and all external works the

necessity of the new birth. [430] It also had its dangers. Socrates had

urged men not to rest hopes upon the Delphian oracle, but to listen to

the voice in their own bosoms. The mystics, in seeking to hear the

voice of God speaking in their own hearts, ran peril of magnifying

individualism to the disparagement of what was common to all and of

mistaking states of the overwrought imagination for revelations from

God. [431]

Although the German mystical writers have not been quoted in the acts

of councils or by popes as have been the theologies of the Schoolmen,

they represented, if we follow the testimonies of Luther and

Melanchthon, an important stage in the religious development of the

German people, and it is certainly most significant that the

Reformation broke out on the soil where the mystics lived and wrought,

and their piety took deep root. They have a perennial life for souls

who, seeking devotional companionship, continue to go back to the

leaders of that remarkable pietistic movement.

The leading features of the mysticism of the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries may be summed up in the following propositions.

1. Its appeals were addressed to laymen as well as to clerics.

2. The mystics emphasized instruction and preaching, and, if we except

Suso, withdrew the emphasis which had been laid upon the traditional

ascetic regulations of the Church. They did not commend buffetings of

the body. The distance between Peter Damiani and Tauler is world-wide.

3. They used the New Testament more than they used the Old Testament,

and the words of Christ took the place of the Canticles in their

interpretations of the mind of God. The German Theology quotes scarcely

a single passage which is not found in the New Testament, and the

Imitation of Christ opens with the quotation of words spoken by our

Lord. Eckart and Tauler dwell upon passages of the New Testament, and

Ruysbroeck evolves the fulness of his teaching from Matthew 25:6,

"Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him."

4. In the place of the Church, with its sacraments and priesthood as a

saving institution, is put Christ himself as the mediator between the

soul and God, and he is offered as within the reach of all.

5. A pure life is taught to be a necessary accompaniment of the higher

religious experience, and daily exemplification is demanded of that

humility which the Gospel teaches.

6. Another notable feature was their use of the vernacular in sermon

and treatise. The mystics are among the very earliest masters of German

and Dutch prose. In the Introduction to his second edition of the

German Theology, Luther emphasized this aspect of their activity when

he said, "I thank God that I have heard and find my God in the German

tongue as neither I nor they [the adherents of the old way] have found

Him in the Latin and Hebrew tongues." In this regard also the mystics

of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were precursors of the

evangelical movement of the sixteenth century. Their practice was in

plain conflict with the judgment of that German bishop who declared

that the German language was too barbarous a tongue to be a proper

vehicle of religious truth.

The religious movement represented by German and Dutch mysticism is an

encouraging illustration that God's Spirit may be working effectually

in remote and unthought-of places and at times when the fabric of the

Church seems to be hopelessly undermined with formalism, clerical

corruption and hierarchical arrogance and worldliness. It was so at a

later day when, in the little and remote Moravian town of Herrnhut, God

was preparing the weak things of the world, and the things which were

apparently foolish, to confound the dead orthodoxy of German

Protestantism and to lead the whole Protestant Church into the way of

preaching the Gospel in all the world. No organized body survived the

mystics along the Rhine, but their example and writings continue to

encourage piety and simple faith toward God within the pale of the

Catholic and Protestant churches alike.

A classification of the German mystics on the basis of speculative and

practical tendencies has been attempted, but it cannot be strictly

carried out. [432] In Eckart and Ruysbroeck, the speculative element

was in the ascendant; in Tauler, the devotional; in Suso, the

emotional; in Groote and other men of the Lowlands, the practical.

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[428] See Inge, Engl. Mystics, p. 37. This author, in his Christian

Mysticism, p. 5, gives the definition that mysticism is "the attempt to

realize in the thought and feeling the immanence of the temporal in the

eternal and of the eternal in the temporal." His statements in another

place, The Inner Way, pp. xx-xxii, are more simple and illuminating.

The mystical theology is that knowledge of God and of divine things

which is derived not from observation or from argument but from

conscious experience. The difficulty of giving a precise definition of

mysticism is seen in the definitions Inge cites, Christian Mysticism,

Appendix A. Comp. Deutsch, p. 632 sq

[429] It is quite in keeping with this contrast that Pfleiderer, in his

Religionsphilosophie, excludes the German mystics from a place in the

history of German philosophy on the ground that their thinking was not

distinctly systematic. He, however, gives a brief statement to Eckart,

but excludes Jacob Boehme.

[430] Dogmengesch., p. 631.

[431] Nicoll, Garden of Nuts, p. 31, says, "We study the mystics to

learn from them. It need not be disguised that there are great

difficulties in the way. The mystics are the most individual of

writers," etc.

[432] See Preger, I. 8, and Ullmann, Reformatoren, II. 203. Harnack

goes far when he denies all originality to the German mystics. Of

Eckart he says, Dogmengesch. III. 378, "I give no extracts from his

writings because I do not wish to seem to countenance the error that

the German mystics expressed anything we cannot read in Origen,

Plotinus, the Areopagite, Augustine, Erigena, Bernard and Thomas

Aquinas, or that they represented a stage of religious progress." The

message they announced was certainly a fresh one to their generation,

even if all they said bad been said before. They spoke from the living

sources of their own spiritual experience. They were not imitators.

Harnack, however, goes on to give credit to the German mystics for

fulfilling a mission when he says they are of invaluable worth for the

history of doctrine and the church history of Germany. In the same

connection he denies the distinction between mysticism and scholastic

theology." Mysticism," he asserts, "cannot exist in the Protestant

Church, and the Protestant who is a mystic and does not become a Roman

Catholic is a dilettante." This condemnation is based upon the

untenable premise that mysticism is essentially conventual, excluding

sane intellectual criticism and a practical out-of-doors Christianity.

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� 29. Meister Eckart.

Meister Eckart, 1260-1327, the first in the line of the German mystics,

was excelled in vigor of thought by no religious thinker of his

century, and was the earliest theologian who wrote in German. [433] The

philosophical bent of his mind won for him from Hegel the title,

"father of German philosophy." In spite of the condemnation passed upon

his writings by the pope, his memory was regarded with veneration by

the succeeding generation of mystics. His name, however, was almost

forgotten in later times. Mosheim barely mentions it, and the

voluminous historian, Schroeckh, passes it by altogether. Baur, in his

History of the Middle Ages, devotes to Eckart and Tauler only three

lines, and these under the head of preaching, and makes no mention at

all of German mysticism. His memory again came to honor in the last

century, and in the German church history of the later Middle Ages he

is now accorded a place of pre-eminence for his freshness of thought,

his warm piety and his terse German style. [434] With Albertus Magnus

and Rupert of Deutz he stands out as the earliest prominent

representative in the history of German theology.

During the century before Eckart, the German church also had its

mystics, and in the twelfth century the godly women, Hildegard of

Bingen and Elizabeth of Schoenau, added to the function of prophecy a

mystical element. In the thirteenth century the Benedictine convent of

Helfta, near Eisleben, Luther's birthplace, was a centre of religious

warmth. Among its nuns were several by the names of Gertrude and

Mechthild, who excelled by their religious experiences, and wrote on

the devotional life. Gertrude of Hackeborn, d. 1292, abbess of Helfta,

and Gertrude the Great, d. 1302, professed to have immediate communion

with the Saviour and to be the recipients of divine revelations. When

one of the Mechthilds asked Christ where he was to be found, the reply

was, "You may seek me in the tabernacle and in Gertrude's heart." From

1293 Gertrude the Great recorded her revelations in a work called the

Communications of Piety--Insinuationes divinae pietatis. Mechthild of

Magdeburg, d. 1280, and Mechthild of Hackeborn, d. 1310, likewise nuns

of Helfta, also had visions which they wrote out. The former, who for

thirty years had been a Beguine, Deutsch calls " one of the most

remarkable personalities in the religious history of thirteenth

century." Mechthild of Hackeborn, a younger sister of the abbess

Gertrude, in her book on special grace,--Liber specialis gratiae,--sets

forth salvation as the gift of grace without the works of the law.

These women wrote in German. [435]

David of Augsburg, d. 1271, the inquisitor who wrote on the

inquisition,--De inquisitione haereticorum,--also wrote on the

devotional life. These writings were intended for monks, and two of

them [436] are regarded as pearls of German prose.

In the last years of the thirteenth century, the Franciscan Lamprecht

of Regensburg wrote a poem entitled "Daughter of Zion" (Cant. III. 11),

which, in a mystical vein, depicts the soul, moved by the impulse of

love, and after in vain seeking its satisfaction in worldly things, led

by faith and hope to God. The Dominicans, Dietrich of Freiburg and John

of Sterngassen, were also of the same tendency. [437] The latter

labored in Strassburg.

Eckart broke new paths in the realm of German religious thought. He was

born at Hochheim, near Gotha, and died probably in Cologne. [438] In

the last years of the thirteenth century he was prior of the Dominican

convent of Erfurt, and provincial of the Dominicans in Thuringia, and

in 1300 was sent to Paris to lecture, taking the master's degree, and

later the doctorate. After his sojourn in France he was made prior of

his order in Saxony, a province at that time extending from the

Lowlands to Livland. In 1311 he was again sent to Paris as a teacher.

Subsequently he preached in Strassburg, was prior in Frankfurt, 1320,

and thence went to Cologne.

Charges of heresy were preferred against him in 1325 by the archbishop

of Cologne, Henry of Virneburg. The same year the Dominicans, at their

general chapter held in Venice, listened to complaints that certain

popular preachers in Germany were leading the people astray, and sent a

representative to make investigations. Henry of Virneburg had shown

himself zealous in the prosecution of heretics. In 1322, Walter, a

Beghard leader, was burnt, and in 1325 a number of Beghards died in the

flames along the Rhine. It is possible that Eckart was quoted by these

sectaries, and in this way was exposed to the charge of heresy.

The archbishop's accusations, which had been sent to Rome, were set

aside by Nicolas of Strassburg, Eckart's friend, who at the time held

the position of inquisitor in Germany. In 1327, the archbishop again

proceeded against the suspected preacher and also against Nicolas. Both

appealed from the archbishop's tribunal to the pope. In February,

Eckart made a public statement in the Dominican church at Cologne,

declaring he had always eschewed heresy in doctrine and declension in

morals, and expressed his readiness to retract errors, if such should

be found in his writings. [439]

In a bull dated March 27, 1329, John XXII. announced that of the 26

articles charged against Eckart, 15 were heretical and the remaining 11

had the savor of heresy. Two other articles, not cited in the

indictment, were also pronounced heretical. The papal decision stated

that Eckart had acknowledged the 17 condemned articles as heretical.

There is no evidence of such acknowledgment in the offenders extant

writing. [440]

Among the articles condemned were the following. As soon as God was, He

created the world.--The world is eternal.--External acts are not in a

proper sense good and divine.--The fruit of external acts does not make

us good, but internal acts which the Father works in us.--God loves the

soul, not external acts. The two added articles charged Eckart with

holding that there is something in the soul which is uncreated and

uncreatable, and that God is neither good nor better nor best, so that

God can no more be called good than white can be called black.

Eckart merits study as a preacher and as a mystic theologian.

As a Preacher.--His sermons were delivered in churches and at

conferences within cloistral walls. His style is graphic and

attractive, to fascination. The reader is carried on by the progress of

thought. The element of surprise is prominent. Eckart's extant sermons

are in German, and the preacher avoids dragging in Latin phrases to

explain his meaning, though, if necessary, he invents new German terms.

He quotes the Scriptures frequently, and the New Testament more often

than the Old, the passages most dwelt upon being those which describe

the new birth, the sonship of Christ and believers, and love. Eckart is

a master in the use of illustrations, which he drew chiefly from the

sphere of daily observation,--the world of nature, the domestic circle

and the shop. Although he deals with some of the most abstruse truths,

he betrays no ambition to make a show of speculative subtlety. On the

contrary, he again and again expresses a desire to be understood by his

hearers, who are frequently represented as in dialogue with himself and

asking for explanations of difficult questions. Into the dialogue are

thrown such expressions as "in order that you may understand," and in

using certain illustrations he on occasion announces that he uses them

to make himself understood. [441]

The following is a resum� of a sermon on John 6:44, "No man can come

unto me except the Father draw him." [442] In drawing the sinner that

He may convert him, God draws with more power than he would use if He

were to make a thousand heavens and earths. Sin is an offence against

nature, for it breaks God's image in us. For the soul, sin is death,

for God is the soul's true life. For the heart, it is restlessness, for

a thing is at rest only when it is in its natural state. Sin is a

disease and blindness, for it blinds men to the brief duration of time,

the evils of fleshly lust and the long duration of the pains of hell.

It is bluntness to all grace. Sin is the prison-house of hell. People

say they intend to turn away from their sins. But how can one who is

dead make himself alive again? And by one's own powers to turn from sin

unto God is much less possible than it would be for the dead to make

themselves alive. God himself must draw. Grace flows from the Father's

heart continually, as when He says, "I have loved thee with an

everlasting love."

There are three things in nature which draw, and these three Christ had

on the cross. The first was his fellow-likeness to Us. As the bird

draws to itself the bird of the same nature, so Christ drew the

heavenly Father to himself, so that the Father forgot His wrath in

contemplating the sufferings of the cross. Again Christ draws by his

self-emptiness. As the empty tube draws water into itself, so the Son,

by emptying himself and letting his blood flow, drew to himself all the

grace from the Father's heart. The third thing by which he draws is the

glowing heat of his love, even as the sun with its heat draws up the

mists from the earth.

The historian of the German mediaeval pulpit, Cruel, has said, [443]

"Eckart's sermons hold the reader by the novelty and greatness of their

contents, by their vigor of expression and by the genial frankness of

the preacher himself, who is felt to be putting his whole soul into his

effort and to be giving the most precious things he is able to give."

He had his faults, but in spite of them "he is the boldest and most

profound thinker the German pulpit has ever had,--a preacher of such

original stamp of mind that the Church in Germany has not another like

him to offer in all the centuries."

Eckart as a Theological Thinker.--Eckart was still bound in part by the

scholastic method. His temper, however, differed widely from the temper

of the Schoolmen. Anselm, Hugo of St. Victor, Thomas Aquinas and

Bonaventura, who united the mystical with the scholastic element, were

predominantly Schoolmen, seeking to exhaust every supposable

speculative problem. No purpose of this kind appears in Eckart's

writings. He is dominated by a desire not so much to reach the

intellect as to reach the soul and to lead it into immediate fellowship

with God. With him the weapons of metaphysical dexterity are not on

show; and in his writings, so far as they are known, he betrays no

inclination to bring into the area of his treatment those remoter

topics of speculation, from the constitution of the angelic world to

the motives and actions which rule and prevail in the regions of hell.

God and the soul's relation to Him are the engrossing subjects. [444]

The authorities upon whom Eckart relied most, if we are to judge by his

quotations, were Dionysius the Areopagite, and St. Bernard, though he

also quotes from Augustine, Jerome and Gregory the Great, from Plato,

Avicenna and Averrhoes. His discussions are often introduced by such

expressions as "the masters say," or "some masters say." As a mystical

thinker he has much in common with the mystics who preceded him,

Neo-Platonic and Christian, but he was no servile reproducer of the

past. Freshness characterizes his fundamental principles and his

statement of them. In the place of love for Jesus, the precise

definitions of the stages of contemplation emphasized by the school of

St. Victor and the hierarchies and ladders and graduated stairways of

Dionysius, he magnifies the new birth in the soul, and sonship. [445]

As for God, He is absolute being, Deus est esse. The Godhood is

distinct from the persons of the Godhead,--a conception which recalls

Gilbert of Poictiers, or even the quaternity which Peter the Lombard

was accused of setting up. The Trinity is the method by which this

Godhood reveals itself by a process which is eternal. Godhood is simple

essence having in itself the potentiality of all things. [446] God has

form, and yet is without form, is being, and yet is without being.

Great teachers say that God is above being. This is not correct, for

God may as little be called a being, ein Wesen, as the sun may be

called black or pale. [447]

All created things were created out of nothing, and yet they were

eternally in God. The master who produces pieces of art, first had all

his art in himself. The arts are master within the master. Likewise the

first Principle, which Eckart calls Erstigkeit, embodied in itself all

images, that is, God in God. Creation is an eternal act. As soon as God

was, He created the world. Without creatures, God would not be God. God

is in all things and all things are God--Nu sint all Ding gleich in

Gott und sint Got selber. [448] Thomas Aquinas made a clear distinction

between the being of God and the being of created things. Eckart

emphasized their unity. What he meant was that the images or universals

exist in God eternally, as he distinctly affirmed when he said, "In the

Father are the images of all creatures." [449]

As for the soul, it can be as little comprehended in a definition as

God Himself. [450] The soul's kernel, or its ultimate essence, is the

little spark, F�nkelein, a light which never goes out which is

uncreated and uncreatable. [451] Notwithstanding these statements, the

German theologian affirms that God created the soul and poured into it,

in the first instance, all His own purity. Through the spark the soul

is brought into union with God, and becomes more truly one with Him

than food does with the body. The soul cannot rest till it returns to

God, and to do 80 it must first die to itself, that is, completely

submit itself to God. [452] Eckart's aim in all his sermons, as he

asserts, was to reach this spark.

It is one of Eckart's merits that he lays so much stress upon the

dignity of the soul. Several of his tracts bear this title. [453] This

dignity follows from God's love and regenerative operation.

Passing to the incarnation, it is everywhere the practical purpose

which controls Eckart's treatment, and not the metaphysical. The second

person of the Trinity took on human nature, that man might become

partaker of the divine nature. In language such as Gregory of Nyssa

used, he said, God became man that we might become God. Gott ist Mensch

worden dass wir Gott wurden. As God was hidden within the human nature

so that we saw there only man, so the soul is to be hidden within the

divine nature, that we should see nothing but God. [454] As certainly

as God begets the Son from His own nature, so certainly does He beget

Him in the soul. God is in all things, but He is in the soul alone by

birth, and nowhere else is He so truly as in the soul. No one can know

God but the only begotten Son. Therefore, to know God, man must through

the eternal generation become Son. It is as true that man becomes God

as that God was made man. [455]

The generation of the eternal Son in the soul brings joy which no man

can take away. A prince who should lose his kingdom and all worldly

goods would still have fulness of joy, for his birth outweighs

everything else. [456] God is in the soul, and yet He is not the soul.

The eye is not the piece of wood upon which it looks, for when the eye

is closed, it is the same eye it was before. But if, in the act of

looking, the eye and the wood should become one, then we might say the

eye is the wood and the wood is the eye. If the wood were a spiritual

substance like the eyesight, then, in reality, one might say eye and

wood are one substance. [457] The fundament of God's being is the

fundament of my being, and the fundament of my being is the fundament

of God's being. Thus I live of myself even as God lives of Himself.

[458] This begetment of the Son of God in the soul is the source of all

true life and good works.

One of the terms which Eckart uses most frequently, to denote God's

influence upon the soul, is durchbrechen, to break through, and his

favorite word for the activity of the soul, as it rises into union with

God, is Abgeschiedenheit, the soul's complete detachment of itself from

all that is temporal and seen. Keep aloof, abgeschieden, he says, from

men, from yourself, from all that cumbers. Bear God alone in your

hearts, and then practise fasting, vigils and prayer, and you will come

unto perfection. This Abgeschiedenheit, total self-detachment from

created things, [459] he says in a sermon on the subject, is "the one

thing needful." After reading many writings by pagan masters and

Christian teachers, Eckart came to consider it the highest of all

virtues,--higher than humility, higher even than love, which Paul

praises as the highest; for, while love endures all things, this

quality is receptiveness towards God. In the person possessing this

quality, the worldly has nothing to correspond to itself. This is what

Paul had reference to when he said, "I live and yet not I, for Christ

liveth in me." God is Himself perfect Abgeschiedenheit.

In another place, Eckart says that he who has God in his soul finds God

in all things, and God appears to him out of all things. As the thirsty

love water, so that nothing else tastes good to them, even so it is

with the devoted soul. In God and God alone is it at rest. God seeks

rest, and He finds it nowhere but in such a heart. To reach this

condition of Abgeschiedenheit, it is necessary for the soul first to

meditate and form an image of God, and then to allow itself to be

transformed by God. [460]

What, then, some one might say, is the advantage of prayer and good

works? In eternity, God saw every prayer and every good work, and knew

which prayer He could hear. Prayers were answered in eternity. God is

unchangeable and cannot be moved by a prayer. It is we who change and

are moved. The sun shines, and gives pain or pleasure to the eye,

according as it is weak or sound. The sun does not change. God rules

differently in different men. Different kinds of dough are put into the

oven; the heat affects them differently, and one is taken out a loaf of

fine bread, and another a loaf of common bread.

Eckart is emphatic when he insists upon the moral obligation resting on

God to operate in the soul that is ready to receive Him. God must pour

Himself into such a man's being, as the sun pours itself into the air

when it is clear and pure. God would be guilty of a great

wrong--Gebrechen -- if He did not confer a great good upon him whom He

finds empty and ready to receive Him. Even so Christ said of Zaccheus,

that He must enter into his house. God first works this state in the

soul, and He is obliged to reward it with the gift of Himself. "When I

am blessed, selig, then all things are in me and in God, and where I

am, there is God, and where God is, there I am." [461]

Nowhere does Eckart come to a distinct definition of justification by

faith, although he frequently speaks of faith as a heavenly gift. On

the other hand, he gives no sign of laying stress on the penitential

system. Everywhere there are symptoms in his writings that his piety

breathed a different atmosphere from the pure mediaeval type. Holy

living is with him the product of holy being. One must first be

righteous before he can do righteous acts. Works do not sanctify. The

righteous soul sanctifies the works. So long as one does good works for

the sake of the kingdom of heaven or for the sake of God or for the

sake of salvation or for any external cause, he is on the wrong path.

Fastings, vigils, asceticisms, do not merit salvation. [462] There are

places in the mystic's writings where we seem to hear Luther himself

speaking.

The stress which Eckart lays upon piety, as a matter of the heart and

the denial to good works of meritorious virtue, gave plausible ground

for the papal condemnation, that Eckart set aside the Church's doctrine

of penance, affirming that it is not outward acts that make good, but

the disposition of the soul which God abidingly works in us. John XXII.

rightly discerned the drift of the mystic's teaching.

In his treatment of Mary and Martha, Eckart seems to make a radical

departure from the mediaeval doctrine of the superior value of pure

contemplation. From the time of Augustine, Rachel and Mary of Bethany

had been regarded as the representatives of the contemplative and

higher life. In his sermon on Mary, the German mystic affirmed that

Mary was still at school. Martha had learned and was engaged in good

works, serving the Lord. Mary was only learning. She was striving to be

as holy as her sister. Better to feed the hungry and do other works of

mercy, he says, than to have the vision of Paul and to sit still. After

Christ's ascension, Mary learned to serve as fully as did Martha, for

then the Holy Spirit was poured out. One who lives a truly

contemplative life will show it in active works. A life of mere

contemplation is a selfish life. The modern spirit was stirring in him.

He saw another ideal for life than mediaeval withdrawal from the world.

The breath of evangelical freedom and joy is felt in his writings.

[463]

Eckart's speculative mind carried him to the verge of pantheism, and it

is not surprising that his hyperbolical expressions subjected him to

the papal condemnation. But his pantheism was Christian pantheism, the

complete union of the soul with God. It was not absorption in the

divine being involving the loss of individuality, but the reception of

Godhood, the original principle of the Deity. What language could

better express the idea that God is everything, and everything God,

than these words, words adopted by Hegel as a sort of motto: "The eye

with which I see God is the same eye with which God sees me. My eye and

God's eye are the same, and there is but one sight, one apprehension,

one love." [464] And yet such language, endangering, as it might seem,

the distinct personality of the soul, was far better than the

imperative insistence laid by accredited Church teachers on outward

rituals and conformity to sacramental rites.

Harnack and others have made the objection that the Cologne divine does

not dwell upon the forgiveness of sins. This omission may be

overlooked, when we remember the prominence given in his teaching to

regeneration and man's divine sonship. His most notable departure from

scholasticism consists in this, that he did not dwell upon the

sacraments and the authority of the Church. He addressed himself to

Christian individuals, and showed concern for their moral and spiritual

well-being. Abstruse as some of his thinking is, there can never be the

inkling of a thought that he was setting forth abstractions of the

school and contemplating matters chiefly with a scientific eye. He

makes the impression of being moved by strict honesty of purpose to

reach the hearts of men. [465] His words glow with the Minne, or love,

of which he preached so often. In one feature, however, he differed

widely from modern writers and preachers. He did not dwell upon the

historical Christ. With him Christ in us is the God in us, and that is

the absorbing topic. With all his high thinking he felt the limitations

of human statement and, counselling modesty in setting forth

definitions of God, he said, "If we would reach the depth of God's

nature, we must humble ourselves. He who would know God must first know

himself." [466] Not a popular leader, not professedly a reformer, this

early German theologian had a mission in preparing the way for the

Reformation. The form and contents of his teaching had a direct

tendency to encourage men to turn away from the authority of the

priesthood and ritual legalism to the realm of inner experience for the

assurance of acceptance with God. Pfleiderer has gone so far as to say

that Eckart's "is the spirit of the Reformation, the spirit of Luther,

the motion of whose wings we already feel, distinctly enough, in the

thoughts of his older German fellow-citizen." [467] Although he

declared his readiness to confess any heretical ideas that might have

crept into his sermons and writings, the judges at Rome were right in

principle. Eckart's spirit was heretical, provoking revolt against the

authority of the mediaeval Church and a restatement of some of the

forgotten verities of the New Testament.

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[433] Eckart's name is written in almost every conceivable way in the

documents. See B�ttner, p. xxii, as Eckardus, Eccardus, Egghardus;

Deutsch and Delacroix, Eckart; Pfeiffer, Preger, Inge and Langenberg,

Eckhart; Denifle and B�ttner, Eckehart. His writings give us scarcely a

single clew to his fortunes. Qui�tif-Echard was the first to lift the

veil from portions of his career. See Preger, I. 325.

[434] Deutsch, Herzog, V. 149, says that parts of Eckart's sermons

might serve as models of German style to-day.

[435] Flacius Illyricus includes the second Mechthild in his Catal.

veritatis. For the lives of these women and the editions of their

works, see Preger, I. 71-132, and the artt. of Deutsch and Z�ckler in

Herzog. Some of the elder Mechthild's predictions and descriptions seem

to have been used by Dante. See Preger, p. 103 sq. Mechthild v.

Magdeburg: D. fliessende Licht der Gottheit, Berlin, 1907.

[436] Die sieben Vorregeln der Tugend andder Spiegel der Tugend, both

given by Pfeiffer, together with other tracts, the genuineness of some

of which is doubted. See Preger, I. 268-283, and Lempp in Herzog, IV.

503 sq.

[437] Denifle, Archiv, etc., II. 240, 529.

[438] Till the investigations of Denifle, his place of birth was

usually given as Strassburg. See Denifle, p. 355.

[439] Ego magister Ekardus, doctor sac. theol., protestor ante omnia,

quod omnem errorem in fide et omnem deformitatem in moribus semper in

quantum mihi possibile fuit, sum detestatus, etc. Preger, I. 475-478.

Preger, I. 471 sqq., gives the Latin text of Eckart's statement of Jan.

24, 1327, before the archiepiscopal court, his public statement of

innocence in the Dominican church and the document containing the

court's refusal to allow his appeal to Rome.

[440] The 26 articles, as Denifle has shown, were based upon Eckart's

Latin writings. John's bull is given by Preger, I. 479-482, and by

Denifle, Archiv, II. 636-640. Preger, I. 365 sqq., Delacroix, p. 238

and Deutsch, V. 145, insist that Eckart made no specific recantation.

The pope's reference must have been to the statement Eckart made in the

Dominican church, which contained the words, "I will amend and revoke

in general and in detail, as often as may be found opportune, whatever

is discovered to have a less wholesome sense, intellectum minus sane.

[441] B�ttner, p. 14; Pfeiffer, p. 192, etc.

[442] Pfeiffer, 216.

[443] p. 384.

[444] Denifle lays down the proposition that Eckart is above all a

Schoolman, and that whatever there is of good in him is drawn from

Thomas Aquinas. These conclusions are based upon Eckart's Latin

writings. Deutsch, V. 15, says that the form of Eckart's thought in the

Latin writings is scholastic, but the heart is mystical. Delacroix, p.

277 sqq., denies that Eckart was a scholastic and followed Thomas.

Wetzer-Welte, IV. 11, deplores as Eckart's defect that he departed from

"the solid theology of Scholasticism" and took up Neo-Platonic

vagaries. If Eckart had been a servile follower of Thomas, it is hard

to understand how he should have laid himself open in 28 propositions

to condemnation for heresy.

[445] Harnack and, in a modified way, Delacroix and Loofs, regard

Eckart's theology as a reproduction of Erigena, Dionysius and Plotinus.

Delacroix, p. 240, says, sur tous les points essentiels, il est

d'accord avec Plotin et Proclus. But, in another place, p. 260, he says

Eckart took from Neo-Platonism certain leading conceptions and

"elaborated, transformed and transmuted them." Loofs, p. 630, somewhat

ambiguously says, Die ganze Eckehartsche Mystik ist verst�ndlich als

eine Erfassung der thomistischen und augustinischen Tradition unter dem

Gesichtswinkel des Areopagiten.

[446] Pfeiffer, pp. 254, 540.

[447] Pfeiffer, p. 268. The following page is an instance of Eckart's

abstruseness in definition. He says God's einveltigin Natur ist von

Formen formelos, von Werdenen werdelos, von Wesenen weselos und ist von

Sachen sachelos. Pfeiffer, p. 497.

[448] Pfeiffer, pp. 282, 311, 579.

[449] In dem Vater sind Bilde allerCreaturen, Pfeiffer, pp. 269, 285,

etc.

[450] Die Seele in ihrem Grunde ist so unsprechlich als Gott

unsprechlich ist. Pfeiffer, p. 89.

[451] pp. 39, 113, 193, 286, etc. Pfleiderer, p. 6, calls this the

soul's spirit,--der Geist der Seele,--and Deutsch, p. 152, der innerst

Seelengrund

[452] pp. 113, 152, 286 487, 530.

[453] Die Edelkeit der Seele, Von der W�rdgkeit der Seele, Von dem Adel

der Seele. Pfeiffer, pp. 382-448.

[454] p. 540.

[455] pp. 158, 207, 285, 345.

[456] pp. 44, 478-488.

[457] Pfeiffer, p. 139.

[458] Hier ist Gottes Grund mein Grund und mein Grund Gottes Grund.

Hier lebe ich aus meinem Eigenen, wie Gott aus seinem Eigenen lebt.

B�ttner, p. 100

[459] Lautere, alles Erschaffenen ledige Abgeschiedenheit. For the

sermon, see B�ttner, p 9 sqq.

[460] Pfeiffer, II. 484.

[461] Pfeiffer, pp. 27, 32, 479 sq., 547 sq.

[462] Pfeiffer, II. 546, 564, 633, Niht endienent unserin were dar zuo

dass uns Got iht gebe oder tuo.

[463] Es geht ein Geist evangelischer Freiheit durch Eckart's

Sittenlehre welcher zugleich ein Geist der Freudigkeit ist, Preger, I.

452. See the sermon on Mary, Pfeiffer, pp. 47-53. Also pp. 18-21, 607.

[464] Das Auge das da inne ich Gott sehe, das ist selbe Auge da inne

mich Gott sieht. Mein Auge und Gottes Auge, das ist ein Auge, und ein

Erkennen und ein Gesicht und ein Minnen, Pfeiffer, p. 312.

[465] This is well expressed by Lasson in Ueberweg, I. 471. Inge says,

p. 150, Eckart's transparent honesty and his great power of thought,

combined with deep devoutness and purity of soul, make him one of the

most interesting figures in the history of Christian philosophy.

[466] Pfeiffer, II. 155, 390.

[467] p. 7. Preger concludes his treatment of Eckart by saying, I. 458,

that it was he who really laid the foundations of Christian philosophy.

Er erst hat die christliche Philosophie eigentlich begr�ndet

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� 30. John Tauler of Strassburg.

To do Thy will is more than praise,

As words are less than deeds;

And simple trust can find Thy ways

We miss with chart of creeds.

- Whittier. Our Master.

Among the admirers of Eckart, the most distinguished were John Tauler

and Heinrich Suso. With them the speculative element largely disappears

and the experimental and practical elements predominate. They

emphasized religion as a matter of experience and the rule of conduct.

Without denying any of the teachings or sacraments of the Church, they

made prominent immediate union with Christ, and dwelt upon the

Christian graces, especially patience, gentleness and humility. Tauler

was a man of sober mind, Suso poetical and imaginative.

John Tauler, called doctor illuminatus, was born in Strassburg about

1300, and died there, 1361. Referring to his father's circumstances, he

once said, "If, as my father's son, I had once known what I know now, I

would have lived from my paternal inheritance instead of resorting to

alms." [468] Probably as early as 1315, he entered the Dominican order.

Sometime before 1330, he went to Cologne to take the usual three-years'

course of study. That he proceeded from there to Paris for further

study is a statement not borne out by the evidence. He, however, made a

visit in the French capital at one period of his career. Nor is there

sufficient proof that he received the title doctor or master, although

he is usually called Dr. John Tauler.

He was in his native city again when it lay under the interdict

fulminated against it in 1329, during the struggle between John XXII.

and Lewis the Bavarian. The Dominicans offered defiance, continuing to

say masses till 1339, when they were expelled for three years by the

city council. We next find Tauler at Basel, where he came into close

contact with the Friends of God, and their leader, Henry of N�rdlingen.

After laboring as priest in Bavaria, Henry went to the Swiss city,

where he was much sought after as a preacher by the clergy and laymen,

men and women. In 1357, Tauler was in Cologne, but Strassburg was the

chief seat of his activity. Among his friends were Christina Ebner,

abbess of a convent near N�rnberg, and Margaret Ebner, a nun of the

Bavarian convent of Medingen, women who were mystics and recipients of

visions. [469] Tauler died in the guest-chamber of a nunnery in

Strassburg, of which his sister was an inmate.

Tauler's reputation in his own day rested upon his power as a preacher,

and it is probable that his sermons have been more widely read in the

Protestant Church than those of other mediaeval preachers. The reason

for this popularity is the belief that the preacher was controlled by

an evangelical spirit which brought him into close affinity with the

views of the Reformers. His sermons, which were delivered in German,

are plain statements of truth easily understood, and containing little

that is allegorical or fanciful. They attempt no display of learning or

speculative ingenuity. When Tauler quotes from Augustine, Gregory the

Great, Dionysius, Anselm or Thomas Aquinas, as he sometimes does,

though not as frequently as Eckart, he does it in an incidental way.

His power lay in his familiarity with the Scriptures, his knowledge of

the human heart, his simple style and his own evident sincerity. [470]

He was a practical every-day preachers intent on reaching men in their

various avocations and trials.

If we are to follow the History of Tauler's Life and Conscience, which

appeared in the first published edition of his works, 1498, Tauler

underwent a remarkable spiritual change when he was fifty. [471] Under

the influence of Nicolas of Basel, a Friend of God from the Oberland,

he was then led into a higher stage of Christian experience. Already

had he achieved the reputation of an effective preacher when Nicolas,

after hearing him several times, told him that he was bound in the

letter and that, though he preached sound doctrine, he did not feel the

power of it himself. He called Tauler a Pharisee. The rebuked man was

indignant, but his monitor replied that he lacked humility and that,

instead of seeking God's honor, he was seeking his own. Feeling the

justice of the criticism, Tauler confessed he had been told his sins

and faults for the first time. At Nicolas' advice he desisted from

preaching for two years, and led a retired life. At the end of that

time Nicolas visited him again, and bade him resume his sermons.

Tauler's first attempt, made in a public place and before a large

concourse of people, was a failure. The second sermon he preached in a

nunnery from the text, Matt. 25:6, "Behold the bridegroom cometh, go ye

out to meet him," and so powerful was the impression that 50 persons

fell to the ground like dead men. During the period of his seclusion,

Tauler had surrendered himself entirely to God, and after it he

continued to preach with an unction and efficiency before unknown in

his experience.

Some of Tauler's expressions might give the impression that he was

addicted to quietistic views, as when he speaks of being "drowned in

the Fatherhood of God," of "melting in the fire of His love," of being

"intoxicated with God." But these tropical expressions, used

occasionally, are offset by the sober statements in which he portrays

the soul's union with God. To urge upon men to surrender themselves

wholly to God and to give a practical exemplification of their union

with Him in daily conduct was his mission.

He emphasized the agency of the Holy Spirit, who enlightens and

sanctifies, who rebukes sin and operates in the heart to bring it to

self-surrender. [472] The change effected by the Spirit, which he

called Kehr -- conversion--he dwelt upon continually. The word, which

frequently occurs in his sermons, was almost a new word in mediaeval

sermonic vocabulary. Tauler also insisted upon the Eckartian

Abgeschiedenheit, detachment from the world, and says that a soul, to

become holy, must become "barren and empty of all created things," and

rid of all that "pertains to the creature." When the soul is full of

the creature, God must of necessity remain apart from it, and such a

soul is like a barrel that has been filled with refuse or decaying

matter. It cannot thereafter be used for good, generous wine or any

other pure drink. [473]

As for good works, if done apart from Christ, they are of no avail.

Tauler often quoted the words of Isaiah 64:6. "All our righteousnesses

are as a polluted garment." By his own power, man cannot come unto God.

Those who have never felt anxiety on account of their sins are in the

most dangerous condition of all. [474]

The sacraments suffer no depreciation at Tauler's hands, though they

are given a subordinate place. They are all of no avail without the

change of the inward man. Good people linger at the outward symbols,

and fail to get at the inward truth symbolized. Yea, by being unduly

concerned about their movements in the presence of the Lord's body,

they miss receiving him spiritually. Men glide, he says, through

fasting, prayer, vigils and other exercises, and take so much delight

in them that God has a very small part in their hearts, or no part in

them at all. [475]

In insisting upon the exercise of a simple faith, it seems almost

impossible to avoid the conclusion that Tauler took an attitude of

intentional opposition to the prescient and self-confident methods of

scholasticism. It is better to possess a simple faith--einfaltiger

Glaube -- than to vainly pry into the secrets of God, asking questions

about the efflux and reflux of the Aught and Nought, or about the

essence of the soul's spark. The Arians and Sabellians had a marvellous

intellectual understanding of the Trinity, and Solomon and Origen

interested the Church in a marvellous way, but what became of them we

know not. The chief thing is to yield oneself to God's will and to

follow righteousness with sincerity of purpose. "Wisdom is not studied

in Paris, but in the sufferings of the Lord," Tauler said. The great

masters of Paris read large books, and that is well. But the people who

dwell in the inner kingdom of the soul read the true Book of Life. A

pure heart is the throne of the Supreme Judge, a lamp bearing the

eternal light, a treasury of divine riches, a storehouse of heavenly

sweetness, the sanctuary of the only begotten Son. [476]

A distinctly democratic element showed itself in Tauler's piety and

preaching which is very attractive. He put honor upon all legitimate

toil, and praised good and faithful work as an expression of true

religion. One, he said, "can spin, another can make shoes, and these

are the gifts of the Holy Ghost; and I tell you that, if I were not a

priest, I should esteem it a great gift to be able to make shoes, and

would try to make them so well as to become a pattern to all." Fidelity

in one's avocation is more than attendance upon church. He spoke of a

peasant whom he knew well for more than forty years. On being asked

whether he should give up his work and go and sit in church, the Lord

replied no, he should win his bread by the sweat of his brow, and thus

he would honor his own precious blood. The sympathetic element in his

piety excluded the hard spirit of dogmatic complacency. "I would rather

bite my tongue," Tauler said, "till it bleed, than pass judgment upon

any man. Judgment we should leave to God, for out of the habit of

sitting in judgment upon one's neighbor grow self-satisfaction and

arrogance, which are of the devil." [477]

It was these features, and especially Tauler's insistence upon the

religious exercises of the soul and the excellency of simple faith,

that won Luther's praise, first in letters to Lange and Spalatin,

written in 1516. To Spalatin he wrote that he had found neither in the

Latin nor German tongue a more wholesome theology than Tauler's, or one

more consonant with the Gospel. [478]

The mood of the heretic, however, was furthest from Tauler. Strassburg

knew what heresy was, and had proved her orthodoxy by burning heretics.

Tauler was not of their number. He sought to call a narrow circle away

from the formalities of ritual to close communion with God, but the

Church was to him a holy mother. In his reverence for the Virgin, he

stood upon mediaeval ground. Preaching on the Annunciation, he said

that in her spirit was the heaven of God, in her soul His paradise, in

her body His palace. By becoming the mother of Christ, she became the

daughter of the Father, the mother of the Son, the Holy Spirit's bride.

She was the second Eve, who restored all that the first Eve lost, and

Tauler does not hesitate to quote some of Bernard's passionate words

pronouncing Mary the sinner's mediator with Christ. He himself sought

her intercession. If any one could have seen into her heart, he said,

he would have seen God in all His glory. [479]

Though he was not altogether above the religious perversions of the

mediaeval Church, John Tauler has a place among the godly leaders of

the Church universal, who have proclaimed the virtue of simple faith

and immediate communion with God and the excellency of the

unostentatious practice of righteousness from day to day. He was an

expounder of the inner life, and strikes the chord of fellowship in all

who lay more stress upon pure devotion and daily living than upon

ritual exercises. A spirit congenial to his was Whittier, whose

undemonstrative piety poured itself out in hearty appreciation of his

unseen friend of the fourteenth century. The modern Friend represents

the mysterious stranger, who pointed out to Tauler the better way, as

saying:--

What hell may be, I know not. This I know,

I cannot lose the presence of the Lord.

One arm, Humility, takes hold upon

His dear humanity; the other, Love,

Clasps His divinity. So where I go

He goes; and better fire-walled hell with Him

Than golden-gated Paradise without.

Said Tauler,

My prayer is answered. God hath sent the man,

Long sought, to teach me, by his simple trust,

Wisdom the weary Schoolmen never knew.

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[468] Preger, III. 131. The oldest Strassburg MS. entitles Tauler

erluhtete begnodete Lerer. See Schmidt, p. 159. Preger, III. 93, gives

the names of a number of persons by the name of Taweler, or Tawler,

living in Strassburg.

[469] Christina wrote a book entitled Von der Gnaden Ueberlast, giving

an account of the tense life led by the sisters in her convent. She

declared that the Holy Spirit played on Tauler's heart as upon a lute,

and that it had been revealed to her in a vision that his fervid tongue

would set the earth on fire. See Strauch's art. in Herzog, V. 129 sq.

Also Preger, II. 247-251, 277 sqq.

[470] Specklin, the Strassburg chronicler, says Tauler spoke "in clear

tones, with real fervor. His aim was to bring men to feel the

nothingness of the world. He condemned clerics as well as laymen."

[471] A translation of the book is given by Miss Winkworth, pp. 1-73.

It calls Tattler's monitor der grosse Gottesfreund im Oberlande. See �

32.

[472] One of the sermons, bringing out the influence of the Spirit,

based on John 16:7-11, is quoted at length by Archdeacon Hare in his

Mission of the Comforter. See also Miss Winkworth, pp. 350 358.

[473] Inner Way, pp. 81, 113, 128, 130.

[474] Miss Winkworth, pp. 353, 475, etc.

[475] Inner Way, p. 200. Miss Winkworth, pp. 345, 360 sqq.

[476] Preger, III. 132; Miss Winkworth, p. 348.

[477] Preger, III. 131; Miss Winkworth, p. 355.

[478] K�stlin, Life of M. Luther, I. 117 sq., 126. Melanchthon, in the

Preface to the Franf. ed. of Tauler said: "Among the moderns, Tauler is

easily the first. I hear, however, that there are some who dare to deny

the Christian teaching of this, highly esteemed man." Beza was of a

different mind, and called Tauler a visionary. See Schmidt, p. 160.

Preger, III. 194, goes so far as to say that Tauler clearly taught the

evangelical doctrine of justification.

[479] The Inner Way, p. 57 sqq. 77 sqq.

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� 31. Henry Suso.

Henry Suso, 1295?-1366, a man of highly emotional nature, has on the

one hand been treated as a hysterical visionary, and on the other as

the author of the most finished product of German mysticism. Born on

the Lake of Constance, and perhaps in Constance itself, he was of noble

parentage, but on the death of his mother, abandoned his father's name,

Berg, and adopted his mother's maiden name, Seuse, Suso being the Latin

form. [480] At thirteen, he entered the Dominican convent at Constance,

and from his eighteenth year on gave himself up to the most exaggerated

and painful asceticisms. At twenty-eight, he was studying at Cologne,

and later at Strassburg.

For supporting the pope against Lewis the Bavarian, the Dominicans in

Constance came into disfavor, and were banished from the city. Suso

retired to Diessehoven, where he remained, 1339-1346, serving as prior.

During this period, he began to devote himself to preaching. The last

eighteen years of his life were spent in the Dominican convent at Ulm,

where he died, Jan. 25, 1366. He was beatified by Gregory XVI., 1831.

Suso's constitution, which was never strong, was undermined by the

rigorous penitential discipline to which he subjected himself for

twenty-two years. An account of it is given in his Autobiography. Its

severity, so utterly contrary to the spirit of our time, was so

excessive that Suso's statements seem at points to be almost

incredible. The only justification for repeating some of the details is

to show the lengths to which the penitential system of the Mediaeval

Church was carried by devotees. Desiring to carry the marks of the Lord

Jesus, Suso pricked into his bare chest, with a sharp instrument, the

monogram of Christ, IHS. The three letters remained engraven there till

his dying day and, "Whenever my heart moved," as he said, "the name

moved also." At one time he saw in a dream rays of glory illuminating

the scar.

He wore a hair shirt and an iron chain. The loss of blood forced him to

put the chain aside, but for the hair shirt he substituted an

undergarment, studded with 150 sharp tacks. This he wore day and night,

its points turned inwards towards his body. Often, he said, it made the

impression on him as if he were lying in a nest of wasps. When he saw

his body covered with vermin, and yet he did not die, he exclaimed that

the murderer puts to death at one stroke, "but alas, O tender God, --

zarter Gott,--what a dying is this of mine!" Yet this was not enough.

Suso adopted the plan of tying around his neck a part of his girdle. To

this he attached two leather pockets, into which he thrust his hands.

These he made fast with lock and key till the next morning. This kind

of torture he continued to practise for sixteen years, when he

abandoned it in obedience to a heavenly vision. How little had the

piety of the Middle Ages succeeded in correcting the perverted views of

the old hermits of the Nitrian desert, whose stories this Swiss monk

was in the habit of reading, and whose austerities he emulated!

God, however, had not given any intimation of disapproval of ascetic

discipline, and so Suso, in order further to impress upon his body

marks of godliness, bound against his back a wooden cross, to which, in

memory of the 30 wounds of Christ, he affixed 30 spikes. On this

instrument of torture he stretched himself at night for 8 years. The

last year he affixed to it 7 sharp needles. For a long time he went

through 2 penitential drills a day, beating with his fist upon the

cross as it hung against his back, while the needles and nails

penetrated into his flesh, and the blood flowed down to his feet. As if

this were not a sufficient imitation of the flagellation inflicted upon

Christ, he rubbed vinegar and salt into his wounds to increase his

agony. His feet became full of sores, his legs swelled as if he had had

the dropsy, his flesh became dry and his hands trembled as if palsied.

And all this, as he says, he endured out of the great inner love which

he had for God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, whose agonizing pains he

wanted to imitate. For 25 years, cold as the winter might be, he

entered no room where there was a fire, and for the same period he

abstained from all bathing, water baths or sweat baths--Wasserbad und

Schweissbad. But even with this list of self-mortifications, Suso said,

the whole of the story was not told.

In his fortieth year, when his physical organization had been reduced

to a wreck, so that nothing remained but to die or to desist from the

discipline, God revealed to him that his long-practised austerity was

only a good beginning, a breaking up of his untamed humanity,--Ein

Durchbrechen seines ungebrochenen Menschen,--and that thereafter he

would have to try another way in order to "get right." And so he

proceeded to macerations of the inner man, and learned the lessons

which asceticisms of the soul can impart.

Suso nowhere has words of condemnation for such barbarous self-imposed

torture, a method of pleasing God which the Reformation put aside in

favor of saner rules of piety.

Other sufferings came upon Suso, but not of his own infliction. These

he bore with Christian submission, and the evils involved he sought to

rectify by services rendered to others. His sister, a nun, gave way to

temptation. Overcoming his first feelings of indignation, Suso went far

and near in search of her, and had the joy of seeing her rescued to a

worthy life, and adorned with all religious virtues. Another cross he

had to bear was the charge that he was the father of an unborn child, a

charge which for a time alienated Henry of N�rdlingen and other close

friends. He bore the insinuation without resentment, and even helped to

maintain the child after it was born.

Suso's chief writings, which abound in imagery and comparisons drawn

from nature, are an Autobiography, [481] and works on The Eternal

Wisdom--B�chlein von der ewigen Weisheit -- and the Truth--B�chlein von

der Wahrheit. To these are to be added his sermons and letters.

The Autobiography came to be preserved by chance. At the request of

Elsbet Staglin, Suso told her a number of his experiences. This woman,

the daughter of one of the leading men of Z�rich, was an inmate of the

convent of Tosse, near Winterthur. When Suso discovered that she had

committed his conversations to writing, he treated her act as "a

spiritual theft," and burnt a part of the manuscript. The remainder he

preserved, in obedience to a supernatural communication, and revised.

Suso appears in the book as "The Servant of the Eternal Wisdom."

The Autobiography is a spiritual self-revelation in which the author

does not pretend to follow the outward stages of his career. In

addition to the facts of his religious experience, he sets forth a

number of devotional rules containing much wisdom, and closes with

judicious and edifying remarks on the being of God, which he gave to

Elsbet in answer to her questions. [482]

The Book of the Eternal Wisdom, which is in the form of a dialogue

between Christ, the Eternal Wisdom, and the writer, has been called by

Denifle, who bore Suso's name, the consummate fruit of German

mysticism. It records, in German, [483] meditations in which use is

made of the Scriptures. Here we have a body of experimental theology

such as ruled among the more pious spirits in the German convents of

the fourteenth century.

Suso declares that one who is without love is as unable to understand a

tongue that is quick with love as one speaking in German is unable to

understand a Fleming, or as one who hears a report of the music of a

harp is unable to understand the feelings of one who has heard the

music with his own ears. The Saviour is represented as saying that it

would be easier to bring back the years of the past, revive the

withered flowers or collect all the droplets of rain than to measure

the love--Minne -- he has for men.

The Servant, after lamenting the hardness of heart which refuses to be

moved by the spectacle of the cross and the love of God, seeks to

discover how it is that God can at once be so loving and so severe. As

for the pains of hell, the lost are represented as exclaiming, "Oh, how

we desire that there might be a millstone as wide as the earth and

reaching to all parts of heaven, and that a little bird might alight

every ten thousand years and peck away a piece of stone as big as the

tenth part of a millet seed and continue to peck away every ten

thousandth year until it had pecked away a piece as big as a millet

seed, and then go on pecking at the same rate until the whole stone

were pecked away, so only our torture might come to an end; but that

cannot be."

Having dwelt upon the agony of the cross and God's immeasurable love,

the bliss of heaven and the woes of hell, Suso proceeds to set forth

the dignity of suffering. He had said in his Autobiography that "every

lover is a martyr," [484] and here the Eternal Wisdom declares that if

all hearts were become one heart, that heart could not bear the least

reward he has chosen to give in eternity as a compensation for the

least suffering endured out of love for himself .... This is an eternal

law of nature that what is true and good must be harvested with sorrow.

There is nothing more joyous than to have endured suffering. Suffering

is short pain and prolonged joy. Suffering gives pain here and

blessedness hereafter. Suffering destroys suffering--Leiden t�dtet

Leiden. Suffering exists that the sufferer may not suffer. He who could

weigh time and eternity in even balances would rather he in a glowing

oven for a hundred years than to miss in eternity the least reward

given for the least suffering, for the suffering in the oven would have

an end, but the reward is forever.

After dwelling upon the advantages of contemplation as the way of

attaining to the heavenly life, the Eternal Wisdom tells Suso how to

die both the death of the body and the soul; namely, by penance and by

self-detachment from all the things of the earth--Entbrechen von allen

Dingen. An unconverted man is introduced in the agonies of dying. His

hands grow cold, his face pales, his eyes begin to lose their sight.

The prince of terrors wrestles with his heart and deals it hard blows.

The chill sweat of death creeps over his body and starts haggard fears.

"O angry countenance of the severe Judge, how sharp are thy judgments!"

he exclaims. In imagination, or with real sight, he beholds the host of

black Moors approaching to see whether he belongs to them, and then the

beasts of hell surrounding him. He sees the hot flames rising up above

the denizens of purgatory, and hears them cry out that the least of

their tortures is greater than the keenest suffering endured by martyr

on the earth. And that a day there is as a hundred years. They exclaim,

"Now we roast, now we simmer and now we cry out in vain for help." The

dying man then passes into the other world, calling out for help to the

friends whom he had treated well on the earth, but in vain.

The treatise, which closes with excellent admonitions on the duty of

praising God continually, makes a profound spiritual impression, but it

presents only one side of the spiritual life, and needs to be

supplemented and expurgated in order to present a proper picture.

Christ came into the world that we might have everlasting life now, and

that we might have abundance of life, and that his joy might remain in

us and our joy might be full. The patient endurance of suffering

purifies the soul and the countenance, but suffering is not to be

counted as always having a sanctifying power, much less is it to be

courted. Macerations have no virtue of themselves, and patience in

enduring pain is only one of the Christian virtues, and not their

crown. Love, which is the bond of perfectness, finds in a cheerful

spirit, in hearty human fellowships and in well-doing also, its

ministries. The mediaeval type of piety turned the earth into a vale of

tears. It was cloistral. For nearly 30 years, as Suso tells us, he

never once broke through the rule of silence at table. [485] Innocent

III. could write, just before becoming world-ruler, a treatise on the

contempt of the world. The piety of the modern Church is of a cheerful

type, and sees good everywhere in this world which God created. Suso's

piety was what the Germans have called the mysticism of suffering--die

Mystik des Leidens. His way of self-inflicted torture was the wrong

way. In going, however, with Suso we will not fail to reach some of the

heights of religious experience and to find nearness to God.

Suso kept company with the Friends of God, and acknowledged his debt to

Eckart, "the high teacher," "his high and holy master," from whose

"sweet teachings he had taken deep draughts." As he says in his

Autobiography, he went to Eckart in a time of spiritual trial, and was

helped by him out of the hell of distress into which he had fallen. He

uses some of Eckart's distinctive vocabulary, and after the Cologne

rnystic's death, Suso saw him "in exceeding glory" and was admonished

by him to submission. This quality forms the subject of Suso's Book on

the Truth, which in part was meant to be a defence of his spiritual

teacher.

A passage bearing on the soul's union with Christ will serve as a

specimen of Suso's tropical style, and may fitly close this chapter.

The soul, so the Swiss mystic represents Christ as saying--

"the soul that would find me in the inner closet of a consecrated and

self-detached life,--abgeschiedenes Leben,--and would partake of my

sweetness, must first be purified from evil and adorned with virtues,

be decked with the red roses of passionate love, with the beautiful

violets of meek submission, and must be strewn with the white lilies of

purity. It shall embrace me with its arms, excluding all other loves,

for these I shun and flee as the bird does the cage. This soul shall

sing to me the song of Zion, which means passionate love combined with

boundless praise. Then I will embrace it and it shall lean upon my

heart." [486]

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[480] Bihlmeyer, p. 65, decides for 1295 as the probable date of Suso's

birth. Other writers put it forward to 1300.

[481] It contains 53 chapters. Diepenbrock's ed., pp. 137-306;

Bihlmeyer's ed., pp. 1-195. Diepenbrock's edition has the advantage for

the modern reader of being transmuted into modern German.

[482] A translation of these definitions is given by Inge, in

Light,Life and Love, pp. 66-82..

[483] Suso made a revision of his work in Latin under the title

Horologium eternoe sapientiae, a copy of which Tauler seems to have had

in his possession. Preger, II. 324

[484] Bihlmeyer's ed., p. 13.

[485] Autobiog., ch. XIV, Bihlmeyer's, ed., p. 38

[486] Von der ewigen Weisheit, Bihlmeyer's ed., p. 296 sq.

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� 32. The Friends of God.

The Friends of God attract our interest both by the suggestion of

religious fervor involved in their name and the respect with which the

prominent mystics speak of them. They are frequently met within the

writings of Eckart, Tauler, Suso, and Ruysbroeck, as well as in the

pages of other writers of the fourteenth century. Much mystery

surrounds them, and efforts have failed to define with precision their

teachings, numbers and influence. The name had been applied to the

Waldenses, [487] but in the fourteenth century it came to be a

designation for coteries of pietists scattered along the Rhine, from

Basel to Strassburg and to the Netherlands, laymen and priests who felt

spiritual longings the usual church services did not satisfy. They did

not constitute an organized sect. They were addicted to the study of

the Scriptures, and sought close personal fellowship with God. They

laid stress upon a godly life and were bent on the propagation of

holiness. Their name was derived from John 16:15, "Henceforth I call

you not servants, but I have called you friends." Their practices did

not involve a breach with the Church and its ordinances. They had no

sympathy with heresy, and antagonized the Brethren of the Free Spirit.

The little treatise, called the German Theology, at the outset marks

the difference between the Friends of God and the false, free spirits,

especially the Beghards. [488]

A letter written by a Friend to another Friend [489] represents as

succinctly as any statement their aim when it says, "The soul that

loves God must get away from the world, from the flesh and all sensual

desires and away from itself, that is, away from its own self-will, and

thus does it make ready to hear the message of the work and ministry of

love accomplished by our Lord Jesus Christ." The house which Rulman

Merswin founded in Strassburg was declared to be a house of refuge for

honorable persons, priests and laymen who, with trust in God, choose to

flee the world and seek to improve their lives. The Friends of God

regarded themselves as holding the secret of the Christian life and as

being the salt of the earth, the instructors of other men. [490]

Among the leading Friends of God were Henry of N�rdlingen, Nicolas of

L�wen, Rulman Merswin and "the great Friend of God from the Oberland."

The personality of the Friend of God from the Oberland is one of the

most evasive in the religious history of the Middle Ages. He is

presented as leader of great personal power and influence, as the man

who determined Tauler's conversion and wrote a number of tracts, and

yet it is doubtful whether such a personage ever lived. Rulman Merswin

affirms that he had been widely active between Basel and Strassburg and

in the region of Switzerland, from which he got his name, the Oberland.

In 1377, according to the same authority, he visited Gregory XI. in

Rome and, like Catherine of Siena, petitioned the pontiff to set his

face against the abuses of Christendom. Rulman was in correspondence

with him for a long period, and held his writings secret until within

four years of his (Rulman's) death, when he published them. They were

17 in number, all of them bearing on the nature and necessity of a true

conversion of heart. [491]

This mystic from the Oberland, as Rulman's account goes, led a life of

prayer and devotion, and found peace, performed miracles and had

visions. He is placed by Preger at the side of Peter Waldo as one of

the most influential laymen of the Middle Ages, a priest, though

unordained, of the Church. After Rulman's death, we hear no more of

him.

Rulman Merswin, the editor of the Oberland prophet's writings, was born

in Stra6sburg, 1307, and died there, 1382. He gave up merchandise and

devoted himself wholly to a religious life. He had undergone the change

of conversion--Kehr. For four years he had a hard struggle against

temptations, and subjected himself to severe asceticisms, but was

advised by his confessor, Tauler, to desist, at least for a time. It

was towards the end of this period that he met the man from the

Oberland. After his conversion, he purchased and fitted up an old

cloister, located on an island near Strassburg, called das gr�ne W�rt,

to serve as a refuge for clerics and laymen who wished to follow the

principles of the Friends of God and live together for the purpose of

spiritual culture. In 1370, after the death of his wife, Rulman himself

became an inmate of the house, which was put under the care of the

Knights of St. John a year later. Here he continued to exhort by pen

and word till his death. He lies buried at the side of his wife in

Strassburg.

Merswin's two chief writings are entitled Das Bannerb�chlein, the

Banner-book, and Das Buch von den neun Felsen, the Nine Rocks. The

former is an exhortation to flee from the banner of Lucifer and to

gather under the blood-red banner of Christ. [492] The Nine Rocks,

written in the form of a dialogue, 1352, opens with a parable,

describing innumerable fishes swimming down from the lakes among the

hills through the streams in the valleys into the deep sea. The author

then sees them attempting to find their way back to the hills. These

processes illustrate the career of human souls departing from God into

the world and seeking to return to Him. The author also sees a

"fearfully high mountain," on which are nine rocks. The souls that

succeed in getting back to the mountain are so few that it seemed as if

only one out of every thousand reached it. He then proceeds to set

forth the condition of the eminent of the earth, popes and kings,

cardinals and princes; and also priests, monks and nuns, Beguines and

Beghards, and people of all sorts and classes. He finds the conditions

very bad, and is specially severe on women who, by their show of dress

and by their manners, are responsible for men going morally astray and

falling into sin. Many of these women commit a hundred mortal sins a

day.

Rulman then returns to the nine rocks, which represent the nine stages

of progress towards the source of our being, God. Those who are on the

rocks have escaped the devil's net, and by climbing on up to the last

rock, they reach perfection. Those on the fifth rock have gained the

point where they have completely given up their own self-will. The

sixth rock represents full submission to God. On the ninth the number

is so small that there seemed to be only three persons on it. These

have no desire whatever except to honor God, fear not hell nor

purgatory, nor enemy nor death nor life.

The Friends of God, who are bent on something more than their own

salvation, are depicted in the valley below, striving to rescue souls

from the net in which they have been ensnared. The Brethren of the Free

Spirit resist this merciful procedure.

The presentation is crude, and Scripture is not directly quoted. The

biblical imagery, however, abounds, and, as in the case of the ancient

allegory of Hermas, the principles of the Gospel are set forth in a way

adapted, no doubt, to reach a certain class of minds, even as in these

modern days the methods of the Salvation Army appeal to many for whom

the discourses of Bernard or Gerson might have little meaning. [493]

Rulman Merswin is regarded by Denifle, Strauch and other critics as the

author of the works ascribed to the Friend of God from the Oberland,

and the inventor of this fictitious personage. [494] The reason for

this view is that no one else knows of the Oberlander and that, after

Rulman's death, attempts on the part of the Strassburg brotherhood to

find him, or to find out something about him, resulted in failure. On

the other hand, it is difficult to understand why Rulman did not

continue to keep his writings secret till after his own death, if the

Oberlander was a fictitious character. [495]

Whatever may be the outcome of the discussion over the historic

personality of the man from the Oberland, we have in the writings of

these two men a witness to the part laymen were taking in the affairs

of the Church.

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[487] Preger, III. 370; Strauch, p. 205.

[488] See Rulman Merswin's condemnation of the Beguines and Beghards in

the Nine Rocks, chs. XIII., XIV.

[489] As printed by Preger, III. 417 sq.

[490] See the last chapter of R. Merswin's Nine Rocks.

[491] The two leading writings are Das Buch ron den zwei Mannen, an

account of the first five years immediately succeeding the author's

conversion, and given in Schmidt's Nic. von Basel, pp. 205-277, and Das

Buch von den f�nf Mannen, in which the Oberlander gives an account of

his own life and the lives of his friends. For the full list of the

writings, see Preger, III. 270 sqq., and Strauch, p. 209 sqq.

[492] See Preger, III. 349 sqq. C. Schmidt gives the test, as does also

Diepenbrock, H Suso, pp. 505-572

[493] l Strauch, p. 208, and others regard Merswin's works as in large

part compilations from Tauler and other writers. Strauch pronounces

their contents garrulous--geschw�tzig. The Nine Rocks used to be

printed with Suso's works. Merswin's authorship was established by

Schmidt.

[494] Rulman hat den Gottesfreund einfach erfunden. Strauch, p. 217.

[495] Preger and Schmidt are the chief spokesmen for the historic

personality of the man from the Oberland. Rieder has recently relieved

Rulman from the stain of forgery, and placed the responsibility upon

Nicolas of L�wen, who entered das gr�ne W�rt in 1366. The palaeographic

consideration is emphasized, that is, the resemblance between Nicolas'

handwriting and the script of the reputed Oberlander.

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� 33. John of Ruysbroeck.

Independent of the Friends of God, and yet closely allied with them in

spirit, was Jan von Ruysbroeck, 1293-1381. In 1350, he sent to the

Friends in Strassburg his Adornment of the Spiritual

Marriage--Chierheit der gheesteleker Brulocht. He forms a connecting

link between them and the Brothers of the Common Life. The founder of

the latter brotherhood, de Groote, and also Tauler, visited him. He was

probably acquainted with Eckart's writings, which were current in the

Lowlands. [496]

The Flemish mystic was born in a village of the same name near

Brussels, and became vicar of St. Gudula in that city. At sixty he

abandoned the secular priesthood and put on the monastic habit,

identifying himself with the recently established Augustinian convent

Groenendal,--Green Valley,--located near Waterloo. Here he was made

prior. Ruysbroeck spent most of his time in contemplation, though he

was not indifferent to practical duties. On his walks through the woods

of Soignes, he believed he saw visions and he was otherwise the subject

of revelations. He was not a man of the schools. Soon after his death,

a fellow-Augustinian wrote his biography, which abounds in the

miraculous element. The very trees under which he sat were illuminated

with an aureole. At his passing away, the bells of the convent rang

without hands touching them, and perfume proceeded from his dead body.

The title, doctor ecstaticus, which at an early period was associated

with Ruysbroeck, well names his characteristic trait. He did not

speculate upon the remote theological themes of God's being as did

Eckart, nor was he a popular preacher of every-day Christian living,

like Tauler. He was a master of the contemplative habit, and mused upon

the soul's experiences in its states of partial or complete union with

God. His writings, composed in his mother-tongue, were translated into

Latin by his pupils, Groote and William Jordaens. The chief products of

his pen are the Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage, the Mirror of

Blessedness and Samuel, which is a defence of the habit of

contemplation, and the Glistening Stone, an allegorical meditation on

the white stone of Rev. 2:17, which is interpreted to mean Christ.

Ruysbroeck laid stress upon ascetic exercises, but more upon love. In

its highest stages of spiritual life, the soul comes to God "without an

intermediary." The name and work of Christ are dwelt upon on every

page. He is our canon, our breviary, our every-day book, and belongs to

Laity and clergy alike. He was concerned to have it understood that he

has no sympathy with pantheism, and opposed the heretical views of the

Brethren of the Free Spirit and the Beghards. He speaks of four sorts

of heretics, the marks of one of them being that they despise the

ordinances and sacraments of the Catholic Church, the Scriptures and

the sufferings of Christ, and set themselves above God himself. He,

however, did not escape the charge of heresy. Gerson, who received a

copy of the Spiritual Marriage from a Carthusian monk of Bruges, found

the third book teaching pantheism, and wrote a tract in which he

complained that the author, whom he pronounced an unlearned man,

followed his feelings in setting forth the secrets of the religious

life. Gerson was, however, persuaded that he had made a mistake by the

defence written by John of Schoenhofen, one of the brethren of

Groenendal. However, in his reply written 1408, he again emphasized

that Ruysbroeck was a man without learning, and complained that he had

not made his meaning sufficiently clear. [497]

The Spiritual Marriage, Ruysbroeck's chief contribution to mystical

literature, is a meditation upon the words of the parable, "Behold, the

bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him." It sets forth three stages

of Christian experience, the active, the inner and the contemplative.

In the active stage the soul adopts the Christian virtues and practises

them, fighting against sin, and thus it goes out "to meet the

bridegroom." We must believe the articles of the Creed, but not seek to

fully understand them. And the more subtle doctrines of the Scripture

we should accept and explain as they are interpreted by the life of

Christ and the lives of his saints. Man should study nature, the

Scriptures and all created things, and draw from them profit. To

understand Christ he must, like Zaccheus, run ahead of all the

manifestations of the creature world, and climb up the tree of faith,

which has twelve branches, the twelve articles of the Creed.

As for the inner life, it is distinguished from the active by devotion

to the original Cause and to truth itself as against devotion to

exercises and forms, to the celebration of the sacrament and to good

works. Here the soul separates itself from outward relations and

created forms, and contemplates the eternal love of God. Asceticism may

still be useful, but it is not essential.

The contemplative stage few reach. Here the soul is transferred into a

purity and brightness which is above all natural intelligence. It is a

peculiar adornment and a heavenly crown. No one can reach it by

learning and intellectual subtlety nor by disciplinary exercises. In

order to attain to it, three things are essential. A man must live

virtuously; he must, like a fire that never goes out, love God

constantly, and he must lose himself in the darkness in which men of

the contemplative habit no longer find their way by the methods known

to the creature. In the abyss of this darkness a light incomprehensible

is begotten, the Son of God, in whom we "see eternal life."

At last the soul comes into essential unity with God, and, in the

fathomless ocean of this unity, all things are seized with bliss. It is

the dark quiet in which all who love God lose themselves. Here they

swim in the wild waves of the ocean of God's being. [498]

He who would follow the Flemish mystic in these utterances must have

his spirit. They seem far removed from the calm faith which leaves even

the description of such ecstatic states to the future, and is content

with doing the will of God in the daily avocations of this earthly

life. Expressions he uses, such as "spiritual intoxication," [499] are

not safe, and the experiences he describes are, as he declares, not

intended for the body of Christian people to reach here below. In most

men they would take the forms of spiritual hysteria and the

hallucinations of hazy self-consciousness. It is well that Ruysbroeck's

greatest pupil, de Groote, did not follow along this line of

meditation, but devoted himself to practical questions of every-day

living and works of philanthropy. The ecstatic mood is characteristic

of this mystic in the secluded home in Brabant, but it is not the

essential element in his religious thought. His descriptions of Christ

and his work leave little to be desired. He does not dwell upon Mary,

or even mention her in his chief work. He insists upon the works which

proceed from genuine love to God. The chapter may be closed with two

quotations:--

"Even devotion must give way to a work of love to the spiritual and to

the physical man. For even should one rise in prayer higher than Peter

or Paul, and hear that a poor man needed a drink of water, he would

have to cease from the devotional exercise, sweet though it were, and

do the deed of love. It is well pleasing to God that we leave Him in

order to help His members. In this sense the Apostle was willing to be

banished from Christ for his brethren's sake."

"Always before thou retire at night, read three books, which thou

oughtest always to have with thee. The first is an old, gray, ugly

volume, written over with black ink. The second is white and

beautifully written in red, and the third in glittering gold letters.

First read the old volume. That means, consider thine own past life,

which is full of sins and errors, as are the lives of all men. Retire

within thyself and read the book of conscience, which will be thrown

open at the last judgment of Christ. Think over how badly thou hast

lived, how negligent thou hast been in thy words, deeds, wishes and

thoughts. Cast down thy eyes and cry, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.'

Then God will drive away fear and anxious concern and will give thee

hope and faith. Then lay the old book aside and go and fetch from

memory the white book. This is the guileless life of Christ, whose soul

was pure and whose guileless body was bruised with stripes and marked

with rose-red, precious blood. These are the letters which show his

real love to us. Look at them with deep emotion and thank him that, by

his death, he has opened to thee the gate of heaven. And finally lift

up thine eyes on high and read the third book, written in golden

script; that is, consider the glory of the life eternal, in Comparison

with which the earthly vanishes away as the light of the candle before

the splendor of the sun at midday." [500]

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[496] The extent to which Eckart influenced the mystics of the Lowlands

is a matter of dispute. The clergy strove to keep his works from

circulation. Langenberg, p. 181, quotes Gerherd Zerbold von Z�tphen's,

d. 1398, tract, De libris Teutonicalibus which takes the position that,

while wholesome books might be read in the vulgar tongue, Eckart's

works and sermons were exceedingly pernicious, and not to be read by

the laity. Langenberg, pp. 184-204, gives descriptions and excerpts

from four MSS. of Eckart's writings in Low German, copied in the

convent of Nazareth, near Bredevoorde, and now preserved in the royal

library of Berlin, but they do not give Eckart as the author.

[497] Engelhardt, pp. 265-297, gives a full statement of the

controversy. For Gerson's letters to Bartholomew and Schoenhofen and

Schoenhofen's letter, see Du Pin, Works of Gerson, pp. 29-82.

Maeterlinck, p. 4, refers to the difficulty certain passages in

Ruysbroeck's writings offer to the interpreter.

[498] I have followed the German text given by Lambert, pp. 3-160.

Selections, well translated into English, are given in Light, Life and

Love.

[499] See Lambert, pp. 62, 63, etc.

[500] Quoted by Galle, pp. 184-224.

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� 34. Gerrit de Groote and the Brothers of the Common Life.

It was fortunate for the progress of religion, that mysticism in

Holland and Northwestern Germany did not confine itself to the channel

into which it had run at Groenendal. In the latter part of the

fourteenth century, and before Ruysbroeck's death, it associated with

itself practical philanthropic activities under the leadership of

Gerrit Groote, 1340-1384, and Florentius Radewyn, 1350-1400, who had

finished his studies in Prag. They were the founders of the Windesheim

Congregation and the genial company known as the Brothers of the Common

Life, called also the Brothers of the New Devotion. To the effort to

attain to union with God they gave a new impulse by insisting that men

imitate the conduct of Christ. [501] Originating in Holland, they

spread along the Rhine and into Central Germany.

Groote was born at Deventer, where his father had been burgomaster.

After studying at Paris, he taught at Cologne, and received the

appointment of canon, enjoying at least two church livings, one at

Utrecht and one at Aachen. He lived the life of a man of the world

until he experienced a sudden conversion through the influence of a

friend, Henry of Kolcar, a Carthusian prior. He renounced his

ecclesiastical livings and visited Ruysbroeck, being much influenced by

him. Thomas � Kempis remarks that Groote could say, after his visits to

Ruysbroeck, "Thy wisdom and knowledge are greater than the report which

I heard in my own country."

At forty he began preaching. Throngs gathered to hear him in the

churches and churchyards of Deventer, Zwolle, Leyden and other chief

towns of the Lowlands. [502] Often he preached three times a day. His

success stirred up the Franciscans, who secured from the bishop of

Utrecht an inhibition of preaching by laymen. Groote came under this

restriction, as he was not ordained. An appeal was made to Urban VI.,

but the pope put himself on the side of the bishop. Groote died in

1384, before the decision was known.

Groote strongly denounced the low morals of the clergy, but seems not

to have opposed any of the doctrines of the Church. He fasted, attended

mass, laid stress upon prayer and alms, and enforced these lessons by

his own life. To quote an old writer, he taught by living

righteously--docuit sancte vivendo. In 1374, he gave the house he had

inherited from his father at Deventer as a home for widows and

unmarried women. Without taking vows, the inmates were afforded an

opportunity of retirement and a life of religious devotion and good

works. They were to support themselves by weaving, spinning, sewing,

nursing and caring for the sick. They were at liberty to leave the

community whenever they chose. John Brinkerinck further developed the

idea of the female community.

The origin of the Brothers of the Common Life was on this wise. After

the inhibition of lay preaching, Groote settled down at Deventer,

spending much time in the house of Florentius Radewyn. He had employed

young priests to copy manuscripts. At Radewyn's suggestion they were

united into a community, and agreed to throw their earnings into a

common fund. After Groote's death, the community received a more

distinct organization through Radewyn. Other societies were established

after the model of the Deventer house, which was called "the rich

brother house,"--het rijke fraterhuis,--as at Zwolle, Delft, Li�ge,

Ghent, Cologne, M�nster, Marburg and Rostock, many of them continuing

strong till the Reformation. [503]

A second branch from the same stock, the canons Regular of St.

Augustine, established by the influence of Radewyn and other friends

and pupils of Groote, had as their chief houses Windesheim, dedicated

1387, and Mt. St. Agnes, near Zwolle. These labored more within the

convent, the Brothers of the Common Life outside of it.

The Brotherhood of the Common Life never reached the position of an

order sanctioned by Church authority. Its members, including laymen as

well as clerics, took no irrevocable vow, and were at liberty to

withdraw when they pleased. They were opposed to the Brethren of the

Free Spirit, and were free from charges of looseness in morals and

doctrine. Like their founder, they renounced worldly goods and remained

unmarried. They supported the houses by their own toil. [504]

To gardening, making clothes and other occupations pertaining to the

daily life, they added preaching, conducting schools and copying

manuscripts. Groote was an ardent lover of books, and had many

manuscripts copied for his library. Among these master copyists was

Thomas � Kempis. Classical authors as well as writings of the Fathers

and books of Scripture were transcribed. Selections were also made from

these authors in distinct volumes, called ripiaria -- little river

banks. At Liege they were so diligent as copyists as to receive the

name Broeders van de penne, Brothers of the Quill. Of Groote, Thomas �

Kempis reports that he had a chest filled with the best books standing

near his dining table, so that, if a course did not please him, he

might reach over to them and give his friends a cup for their souls. He

carried books about with him on his preaching tours. Objection was here

and there made to the possession of so many books, where they might

have been sold and the proceeds given to the poor. [505] Translations

also were made of the books of Scripture and other works. Groote

translated the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Office for the Dead and

certain Devotions to Mary. The houses were not slow in adopting type,

and printing establishments are mentioned in connection with Maryvale,

near Geissenheim, Windesheim, Herzogenbusch, Rostock, Louvaine and

other houses.

The schools conducted by the Brothers of the Common Life, intended

primarily for clerics, have a distinguished place in the history of

education. Seldom, if ever before, had so much attention been paid to

the intellectual and moral training of youth. Not only did the

Brothers, have their own schools. They labored also in schools already

established. Long lists of the teachers are still extant. Their school

at Herzogenbusch had at one time 1200 scholars, and put Greek into its

course at its very start, 1424. The school at Li�ge in 1524 had 1600

scholars. [506] The school at Deventer acquired a place among the

notable grammar schools of history, and trained Nicolas of Cusa, Thomas

� Kempis, John Wessel and Erasmus, who became an inmate of the

institution, 1474, and learned Greek from one of its teachers, Synthis.

Making the mother-tongue the chief vehicle of education, these schools

sent out the men who are the fathers of the modern literature of

Northwestern Germany and the Lowlands, and prepared the soil for the

coming Reformation.

Scarcely less influential was the public preaching of the Brethren in

the vernacular, and the collations, or expositions of Scripture, given

to private circles in their own houses. Groote went to the Scriptures,

so Thomas � Kempis says, as to a well of life. Of John Celle, d. 1417,

the zealous rector of the Zwolle school, the same biographer writes:

"He frequently expounded to the pupils the Holy Scriptures, impressing

upon them their authority and stirring them up to diligence in writing

out the sayings of the saints. He also taught them to sing accurately,

and sedulously to attend church, to honor God's ministers and to pray

often." [507] Celle himself played on the organ.

The central theme of their study was the person and life of Christ.

"Let the root of thy study," said Groote, "and the mirror of thy life

be primarily the Gospel, for therein is the life of Christ portrayed."

[508] A period of each day was set apart for reflection on some special

religious subject,--Sunday on heaven, Monday on death, Tuesday on the

mercies of God, Wednesday on the last judgment, Thursday on the pains

of hell, Friday on the Lord's passion and Saturday on sins. They laid

more stress upon inward purity and rectitude than upon outward

conformities to ritual. [509]

The excellent people joined the other mystics of the fourteenth century

in loosening the hold of scholasticism and sacerdotalism, those two

master forces of the Middle Ages. [510] They gave emphasis to the ideas

brought out strongly from other quarters,--the heretical sects and such

writers as Marsiglius of Padua,--the idea of the dignity of the layman,

and that monastic vows are not the condition of pure religious

devotion. They were the chief contributors to the vigorous religious

current which was flowing through the Lowlands. Popular religious

literature was in circulation. Manuals of devotion were current,

cordials and praecordials for the soul's needs. Written codes of rules

for laymen were passed from hand to hand, giving directions for their

conduct at home and abroad. Religious poems in the vernacular, such as

the poem on the wise and foolish virgins, carried biblical truth.

Van viff juncfrou wen de wis weren

Unde van vif dwasen wilt nu hir leren.

Some of these were translations from Bernard's Jesu dulcis memoria, and

some condemned festivities like the Maypole and the dance. [511]

Eugene IV., Pius II., and Sistus IV. gave the Brothers marks of their

approval, and the great teachers, Cardinal Cusa, D'Ailly and John

Gerson spoke in their praise. There were, however, detractors, such as

Grabon, a Saxon Dominican who presented, in the last days of the

Council of Constance, 1418, no less than twenty-five charges against

them. The substance of the charges was that the highest religious life

may not be lived apart from the orders officially sanctioned by the

Church. A commission appointed by Martin V., to which Gerson and

D'Ailly belonged, reported adversely, and Grabon was obliged to

retract. The commission adduced the fact that there was no monastic

body in Jerusalem when the primitive Church practised community of

goods, and that conventual walls and vows are not essential to the

highest religious life. Otherwise the pope, the cardinals and the

prelates themselves would not be able to attain to the highest reach of

religious experience. [512]

With the Reformation, the distinct mission of the Brotherhood was at an

end, and many of the communities fell in with the new movement. As for

the houses which maintained their old rules, Luther felt a warm

interest in them. When, in 1532, the Council of Hervord in Westphalia

was proposing to abolish the local sister and brother houses, the

Reformer wrote strongly against the proposal as follows: "Inasmuch as

the Brothers and Sisters, who were the first to start the Gospel among

you, lead a creditable life, and have a decent and well-behaved

community, and faithfully teach and hold the pure Word, such

monasteries and brother-houses please me beyond measure." On two other

occasions, he openly showed his interest in the brotherhood of which

Groote was the founder. [513]

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[501] See Grube, Gerh. Groot, p. 9; Langenberg, p. ix; Pastor, I. 150.

The Latin titles of the brotherhood were fratres vitae communis,

fratres modernae devotionis, fratres bonae voluntatis, with reference

to Luke 11:14, and fratres collationari with reference to their habit

of preaching. Groote's name is spelled Geert de Groote, Gherd de Groet

(Langenberg, p. 3), Gerhard Groot (Grube), etc.

[502] The title, hammer of the heretics,--malleus hereticorum,--was

applied to him for his defence of the orthodox teaching. For the

application of this expression, see Hansen, Gesch. des Hexenwahns, p.

361. On Groote's fame as a preacher, see Grube, p. 14 sqq., 23. Thomas

� Kempis vouches for Groote's popularity as a preacher. See Kettlewell,

I. 130-134. Among his published sermons is one against the concubinage

of the clergy--de focaristis. For a list of his printed discourses, see

Herzog, VII., 692 sqq., and Langenberg, p. 35 sqq.

[503] See Grube, p. 88, and Schulze, p. 492 sqq., who gives a succinct

history of 18 German houses and 20 houses in the Lowlands. The last to

be established was at Cambray, 1505.

[504] Writing of Radewyn, Thomas � Kempis, Vita Florentii, ch. XIV.,

says that work was most profitable to spiritual advancement, and

adapted to hold in check the lusts of the flesh. One brother who was

found after his death to be in possession of some money, was denied

prayer at his burial.

[505] Uhlhorn, p. 373, gives the case of such an objector, a certain

man by the name of Ketel of Deventer. Also Langenberg, p. x.

[506] See Schmid, Gesch. d. Erziehung vom Anfang his auf unsere Zeit,

Stuttgart, 1892, II. 164-167; Hirsche in Herzog, II 759; Pastor's high

tribute, I. 152; and Langenberg, p. ix.

[507] Kettlewell, I. 111.

[508] Thos. � Kempis, Vita Gerard. XVIII. 11; Kettlewell I. 166. A life

of a cleric he declared to be the people's Gospel--vita clerici

evangelium populi.

[509] See Langenberg, p. 51.

[510] See Ullman, II. 82, 115 sq. Schulze, p. 190, is not so clear on

this point. Kettlewell, II. 440 says that the Brothers were "the chief

agents in pioneering the way for the Reformation."

[511] See Langenberg. The poem he gives on the dance, 68 sqq., begins--

Hyr na volget eyn lere schone Teghen dantzen unde van den meybome. Here

follows a nice teaching against dancing and the May tree. One reason

given against dancing was that the dancers stretched out their arms,

and so showed disrespect to Christ, who stretched out his arms on the

cross. One of the documents is a letter in which a monk warns his

niece, who had gone astray, against displays of dress and bold

gestures, intended to attract the attention of young men, especially on

the Cathedral Square. With the letter he sent his niece a book of

devotional literature.

[512] Van der Hardt, Conc. Const., III. 107-121, gives Grabon's

charges, the judgments of D'Ailly and Gerson and the text of Grabon's

retraction.

[513] De Wette, Luther's Letters, Nos. 1448, 1449, vol. IV., pp. 358

sqq.

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� 35. The Imitation of Christ. Thomas � Kempis.

... mild saint

� Kempis overmild.

--Lanier.

The pearl of all the mystical writings of the German-Dutch school is

the Imitation of Christ, the work of Thomas � Kempis. With the

Confessions of St. Augustine and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress it

occupies a place in the very front rank of manuals of devotion, and, if

the influence of books is to be judged by their circulation, this

little volume, starting from a convent in the Netherlands, has, next to

the Sacred Scriptures, been the most influential of all the religious

writings of Christendom. Protestants and Catholics alike have joined in

giving it praise. The Jesuits introduced it into their Exercises. Dr.

Samuel Johnson, once, when ill, taught himself Dutch by reading it in

that language, and said of its author that the world had opened its

arms to receive his book. [514] It was translated by John Wesley, was

partly instrumental in the conversion of John Newton, was edited by

Thomas Chalmers, was read by Mr. Gladstone "as a golden book for all

times" and was the companion of General Gordon. Dr. Charles Hodge, the

Presbyterian divine, said it has diffused itself like incense through

the aisles and alcoves of the Universal Church. [515]

The number of counted editions exceeds 2000. The British Museum has

more than 1000 editions on its shelves. [516]

Originally written in the Latin, a French translation was made as early

as 1447, which still remains in manuscript. The first printed French

copies appeared in Toulouse, 1488. The earliest German translation was

made in 1434 and is preserved in Cologne, and printed editions in

German begin with the Augsburg edition of 1486. Men eminent in the

annals of German piety, such as Arndt, 1621, Gossner, 1824, and

Tersteegen, 1844, have issued editions with prefaces. The work first

appeared in print in English, 1502, the translation being partly by the

hand of Margaret, the mother of Henry VII. Translations appeared in

Italian in Venice and Milan, 1488, in Spanish at Seville, 1536, in

Arabic at Rome, 1663, in Arminian at Rome, 1674, and in other

languages. [517]

The Imitation of Christ consists of four books, and derives its title

from the heading of the first book, De imitatione Christi et contemptu

omnium vanitatum mundi, the imitation of Christ and the contempt of all

the vanities of the world. It seems to have been written in metre.

[518] The four books are not found in all the manuscripts nor

invariably arranged in the same order, facts which have led some to

suppose that they were not all written at the same time. The work is a

manual of devotion intended to help the soul in its communion with God.

Its sententious statements are pitched in the highest key of Christian

experience. Within and through all its reflections runs the word,

self-renunciation. Its opening words, "whoso followeth me, shall not

walk in darkness but shall have the light of life," John 8:12, are a

fitting announcement of the contents. The life of Christ is represented

as the highest study it is possible for a mortal to take up. He who has

his spirit has found the hidden manna. What can the world confer

without Jesus? To be without him is the direst hell; to be with him,

the sweetest paradise.

Here are counsels to read the Scriptures, statements about the uses of

adversity and advice for submission to authority, warnings against

temptations, reflections upon death, the judgment and paradise. Here

are meditations on Christ's oblation on the cross and the advantages of

the communion, and also admonitions to flee the vanities and emptiness

of the world and to love God, for he that loveth, knoweth God. Christ

is more than all the wisdom of the schools. He lifts up the mind in a

moment of time to perceive more reasons for eternal truth than a

student might learn over books in ten years. He teaches without

confusion of words, without the clashing of opinions, without the pride

of reputation,--sine fastu honoris,--the contention of arguments. The

concluding words are: "My eyes are unto Thee. My God, in Thee do I put

my trust, O Thou Father of mercies. Accompany thy servant with Thy

grace and direct him by the path of peace to the land of unending

light--patriam perpetuae claritatis."

The plaintive minor key, the gently persuasive tone of the work are

adapted to attract serious souls seeking the inner chamber of religious

peace and purity of thought, but especially those who are under the

shadow of pain and sorrow. The praise of Christ is so unstinted, and

the dependence upon him so unaffected, that one cannot help but feel,

in reading this book, that he is partaking of the essence of the

Gospel. The work, however, presents only one side of the Christian

life. It commends humility, submission, gentleness and the passive

virtues. It does not emphasize the manly virtues of courage and loyalty

to the truth, nor elaborate upon Christian activities to be done to our

fellow-men. To fall in completely with the spirit of Thomas � Kempis,

and to abide there, would mean to follow the best cloistral ideal of

the Middle Ages, or rather of the fourteenth century. Its counsels and

reflections were meant primarily for those who had made the convent

their home, not for the busy traffickers in the marts of the world, and

in association with men of all classes. It leans to quietism, and is

calculated to promote personal piety for those who dwell much alone

rather than to fit men for engaging in the public battles which fall to

men's usual lot. Its admonitions are adapted to help men to bear with

patience rather than to rectify the evils in the world, to be silent

rather than to speak to the throng, to live well in seclusion rather

than set an example of manly and womanly endeavor in the shop, on the

street and in the family. The charge has been made, and not without

some ground, that the Imitation of Christ sets forth a selfish type of

religion. [519] Its soft words are fitted to quiet the soul and bring

it to meek contentment rather than to stir up the combatant virtues of

courage and of assistance to others. Its message corresponds to the

soft glow of the summer evening, and not to the fresh hours filled with

the rays of the morning sun. This plaintive note runs through Thomas'

hymns, as may be seen from a verse taken from "The Misery of this Life"

:--

Most wonderful would it be

If one did not feel and lament

That in this world to live

Is toil, affliction, pain. [520]

Over the pages of the book is written the word Christ. It is for this

reason that Protestants cherish it as well as Catholics. The references

to mediaeval errors of doctrine or practice are so rare that it

requires diligent search to find them. Such as they are, they are

usually erased from English editions, so that the English reader misses

them entirely. Thomas introduces the merit of good works,

transubstantiation, IV. 2, the doctrine of purgatory, IV. 9, and the

worship of saints, I. 13, II. 9, II. 6, 59. But these statements,

however, are like the flecks on the marbles of the Parthenon.

The author, Thomas � Kempis, 1380-1471, was born in Kempen, a town 40

miles northwest of Cologne, and died at Zwolle, in the Netherlands. His

paternal name was Hemerken or H�mmerlein, Little Hammer. He was a

follower of Groote. In 1395, he was sent to the school of Deventer,

under the charge of Florentius Radewyn and the Brothers of the Common

Life. He became skilful as a copyist, and was thus enabled to support

himself. Later he was admitted to the Augustinian convent of Mt. St.

Agnes, near Zwolle, received priest's orders, 1413, and was made

sub-prior, 1429. His brother John, a man of rectitude of life, had been

there before him, and was prior. Thomas' life seems to have been a

quiet one, devoted to meditation, composition and copying. He copied

the Bible no less than four times, one of the copies being preserved at

Darmstadt. His works abound in quotations of the New Testament. Under

an old picture, which is represented as his portrait, are the words,

"In all things I sought quiet, and found it not save in retirement and

in books." [521] They fit well the author of the famous Imitation of

Christ, as the world thinks of him. He reached the high age of

fourscore years and ten. A monument was dedicated to his memory in the

presence of the archbishop of Utrecht in St. Michael's Church Zwolle,

Nov. 11, 1897. The writings of � Kempis, which are all of a devotional

character, include tracts and meditations, letters, sermons, a Life of

St. Lydewigis, a steadfast Christian woman who endured a great fight of

afflictions, and the biographies of Groote, Florentius and nine of

their companions. Works similar to the are his prolonged meditation

upon the Incarnation, and a meditation on the Life and Blessings of the

Saviour, [522] both of which overflow with admiration for Christ.

In these writings the traces of mediaeval theology, though they are

found, are not obtrusive. The writer followed his mediaeval

predecessors in the worship of Mary, of whom he says, she is to be

invoked by all Christians, especially by monastics. [523] He prays to

her as the "most merciful," the "most glorious" mother of God, and

calls her the queen of heaven, the efficient mediatrix of the whole

world, the joy and delight of all the saints, yea, the golden couch for

all the saints. She is the chamber of God, the gate of heaven, the

paradise of delights, the well of graces, the glory of the angels, the

joy of men, the model of manners, the brightness of virtues, the lamp

of life, the hope of the needy, the salvation of the weak, the mother

of the orphaned. To her all should flee as sons to a mother's bosom.

[524]

From these tender praises of Mary it is pleasant to turn away to the

code of twenty-three precepts which the Dutch mystic laid down under

the title, A Small Alphabet for a Monk in the School of God. [525] Here

are some of them. Love to be unknown and to be reputed as nothing. Love

solitude and silence, and thou wilt find great quiet and a good

conscience. Where the crowd is, there is usually confusion and

distraction of heart. Choose poverty and simplicity. Humble thyself in

all things and under all things, and thou wilt merit kindness from all.

Let Christ be thy life, thy reading, thy meditation, thy conversation,

thy desire, thy gain, thy hope and thy reward. Zaccheus, brother,

descend from the height of thy secular wisdom. Come and learn in God's

school the way of humility, long-suffering and patience, and Christ

teaching thee, thou shalt come at last safely to the glory of eternal

beatitude.

NOTE. - The Authorship of the Imitation of Christ. This question has

been one of the most hotly contested questions in the history of pure

literature. National sentiments have entered into the discussion,

France and Italy contending for the honor of authorship with the

Lowlands. The work is now quite generally ascribed to Thomas � Kempis,

but among those who dissent from this opinion are scholars of rank.

Among the more recent treatments of the subject not given in the

Literature, � 27, are V. Becker: L'auteur de l'Imitat. et les documents

n�erlandais, Hague, 1882. Also Les derniers travaux sur l'auteur de

l'Imitat., Brussels, 1889.--Denifle: Krit. Bemerk. zur Gersen-Kempis

Frage, Zeitung f�r kath. Theol., 1882 sq.--A. O. Spitzes: Th. � K. als

schrijver der navolging, Utrecht, 1880. Also Nouvelle d�fense en

r�ponse du Denifle, Utrecht, 1884.--L. Santini: I diritti di Tommaso da

Kemp., 2 vols., Rome, 1879-1881.--F. X. Funk: Gerson und Gersen and Der

Verfasser der Nachfolge Christi in his Abhandlungen, Paderborn, 1899,

II. 373-444.--P. E. Puyol: Descript. bibliogr. des MSS. et des princip.

edd. du livre de imitat., Paris, 1898. Also Pal�ographie, classement,

g�n�alogie du livre de imitat., Paris, 1898. Also L'auteur du livre de

imitat., 2 vols., Paris, 1899.--Schulze's art. in Herzog.--G.

Kentenich: Die Handschriften der Imitat. und die Autorschaft des

Thomas, in Brieger's Zeitschrift, 1902, 18 sqq., 1903, 594 sqq.

Pohl gives a list of no less than 35 persons to whom with more or less

confidence the authorship has been ascribed. The list includes the

names of John Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris; John

Gersen, the reputed abbot of Vercelli, Italy, who lived about 1230;

Walter Hylton, St. Bernard, Bonaventura, David of Augsburg, Tauler,

Suso and even Innocent III. The only claimants worthy of consideration

are Gerson, Gersen, and Thomas � Kempis, although Montmorency is

inclined to advance the claim of Walter Hylton. The uncertainty arises

from the facts (1) that a number of the MSS. and printed editions of

the fifteenth century have no note of authorship; (2) the rest are

divided between these, Gerson, Gersen, � Kempis, Hylton, and St.

Bernard; (3) the MSS. copies show important divergencies. The matter

has been made more difficult by the forgery of names and dates in MSS.

since the controversy began, these forgeries being almost entirely in

the interest of a French or Italian authorship. A reason for the

absence of the author's name in so many MSS. is found in the desire of

� Kempis, if he indeed be the author, to remain incognito, in

accordance with his own motto, ama nesciri, "love to be unknown."

Of the Latin editions belonging to the fifteenth century, Pohl gives 28

as accredited to Gerson, 12 to Thomas, 2 to St. Bernard, and 6 as

anonymous. Or, to follow Funk, p. 426, 40 editions of that century were

ascribed to Gerson, 11 to � Kempis, 2 to Bernard, 1 to Gersen, and 2

are anonymous. Spitzen gives 16 as ascribed to � Kempis. Most of the

editions ascribing the work to Gerson were printed in France, the

remaining editions being printed in Italy or Spain. The editions of the

sixteenth century show a change, 37 Latin editions ascribing the

authorship to � Kempis, and 25 to Gerson. As for the MSS. dated before

1460, and whose dates may be said to be reasonably above suspicion, all

were written in Germany and the Lowlands. The oldest, included in a

codex preserved since 1826 in the royal library of Brussels, probably

belongs before 1420. The codex contains 9 other writings of � Kempis

besides the Imitation, and contains the note, Finitus et completus

MCCCCXLI per manus fratris Th. Kempensis in Monte S. Agnetis prope

Zwollis (finished and completed, 1441, by the hands of brother Thomas �

Kempis of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle). See Pohl, II. 461 sqq. So this

is an autographic copy. The text of the Imitation, however, is written

on older paper than the other documents, and has corrections which are

found in a Dutch translation of the first book, dating from 1420. For

these reasons, Funk, p. 424, and others, puts the MS. back to

1416-1420.

The literary controversy over the authorship began in 1604, when Dom

Pedro Manriquez, in a work on the Lord's Supper issued at Milan, and on

the alleged basis of a quotation by Bonaventura, declared the Imitation

to be older than that Schoolman. In 1606, Bellarmin, in his Descript.

eccles., was more precise, and stated it was already in existence in

1260. About the same time, the Jesuit, Rossignoli, found in a convent

at Arona, near Milan, a MS. without date, but bearing the name of an

abbot, John Gersen, as its author; the house had belonged to the

Benedictines once. In 1614 the Benedictine, Constantius Cajetan,

secretary of Paul V., issued his Gersen restitutus at Rome, and later

his Apparatus ad Gersenem restitutum, in which he defended the

Italian's claim. This individual was said to have been a Benedectine

abbot of Vercelli, in Piedmont, in the first half of the thirteenth

century. On the other hand, the Augustinian, Rosweyde, in his vindiciae

Kempenses, Antwerp, 1617, so cogently defended the claims of � Kempis

that Bellarmin withdrew his statement. In the nineteenth century the

claims of Gersen were again urged by a Piedmontese nobleman, Gregory,

in his Istoria della Vercellese letteratura, Turin, 1819, and

subsequent publications, and by Wolfsgruber of Vienna in a scholarly

work, 1880. But Hirsche and Funk are, no doubt, right in pronouncing

the name Gersen a mistake for Gerson, and Funk, after careful

criticism, declares the Italian abbot a fictitious personage. The most

recent Engl. writer on the subject, Montmorency, p. xiii. says, "there

is no evidence that there was ever an abbot of Vercelli by the name of

Gersen."

The claims of John Gerson are of a substantial character, and France

was not slow in coming to the chancellor's defence. An examination of

old MSS., made in Paris, had an uncertain issue, so that, in 1640,

Richelieu's splendid edition of the Imitation was sent forth without an

author's name. The French parliament, however, in 1652, ordered the

book printed under the name of � Kempis. The matter was not settled

and, at three gatherings, 1671, 1674, 1687, instituted by Mabillon, a

fresh examination of MSS. was made, with the result that the case went

against � Kempis. Later, Du Pin, after a comparison of Gerson's

writings with the Imitation, concluded that it was impossible to decide

with certainty between these two writers and Gersen. (See his 2d ed. of

Gerson's Works, 1728, I. lix-lxxxiv) but in a special work. Amsterdam,

1706, he had decided in favor of the Dutchman. French editions of the

Imitation continued to be issued under the name of Gerson, as, for

example, those of Erhard-Mezler, 1724, and Vollardt, 1758. On the other

hand, the Augustinian, Amort, defended the � Kempis authorship in his

Informatio de statu controversiae, Augsburg, 1728, and especially in

his Scutum Kempense, Cologne, 1728. After the unfavorable statement of

Schwab, Life of Gerson, 1858, pp. 782-786, declaring that the Imitation

is in an altogether different style from Gerson's works, the theory of

the Gerson authorship seemed to be finally abandoned. The first

collected edition of Gerson's Works, 1483, knows nothing about the

Imitation. Nor did Gerson's brother, prior of Lyons, mention it in the

list he gave of the chancellor's works, 1423. The author of the

Imitation was, by his own statements, a monk, IV. 5, 11; III., 56.

Gerson would have been obliged to change his usual habit of

presentation to have written in the monastic tone.

After the question of authorship seemed to be pretty well settled in

favor of � Kempis, another stage in the controversy was opened by the

publications of Puyol in 1898, 1899. Puyol gives a description of 548

manuscripts, and makes a sharp distinction between those of Italian

origin and other manuscripts. He also annotates the variations in 57,

with the conclusion that the Italian text is the more simple, and

consequently the older and original text. He himself based his edition

on the text of Arona. Puyol is followed by Kentenich, and has been

answered by Pohl and others.

Walter Hylton's reputed authorship of the Imitation is based upon three

books of that work, having gone under the name De musica ecclesiastica

in MSS. in England and the persistent English tradition that Hylton was

the author. Montmorency, pp. xiv, 138-170, while he pronounces the

Hylton theory of authorship untenable, confesses his inability to

explain it.

The arguments in favor of the � Kempis authorship, briefly stated, are

as follows:--

1. External testimony. John Busch, in his Chronicon Windesemense,

written 1464, seven years before � Kempis' death, expressly states that

� Kempis wrote the Imitation. To this testimony are to be added the

testimonies of Caspar of Pforzheim, who made a German translation of

the work, 1448; Hermann Rheyd, who met Thomas, 1454, and John Wessel,

who was attracted to Windesheim by the book's fame. For other

testimonies, see Hirsche and Funk, pp. 432-436.

2. Manuscripts and editions. The number of extant MSS. is about 500.

See Kentenich, p. 294. Funk, p. 420, gives 13 MSS. dated before 1500,

ascribing the Imitation to � Kempis. The autograph copy, contained in

the Brussels codex of 1441, has already been mentioned. It must be

said, however, the conclusion reached by Hirsche, Pohl, Funk, Schulze

and others that this text is autographic has been denied by Puyol and

Kentenich, on the basis of its divergences from other copies, which

they claim the author could not have made. A second autograph, in

Louvaine (see Schulze, p. 730), seems to be nearly as old, 1420, and

has the note scriptus manibus et characteribus Thomae qui est autor

horum devotorum libellorum, "written by the hand of Thomas," etc.

(Pohl, VI. 456 sq.). A third MS., stating that Thomas is the author,

and preserved in Brussels, is dated 1425.--As for the printed editions

of the fifteenth century, at least 13 present Thomas as the author,

from the edition of Augsburg, 1472, to the editions of Paris, 1493,

1500.

3. Style and contents. These agree closely with � Kempis' other

writings, and the flow of thought is altogether similar to that of his

Meditation on Christ's Incarnation. Spitzen seems to have made it at

least very probable that the author was acquainted with the writings of

Ruysbroeck, John of Schoenhoven, and other mystics and monks of the

Lowlands. Funk has brought out references to ecclesiastical customs

which fit the book into the time between the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries. Hirsche laid stress on Germanisms in the style.

Among recent German scholars, Denifle sets aside � Kempis' claims and

ascribes the work to some unknown canon regular of the Lowlands. Karl

M�ller, in a brief note, Kirchengesch., II. 122, and Loof's

Dogmengesch., 4th ed., p. 633, pronounce the � Kempis authorship more

than doubtful. On the other hand, Schwab, Hirsche, Schulze and Funk

agree that the claims of Thomas are almost beyond dispute. It is almost

impossible to give a reason why the Imitation should have been ascribed

to the Dutch mystic, if he were not indeed its author. The explanation

given by Kentenich, p. 603, seems to be utterly insufficient.

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[514] Art. The Worldly Wisdom of Thos. � Kempis, in Dublin Review,

1908, pp. 262-287.

[515] System. Theol., I. 79. For Gladstone's judgment, see Morley, II.

186. Butler, p. 191, gives a list of 33 English translations from

1502-1900. De Quincey said: "The book came forward in answer to the

sighing of Christian Europe for light from heaven. Excepting the Bible

in Protestant lands, no book known to man has had the same distinction.

It is the most marvellous biblical fact on record." Quoted by

Kettlewell, I.

[516] Backer, in his Essai bibliogr., enumerates 545 Latin editions,

and about 900 editions in French. There are more than 50 editions

belonging to the fifteenth century. See Funk, p. 426. The Bullingen

collection, donated to the city library of Cologne, 1838, contained at

the time of the gift 400 different edd. Montmorenci, p. xxii sq., gives

the dates of 29 edd., 1471-1503, with places of issue.

[517] Corneille produced a poetical translation in French, 1651. A

polyglot edition appeared at Sulzbach, 1837, comprising the Latin text

and translations in Italian, French, German, Greek and English.

[518] Hirsche discovered the rhythm and made it known, 1874.

[519] This is Milman's judgment. Hist. of Lat. Christ., Bk. XIV., 3,

Milman said, "The book's sole, single, exclusive object is the

purification, the elevation of the individual soul, of the man

absolutely isolated from his kind, of the man dwelling alone in the

heritage of his thoughts."

[520] Mirum est, si non lugeat Experimento qui probat Quod vivere in

soeculo Labor, dolor, afflictio Blume and Dreves: Analecta hymnica,

XLVIII. 503. Thomas � Kempis' hymns are given Blume and Dreves, XLVIII.

475-514.

[521] In omnibus requiem quaesivi et non inveni nisi in een huechsken

met een buexken. Franciscus Tolensis is the first to ascribe the

portrait to � Kempis. Kettlewell's statements about � Kempis' active

religious services are imaginary, I. 31, 322, etc. See Lindsay's

statement, Enc. Brit., XIV. 32.

[522] Pohl's ed., II. 1-59; V. 1-363.

[523] De disciplina claustralium, Pohl's ed., II. 313. For prayers to

Mary III. 355-368 and sermons on Mary, VI. 218-238.

[524] Pohl, III. 357; VI. 219, 235 sq.

[525] III. 317-322.

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� 36. The German Theology.

The evangelical teachings of the little book, known as The German

Theology, led Ullmann to place its author in the list of the Reformers

before the Reformation. [526] The author was one of the Friends of God,

and no writing issuing from that circle has had a more honorable and

useful career. Together with the Imitation of Christ, it has been the

most profitable of the writings of the German mystics. Its fame is

derived from Luther's high praise as much as from its own excellent

contents. The Reformer issued two editions of it, 1516, with a partial

text, and 1518, in the second edition giving it the name which remains

with it to this day, Ein Deutsch Theologia -- A German treatise of

Theology. [527] Luther designated as its author a Frankfurt priest, a

Teutonic knight, but for a time it was ascribed to Tauler. The Preface

of the oldest MS., dated 1497, and found in 1850, made this view

impossible, for Tauler is himself quoted in ch. XIII. Here the author

is called a Frankfurt priest and a true Friend of God.

Luther announced his high obligation to the teachings of the manual of

the way of salvation when he said that next to the Bible and St.

Augustine, no book had come into his hands from which he had learnt

more of what God and man and all things are and would wish to learn

more. The author, he affirmed, was a pure Israelite who did not take

the foam from the surface, but drew from the bed of the Jordan. Here,

he continued, the teachings of the Scriptures are set forth as plain as

day which have been lying under the desk of the universities, nay, have

almost been left to rot in dust and muck. With his usual patriotism, he

declared that in the book he had found Christ in the German tongue as

he and the other German theologians had never found him in Greek, Latin

or Hebrew.

The German Theology sets forth man's sinful and helpless condition,

Christ's perfection and mediatorial work and calls upon men to have

access to God through him as the door. In all its fifty-four chapters

no reference is made to Mary or to the justifying nature of good works

or the merit of sacramental observances. [528] It abounds as no other

writing of the German mystics did in quotations from the New Testament.

In its pages the wayfaring man may find the path of salvation marked

out without mystification.

The book, starting out with the words of St. Paul, "when that which is

perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away,"

declares that that which is imperfect has only a relative existence and

that, whenever the Perfect becomes known by the creature, then "the I,

the Self and the like must all be given up and done away." Christ shows

us the way by having taken on him human nature. In chs. XV.-LIV., it

shows that all men are dead in Adam, and that to come to the perfect

life, the old man must die and the new man be born. He must become

possessed with God and depossessed of the devil. Obedience is the prime

requisite of the new manhood. Sin is disobedience, and the more "of

Self and Me, the more of sin and wickedness and the more the Self, the

I, the Me, the Mine, that is, self-seeking and selfishness, abate in a

man, the more doth God's I, that is, God Himself, increase." By

obedience we become free. The life of Christ is the perfect model, and

we follow him by hearkening unto his words to forsake all. This is

nothing else than saying that we must be in union with the divine will

and be ready either to do or to suffer. Such a man, a man who is a

partaker of the divine nature, will in sincerity love all men and

things, do them good and take pleasure in their welfare. Knowledge and

light profit nothing without love. Love maketh a man one with God. The

last word is that no man can come unto the Father but by Christ.

In 1621 the Catholic Church placed the Theologia Germanica on the

Index. If all the volumes listed in that catalogue of forbidden books

were like this one, making the way of salvation plain, its pages would

be illuminated with ineffable light. [529]

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[526] The best German ed., Stuttgart, 1858. The text is taken from

Pfeiffer's ed., Strassburg, 1851, 3d ed. unchanged; G�tersloh, 1875,

containing Luther's Preface of 1518 and the Preface of Joh. Arndt,

1632. Pfeiffer used the MS. dated 1497, the oldest in existence. The

best Engl. trans., by Susannah Winkworth, from Pfeiffer's text, London,

1854, Andover, 1856. The Andover ed. contains an Introd. by Miss

Winkworth, a Letter from Chevalier Bunsen and Prefaces by Canon

Kingsley and Prof. Calvin E. Stowe.

[527] Luther's full title in the edition. of 1518 is Ein Deutsch

Theologia, das ist ein edles B�chlein vom rechten Verstande was Adam

und Christus sei und wie Adam in uns sterben und Christus in uns

erstehen soll. A German theology, that is, a right noble little book

about the right comprehension of what Adam and Christ are, and how Adam

is to die in us and Christ is to arise. Cohrs in Herzog, XIX. 626,

mentions 28 editions as having appeared in High German previous to

1742. Luther's Prefaces are given in the Weimar ed. of his Works, pp.

153, 376-378.

[528] Dr. Calvin E. Stowe said "the book sets forth the essential

principle of the Gospel in its naked simplicity," Winkworth's ed., p.

v.

[529] St�ckl and other Catholics, though not all, are bitter against

the Theologia and charge it with pantheism. Bunsen ranked it next to

the Bible. Winkworth's ed., p. liv.

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� 37. English Mystics.

England, in the fourteenth century, produced devotional writings which

have been classed in the literature of mysticism. They are wanting in

the transcendental flights of the German mystics, and are, for the most

part, marked by a decided practical tendency.

The Ancren Riwle was written for three sisters who lived as anchoresses

at Tarrant Kaines, Dorsetshire. [530] It was the custom in their day in

England for women living a recluse life to build a room against the

wall of some church or a small structure in a churchyard and in such a

way that it had windows, but no doors of egress. This little book of

religious counsels was written at the request of the sisters, and is

usually ascribed to Simon of Ghent, bishop of Salisbury, d. 1315. The

author gives two general directions, namely, to keep the heart "smooth

and without any scar of evil," and to practise bodily discipline, which

"serveth the first end, and of which Paul said that it profiteth

little." The first is the lady, the second the handmaid. If asked to

what order they belonged, the sisters were instructed to say to the

Order of St. James, for James said, "Pure religion and undefiled before

our God and Father is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in their

affliction and to keep one's self unspotted from the world." It is

interesting to note that they are bidden to have warm clothes for bed

and back, and to wash "as often as they please." They were forbidden to

lash themselves with a leathern thong, or one loaded with lead except

at the advice of their confessor. Richard Rolle, d. 1349, the author of

a number of devotional treatises, and also translations or paraphrases

of the Psalms, Job, the Canticles and Jeremiah, suddenly left Oxford,

where he was pursuing his studies, discontented with the scholastic

method in vogue at the university, and finally settled down as a hermit

at Hampole, near Doncaster. Here he attained a high fame for piety and

as a worker of miracles. He wrote in Latin and English, his chief works

being the Latin treatises, The Emendation of Life and The Fervor of

Love. They were translated in 1434, 1435, by Rich Misyn. His works are

extant in many manuscript copies. Rolle exalted the contemplative life,

indulged in much dreamy religious speculation, but also denounced the

vice and worldliness of his time. In the last state of the

contemplative life he represents man as "seeing into heaven with his

ghostly eye." [531]

Juliana of Norwich, who died 1443, as it is said, at the age of 100,

was also an anchoress, having her cell in the churchyard of St.

Julian's church, Norwich. She received 16 revelations, the first in

1373, when she was 30 years old. At that time, she saw "God in a

point." She laid stress upon love, and presented the joyful aspect of

religion. God revealed Himself to her in three properties, life, light

and love. Her account of her revelations is pronounced by Inge "a

fragrant little book." [532]

The Ladder of Perfection, written by Walter Hylton, an Augustinian

canon of Thurgarton, Nottinghamshire, who died 1396, [533] depicts the

different stages of spiritual attainment from the simple knowledge of

the facts of religion, which is likened to the water of Cana which must

be turned into wine, to the last stages of contemplation and divine

union. There is no great excellency, Hylton says, "in watching and

fasting till thy head aches, nor in running to Rome or Jerusalem with

bare feet, nor in building churches and hospitals." But it is a sign of

excellency if a man can love a sinner, while hating the sin. Those who

are not content with merely saving their souls, but go on to the higher

degrees of contemplation, are overcome by "a good darkness," a state in

which the soul is free and not distracted by anything earthly. The

light then arises little by little. Flashes come through the chinks in

the walls of Jerusalem, but Jerusalem is not reached by a bound. There

must be transformation, and the power that transforms is the love of

God shed abroad in the soul. Love proceeds from knowledge, and the more

God is known, the more is He loved. Hylton's wide reputation is proved

by the ascription of Thomas � Kempis' Imitation to him and its

identification in manuscripts with his De musica ecclesiastica. [534]

These writings, if we except Rolle, betray much of that sobriety of

temper which characterizes the English religious thought. They contain

no flights of hazy mystification and no rapturous outbursts of

passionate feeling. They emphasize features common to all the mystics

of the later Middle Ages, the gradual transformation through the power

of love into the image of God, and ascent through inward contemplation

to full fellowship with Him. They show that the principles of the

imitation of Christ were understood on the English side of the channel

as well as by the mystics of the Lowlands, and that true godliness is

to be reached in another way than by the mere practice of sacramental

rites.

These English pietists are to be regarded, however, as isolated figures

who, so far as we know, had no influence in preparing the soil for the

seed of the Reformation that was to come, as had the Pietists who lived

along the Rhine. [535]

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[530] The Ancren Riwle, ed. by J. Morton, Camden series, London, 1853.

See W. R. Inge, Studies in Engl. Mystics, London. 1906. p. 38 sqq.

[531] C. Horstman, Richard Rolle of Hampole, 2 vols. The Early Engl.

Text Soc. publ. the Engl. versions of Misyn, 1896. G. G. Perry edited

his liturgy in the vol. giving the York Breviary, Surtees Soc. The

poem, Pricke of Conscience, was issued by H. B. Bramley, Oxford, 1884.

See Stephen, Dict. Natl. Biog. XLIX. 164-165.

[532] The Revelations of Divine Love has been ed. by R. F. S. Cressy,

London, 1670, reprinted 1843; by H. Collins, London, 1817, and by Grace

Warrack. 3d ed. Lond., 1909. See Inge and Dict. of Natl. Biog.

[533] Written in English, the Ladder was translated by the Carmelite

friar, Thomas Fyslawe, into Latin. Hylton's death is also put in 1433.

[534] The Ladder of Perfection was printed 1494, 1506, and has been

recently ed. by R. E. Guy, London, 1869, and J. B. Dalgairns, London,

1870. See Inge, pp. 81-124; Montmorency, Thomas � Kempis, etc., pp.

138-174; and Dict. of Natl. Biog., XXVI. 435 sqq.

[535] Montmorency, p. 69, makes a remark for which, so far as I know,

there is no corroborative testimony in the writings of the English

Reformers, that "in this English mystical movement--of which a vast

unprinted literature survives--is to be found the origin of Lollardism

and of the Reformation in England."

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CHAPTER V.

REFORMERS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

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For � 39. Church and Society in England, etc.--Thomas Walsingham: Hist.

Anglicana, ed. by Riley, Rolls Ser., London, 1869.--Walter de

Heimburgh: Chronicon, ed. by Hamilton, 2 vols., 1848 sq.--Adam

Merimuth: Chronicon, and Robt. de Avesbury: De gestis mirabilibus

Edwardi III., ed. by Thompson with Introd., Rolls Ser., 1889.--Chron.

Angliae (1326-1388), ed. by Thompson, Rolls Ser., 1874.--Henry

Knighton: Chronicon, ed. by Lumby, Rolls Ser., 2 vols., 1895.--Ranulph

Higden, d. bef. 1400: Polychronicon, with trans. by Trevisa, Rolls

Ser., 9 vols., 1865-1886.--Thos. Rymer, d. 1713: Foedera, Conventiones

et Litera, London, 1704-1715.--Wilkins: Concilia.--W. C. Bliss:

Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to G. Britain and

Ireland, vols. II.-IV., London, 1897-1902. Vol. II. extends from

1305-1342; vol. III., 1342-1362; vol. IV., 1362-1404. A work of great

value.--Gee and Hardy: Documents, etc.--Haddan and Stubbs: Councils and

Eccles. Doc'ts.--Stubbs: Constit. Hist. of Engl., III. 294-387.--The

Histt. of Engl., by Lingard, bks. III., IV., and Green, bk. IV.--Capes:

The Engl. Ch. in the 14th and 15th Centt., London, 1900.--Haller:

Papsttum und Kirchenreform, pp. 375-465.--Jessopp: The Coming of the

Friars.--Creighton: Hist. of Epidemics in England.--Gasquet: The Great

Pestilence, 1893.--Rashdall and others: Histt. of Oxford and

Cambridge.--The Dict. of Nat. Biog.--Also Thos. Fuller's Hist. of Gr.

Brit., for its general judgments and quaint statements.--Loserth:

Studien zur Kirchenpolitik Englands im 14 Jahrh. in Sitzungsberichte d.

kaiserl. Akademie d. Wissenschaften in Wien, Vienna, 1897.--G. Kriehn:

Studies in the Sources of the Social Revol. of 1381, Am. Hist. Rev.,

Jan.-Oct., 1902.--C. Oman: The Great Revolt in 1381, Oxford,

1906.--Traill: Social Engl., vol. II., London, 1894.--Rogers: Six

Centt. of Work and Wages.--Cunningham: Growth of Engl. Industry.

For �� 40-42. John Wyclif.--I. The publication of Wyclif's works

belongs almost wholly to the last twenty-five years, and began with the

creation of the Wyclif Society, 1882, which was due to a summons from

German scholars. In 1858, Shirley, Fasc., p. xlvi, could write, "Of

Wyc's Engl. writings nothing but two short tracts have seen the light,"

and in 1883, Loserth spoke of his tractates "mouldering in the dust."

The MSS. are found for the most part in the libraries of Oxford, Prag

and Vienna. The Trialogus was publ. Basel, 1525, and Wycliffe's Wycket,

in Engl., N�rnberg, 1546. Reprinted at Oxford, 1828.--Latin Works, ed.

by the Wyclif Soc., organized, 1882, in answer to Buddensieg's appeal

in the Academy, Sept. 17, 1881, 31 vols., London, 1884-1907.--De

officia pastorli, ed. by Lechler, Leipzig, 1863.--Trialogus, ed. by

Lechler, Oxford, 1869.--De veritate sac. Scripturae, ed. by Rudolf

Buddensieg, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1904.--De potestate papae, ed. by

Loserth, London, 1907.--Engl. Works: Three Treatises, by J. Wyclffe,

ed. by J. H. Todd, Dublin, 1851.--\*Select Engl. Works, ed. by Thos.

Arnold, 3 vols., Oxford, 1869-1871.--\*Engl. Works Hitherto Unprinted,

ed. by F. D. Matthew, London, 1880, with valuable Introd.--\*Wyclif's

trans. of the Bible, ed. by Forshall and Madden, 4 vols., Oxford,

1850.--His New Test. with Introd. and Glossary, by W. W. Skeat,

Cambridge, 1879.--The trans. of Job, Pss., Prov., Eccles. and

Canticles, Cambridge, 1881.--For list of Wyclif's works, see Canon W.

W. Shirley: Cat. of the Works of J. W., Oxford, 1865. He lists 96 Latin

and 65 Engl. writings.--Also Lechler in his Life of Wiclif, II.

559-573, Engl. trans., pp. 483-498.--Also Rashdall's list in Dict. of

Nat. Biog.--II. Biographical.--Thomas Netter of Walden, a Carmelite, d.

1430: Fasciculi zizaniorum Magistri Joh. Wyclif cum tritico (Bundles of

tares of J. Wyc. with the wheat), a collection of indispensable

documents and narrations, ed. by Shirley, with valuable Introd., Rolls

Ser., London, 1858.--Also Doctrinale fidei christianae Adv. Wicleffitas

et Hussitas in his Opera, Paris, 1532, best ed., 3 vols., Venice, 1757.

Walden could discern no defects in the friars, and represented the

opposite extreme from Wyclif. He sat in the Council of Pisa, was

provincial of his order in England, and confessor to Henry V.--The

contemporary works given above, Chron. Angliae, Walsingham, Knighton,

etc.--England in the Time of Wycliffe in trans. and reprints, Dept. of

Hist. Univ. of Pa., 1895.--John Foxe: Book of Martyrs, London, 1632,

etc.-- John Lewis: Hist. of the Life and Sufferings of J. W., Oxford,

1720, etc., and 1820.--R. Vaughan: Life and Opinions of J. de Wycliffe,

2 vols., London, 1828, 2d ed., 1831.--V. Lechler: J. von Wiclif und die

Vorgesch. der Reformation, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1873.--\*Engl. trans., J.

W. and his Engl. Precursors, with valuable Notes by Peter Lorimer, 2

vols., London, 1878, new edd., 1 vol., 1881, 1884.--\*R. Buddensieg: J.

Wiclif und seine Zeit, Gotha, 1883. Also J. W. as Patriot and Reformer,

London, 1884.--E. S. Holt: J. de W., the First Reformer, and what he

did for England, London, 1884.--V. Vattier: J. W., sa vie, ses oeuvres

et sa doctrine, Paris, 1886.--\*J. Loserth: Hus und Wiclif, Prag and

Leipzig, 1883, Engl. trans., London, 1884. Also W.'s Lehre v. wahrem u.

falschem Papsttum, in Hist. Zeitschrift, 1907, p. 237 sqq.--L.

Sergeant: John Wyclif, New York, 1893.--H. B. Workman: The Age of

Wyclif, London, 1901.--Geo. S. Innes: J. W., Cin'ti.--J. C. Carrick:

Wyc. and the Lollards, London, 1908.--C. Bigg, in Wayside Sketches in

Eccles. Hist., London, 1906.--For other Biogg., see Shirley:

Fasciculus, p. 531 sqq.--III. J. L. Poole: W. and Movements for Reform,

London, 1889, and W.'s Doctr. of Lordship in Illustr. of Med. Thought,

1884.--Wiegand: De Eccles. notione quid Wiclif docuerit, Leipzig,

1891.--\*G. M. Trevelyan: Engl. In The Age Of W., London, 2d ed.,

1899.--Powell and Trevelyan: The Peasants' Rising and the Lollards,

London, 1899.--H. F�rstenau: J. von W.'s Lehren v. d. Stellung d.

weltl. Gewalt, Berlin, 1900.--Haddan and Stubbs: Councils and Eccles.

Docts.--Gee and Hardy.--Stubbs: Constit. Hist., III. 314-374.--The

Histt. of Capes, Green and Lingard, vol. IV.--The Histt. of the Engl.

Bible, by Eadie, Westcott, Moulton, Stoughton, Mombert, etc.--Matthew:

Authorship of the Wycliffite Bible, Engl. Hist. Rev., January,

1895.--Gasquet: The Eve of the Reformation, new ed., London, 1905; The

Old Engl. Bible and Other Essays, London, 1908.--R. S. Storrs: J. Wyc.

and the First Engl. Bible in Sermons and Addresses, Boston, 1902. An

eloquent address delivered in New York on the 500th anniversary of the

appearance of Wyclif's New Test.--Rashdall in Dict. of Natl. Biog.,

LXIII. 202-223.--G. S. Innis: Wycliffe Cinti.

For � 43. Lollards.--The works noted above of Knighton, Walsingham,

Rymer's Foedera, the Chron. Angliae, Walden's Fasc. ziz., Foxe's Book

of Martyrs. Also Adam Usk: Chronicle.--Thos. Wright: Polit. Poems and

Songs, Rolls Ser., 2 vols., London, 1859.--Fredericq: Corp. inquis.

Neerl., vols. I.-III.--Reginald Pecock: The Repressor of overmuch

Blaming of the Clergy, ed. by Babington, Rolls Ser., 2 vols., London,

1860.--The Histt. of Engl. and the Church of Engl.--A. M. Brown:

Leaders of the Lollards, London, 1848.--W. H. Summers: Our Lollard

Ancestors, London, 1904.--\*James Gairdner: Lollardy and the Reform. in

Engl., 2 vols., London, 1908.--E. P. Cheyney: The Recantations of the

Early Lollards, Am. Hist. Rev., April, 1899.--H. S. Cronin: The Twelve

Conclusions of the Lollards, Engl. Hist. Rev., April, 1907.--Art.

Lollarden, by Buddensieg in Herzog, XI. 615-626.--The works of

Trevelyan and Forshall and Madden, cited above, and Oldcastle, vol.

XLII. 86-93, and other artt. in Dict. of Nat. Biog.

For �� 44-46. John Huss. -- Hist. et monumenta J. Hus atque Hieronymi

Pragensis, confessorum Christi, 2 vols., N�rnberg, 1558, Frankfurt,

1715. I have used the Frankfurt ed.--W. Flajshans: Mag. J. Hus

Expositio Decalogi, Prag, 1903; De corpore Christi: De sanguine

Christi, Prag, 1904; Sermones de sanctis, Prag, 1908; Super quatuor

sententiarum, etc.--\*Francis Palacky: Documenta Mag. J. Hus, vitam,

doctrinam, causam in Constantiensi actam consilio illustrantia,

1403-1418, pp. 768, Prag, 1869. Largely from unpublished sources.

Contains the account of Peter of Mladenowitz, who was with Huss at

Constance.--K. J. Erben (archivarius of Prag): Mistra Jana Husi sebran�

spisy Czeske. A collection of Huss' Bohemian writings, 3 vols., Prag,

1865-1868.--Trans. of Huss' Letters, first by Luther, Wittenberg, 1536

(four of them, together with an account by Luther of Huss' trial and

death), republ. by C. von K�gelgen, Leipzig, 1902.--Mackenzie: Huss'

Letters, Edinburgh, 1846.--\*H. B. Workman and B. M. Pope: Letters of J.

Hus with Notes.--For works on the Council of Constance, see Mansi, vol.

XXVIII., Van der Hardt, Finke, Richental etc., see � 12.--C. von

H�fler: Geschichtsschreiber der hussitischen Bewegung, 3 vols., Vienna,

1856-1866. Contains Mladenowitz and other contemporary

documents.--\*Palacky, a descendant of the Bohemian Brethren, d. 1876:

Geschichte von B�hmen, Prag, 1836 sqq., 3d ed., 5 vols., 1864 sqq. Vol.

III. of the first ed. was mutilated at Vienna by the censor of the

press (the office not being abolished till 1848), on account of the

true light in which Huss was placed. Nevertheless, it made such an

impression that Baron Helfert was commissioned to write a reply, which

appeared, Prag, 1867, pp. 287. In 1870, Palacky publ. a second ed. of

vol. III., containing all the excerpted parts.--Palacky: Die Vorlaeufer

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3 vols., Leipzig, 1846.--E. H. Gillett, Prof. in New York Univ., d. New

York, 1876: Life and Times of J. Huss, 2 vols., Boston, 1863, 3d ed.,

1871.--W. Berger: J. Hus u. K�nig Sigismund, Augsburg,

1871.--Bonnechose: J. Hus u. das Concil zu Kostnitz, Germ. trans., 3d

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Wratislaw: J. Hus, London, 1882.--\*J. Loserth: Wiclif and Hus, also

Beitr�ge zur Gesch. der Hussit. Bewegung, 5 small vols., 1877-1895,

reprinted from magazines. Also Introd. to his ed. of Wiclif's De

ecclesia. Also art. J. Huss in Herzog, Encyc., VIII. 473-489.--Lechler:

J. Hus, Leipzig, 1890.--\*J. H. Wylie: The Counc. of Constance to the

Death of J. Hus, London, 1900.--\*H. B. Workman: The Dawn of the

Reformation, The Age of Hus, London, 1902.--Lea: Hist. of the Inquis.,

II. 431-566.--Hefele, vol. VII.--\*J. B. Schwab: J. Gerson, pp.

527-609.--Tschackert: Von Ailli, pp. 218-235.--W. Faber and J. Kurth:

Wie sah Hus aus? Berlin, 1907.--Also J. Huss by L�tzow, N. Y., 1909,

and Kuhr, Cinti.

For � 47. The Hussites.--Mansi, XXVII, XXIX.--Haller: Concil.

Basiliense.--Bezold: K�nig Sigismund und d. Reichskriege gegen d.

Husiten, 3 vols., Munich, 1872-1877.--\*Jaroslav Goll: Quellen und

Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der B�hmischen Br�der, 2 vols., Prag,

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� 39. The Church in England in the Fourteenth Century.

The 14th century witnessed greater social changes in England than any

other century except the 19th. These changes were in large part a

result of the hundred years' war with France, which began in 1337, and

the terrible ravages of the Black Death. The century was marked by the

legal adoption of the English tongue as the language of the country and

the increased respect for parliament, in whose counsels the rich

burgher class demanded a voice, and its definite division into two

houses, 1341. The social unrest of the land found expression in popular

harangues, poems, and tracts, affirming the rights of the villein and

serf class, and in the uprising known as the Peasants' Revolt.

The distinctly religious life of England, in this period, was marked by

obstinate resistance to the papal claims of jurisdiction, culminating

in the Acts of Provisors, and by the appearance of John Wyclif, one of

the most original and vigorous personalities the English Church has

produced.

An industrial revolution was precipitated on the island by the Great

Pestilence of 1348. The necessities of life rose enormously in value.

Large tracts of land passed back from the smaller tenants into the

hands of the landowners of the gentry class. The sheep and the cattle,

as a contemporary wrote, "strayed through the fields and grain, and

there was no one who could drive them." The serfs and villeins found in

the disorder of society an opportunity to escape from the yoke of

servitude, and discovered in roving or in independent engagements the

joys of a new-found freedom. These unsettled conditions called forth

the famous statutes of Edward III.'s reign, 1327-1377, regulating wages

and the prices of commodities.

The popular discontent arising from these regulations, and from the

increased taxation necessitated by the wars with France, took the form

of organized rebellion. The age of feudalism was coming to an end. The

old ideas of labor and the tiller of the soil were beginning to give

way before more just modes of thought. Among the agitators were John

Ball, whom Froissart, with characteristic aristocratic indifference,

called "the mad priest of Kent," the poet Longland and the insurgent

leader, Watt Tyler. In his harangues, Ball fired popular feeling by

appeals to the original rights of man. By what right, he exclaimed,

"they, who are called lords, greater folk than we? On what grounds do

they hold us in vassalage? Do not we all come from the same father and

mother, Adam and Eve?" The spirit of individual freedom breathed itself

out in the effective rhyme, which ran like wildfire, --

When Adam delved and Eve span

Who was then the gentleman?

The rhymes, which Will Longland sent forth in his Complaint of Piers

Ploughman, ventilated the sufferings and demands of the day laborer and

called for fair treatment such as brother has a right to expect from

brother. Gentleman and villein faced the same eternal destinies.

"Though he be thine underling," the poet wrote, "mayhap in heaven, he

will be worthier set and with more bliss than thou." The rising sense

of national importance and individual dignity was fed by the victory of

Cr�cy, 1346, where the little iron balls, used for the first time,

frightened the horses; by the battle of Poictiers ten years later; by

the treaty of Br�tigny, 1360, whereby Edward was confirmed in the

possession of large portions of France, and by the exploits of the

Black Prince. The spectacle of the French king, John, a captive on the

streets of London, made a deep impression. These events and the

legalization of the English tongue, 1362, [536] contributed to develop

a national and patriotic sentiment before unknown in England.

The uprising, which broke out in 1381, was a vigorous assertion of the

popular demand for a redress of the social inequalities between classes

in England. The insurgent bands, which marched to London, were pacified

by the fair promises of Richard II., but the Kentish band led by Watt

Tyler, before dispersing, took the Tower and put the primate, Sudbury,

to death. He had refused to favor the repeal of the hated decapitation

tax. The abbeys of St. Albans and Edmondsbury were plundered and the

monks ill treated, but these acts of violence were a small affair

compared with the perpetual import of the uprising for the social and

industrial well-being of the English people. The demands of the

insurgents, as they bore on the clergy, insisted that Church lands and

goods, after sufficient allowance had been made for the reasonable

wants of the clergy, should be distributed among the parishioners, and

that there should be a single bishop for England. This involved a

rupture with Rome. [537]

It was inevitable that the Church should feel the effects of these

changes. Its wealth, which is computed to have covered one-third of the

landed property of the realm, and the idleness and mendicancy of the

friars, awakened widespread murmur and discontent. The ravages made

among the clergy by the Black Death rendered necessary extraordinary

measures to recruit its ranks. The bishop of Norwich was authorized to

replace the dead by ordaining 60 young men before the canonical age.

With the rise of the staples of living, the stipends of the vast body

of the priestly class was rendered still more inadequate. Archbishop

Islip of Canterbury and other prelates, while recognizing in their

pastorals the prevalent unrest, instead of showing proper sympathy,

condemned the covetousness of the clergy. On the other hand, Longland

wrote of the shifts to which they were put to eke out a living by

accepting secular and often menial employment in the royal palace and

the halls of the gentry class.

Parson and parish priest pleyned to the bishop,

That their parishes were pore sith the pestilence tym,

To have a license and a leve at London to dwelle

And syngen there for symonye, for silver is swete.

There was a movement from within the English people to limit the power

of the bishops and to call forth spirituality and efficiency in the

clergy. The bishops, powerful as they remained, were divested of some

of their prestige by the parliamentary decision of 1370, restricting

high offices of state to laymen. The first lay chancellor was appointed

in 1340. The bishop, however, was a great personage, and woe to the

parish that did not make fitting preparations for his entertainment and

have the bells rung on his arrival. Archbishop Arundel, Foxe quaintly

says, "took great snuff and did suspend all such as did not receive him

with the noise of bells." Each diocese had its own prison, into which

the bishop thrust refractory clerics for penance or severer punishment.

The mass of the clergy had little learning. The stalls and canonries,

with attractive incomes, where they did not go to foreigners, were

regarded as the proper prizes of the younger sons of noblemen. On the

other hand, the prelates lived in abundance. The famous bishop of

Winchester, William of Wykeham, counted fifty manors of his own. In the

larger ones, official residences were maintained, including hall and

chapel. This prelate travelled from one to the other, taking reckonings

of his stewards, receiving applications for the tonsure and ordination

and attending to other official business. Many of the lower clergy were

taken from the villein class, whose sons required special exemption to

attend school. The day they received orders they were manumitted.

The benefit of clergy, so called, continued to be a source of injustice

to the people at large. By the middle of the 13th century, the Church's

claim to tithes was extended not only to the products of the field, but

the poultry of the yard and the cattle of the stall, to the catch of

fish and the game of the forests. Wills almost invariably gave to the

priest "the best animal" or the "best quick good." The Church received

and gave not back, and, in spite of the statute of Mortmain, bequests

continued to be made to her. It came, however, to be regarded as a

settled principle that the property of Church and clergy was amenable

to civil taxation, and bishops, willingly or by compulsion, loaned

money to the king. The demands of the French campaigns made such

taxation imperative.

Indulgences were freely announced to procure aid for the building of

churches, as in the case of York Cathedral, 1396, the erection of

bridges, the filling up of muddy roads and for other public

improvements. The clergy, though denied the right of participating in

bowling and even in the pastime of checkers, took part in village

festivities such as the Church-ale, a sort of mediaeval donation party,

in which there was general merrymaking, ale was brewed, and the people

drank freely to the health of the priest and for the benefit of the

Church. As for the morals of the clergy, care must always be had not to

base sweeping statements upon delinquencies which are apt to be

emphasized out of proportion to their extent. It is certain, however,

that celibacy was by no means universally enforced, and frequent

notices occur of dispensations given to clergymen of illegitimate

birth. Bishop Quevil of Exeter complained that priests with families

invested their savings for the benefit of their marital partners and

their children. In the next period, in 1452, De la Bere, bishop of St.

David's, by his own statement, drew 400 marks yearly from priests for

the privilege of having concubines, a noble, equal in value to a mark,

from each one. [538] Glower, in his Vox clamantis, gave a dark picture

of clerical habits, and charges the clergy with coarse vices such as

now are scarcely dreamed of. The Church historian, Capes, concludes

that "immorality and negligence were widely spread among the clergy."

[539] The decline of discipline among the friars, and their rude

manners, a prominent feature of the times, came in for the strictures

of Fitzralph of Armagh, severe condemnation at the hands of Wyclif and

playful sarcasm from the pen of Chaucer. The zeal for learning which

had characterized them on their first arrival in England, early in the

13th century, had given way to self-satisfied idleness. Fitzralph, who

was fellow of Balliol, and probably chancellor of the University of

Oxford, before being raised to the episcopate, incurred the hostility

of the friars by a series of sermons against the Franciscan theory of

evangelical poverty. He claimed it was not scriptural nor derived from

the customs of the primitive Church. For his temerity he was compelled

to answer at Avignon, where he seems to have died about the year 1360.

[540] Of the four orders of mendicants, the Franciscans, Dominicans,

Carmelites and Augustinians, Longland sang that they

Preached the people for profit and themselve

Glosed the Gospel as them good lyked,

For covetis of copis construed it as they would.

Of the ecclesiastics of the century, if we except Wyclif, probably the

most noted are Thomas Bradwardine and William of Wykeham, the one the

representative of scholarly study, the other of ecclesiastical power.

Bradwardine, theologian, phiIosopher, mathematician and astronomer, was

a student at Merton College, Oxford, 1325. At Avignon, whither he went

to receive consecration to the see of Canterbury, 1349, he had a

strange experience. During the banquet given by Clement VI. the doors

were thrown open and a clown entered, seated on a jackass, and humbly

petitioned the pontiff to be made archbishop of Canterbury. This

insult, gotten up by Clement's nephew Hugo, cardinal of Tudela, and

other members of the sacred college, was in allusion to the remark made

by the pope that, if the king of England would ask him to appoint a

jackass to a bishopric, he would not dare to refuse. The sport throws

an unpleasant light upon the ideals of the curia, but at the same time

bears witness to the attempt which was being made in England to control

the appointment of ecclesiastics. Bradwardine enjoyed such an enviable

reputation that Wyclif and other English contemporaries gave him the

title, the Profound Doctor--doctor profundus. [541] In his chief work

on grace and freewill, delivered as a series of lectures at Merton, he

declared that the Church was running after Pelagius. [542] In the

philosophical schools he had rarely heard anything about grace, but all

day long the assertions that we are masters of our own wills. He was a

determinist. All things, he affirmed, which occur, occur by the

necessity of the first cause. In his Nun's Tale, speaking of God's

predestination, Chaucer says:--

But he cannot boult it to the bren

As can the holie doctour, S. Austin,

Or Boece (Boethius), or the Bishop Bradwardine.

Wykeham, 1324-1404, the pattern of a worldly and aristocratic prelate,

was an unblushing pluralist, and his see of Winchester is said to have

brought him in �60,000 of our money annually. In 1361 alone, he

received prebends in St. Paul's, Hereford, Salisbury, St. David's,

Beverley, Bromyard, Wherwell Abergwili, and Llanddewi Brewi, and in the

following year Lincoln, York, Wells and Hastings. He occupied for a

time the chief office of chancellor, but fell into disrepute. His

memory is preserved in Winchester School and in New College, Oxford,

which he founded. The princely endowment of New College, the first

stones of which were laid in 1387, embraced 100 scholarships. These

gifts place Wykeham in the first rank of English patrons of learning at

the side of Cardinal Wolsey. He also has a place in the manuals of the

courtesies of life by his famous words, "Manners makyth man." [543]

The struggles of previous centuries against the encroachment of Rome

upon the temporalities of the English Church was maintained in this

period. The complaint made by Matthew Paris [544] that the English

Church was kept between two millstones, the king and the pope, remained

true, with this difference, however, the king's influence came to

preponderate. Acts of parliament emphasized his right to dictate or

veto ecclesiastical appointments and recognized his sovereign

prerogative to tax Church property. The evident support which the pope

gave to France in her wars with England and the scandals of the Avignon

residence were favorable to the crown's assertion of authority in these

respects. Wyclif frequently complained that the pope and cardinals were

"in league with the enemies of the English kingdom" [545] and the papal

registers of the Avignon period, which record the appeals sent to the

English king to conclude peace with France, almost always mention terms

that would have made France the gainer. At the outbreak of the war,

1339, Edward III. proudly complained that it broke his heart to see

that the French troops were paid in part with papal funds. [546]

The three most important religious acts of England between John's

surrender of his crown to Innocent III. and the Act of Supremacy, 1534,

were the parliamentary statutes of Mortmain, 1279, of Provisors, 1351,

and for the burning of heretics, 1401. The statute of Mortmain or

Dead-hand forbade the alienation of lands so as to remove them from the

obligation of service or taxation to the secular power. The statute of

Provisors, renewed and enlarged in the acts of Praemunire, 1353, 1390

and 1393, concerned the subject of the papal rights over appointments

and the temporalities of the English Church. This old bone of

contention was taken up early in the 14th century in the statute of

Carlyle, 1307, [547] which forbade aliens, appointed to visit religious

houses in England, taking moneys with them out of the land and also the

payment of tallages and impositions laid upon religious establishments

from abroad. In 1343, parliament called upon the pope to recall all

"reservations, provisions and collations" which, as it affirmed,

checked Church improvements and the flow of alms. It further protested

against the appointment of aliens to English livings, "some of them our

enemies who know not our language." Clement VI., replying to the briefs

of the king and parliament, declared that, when he made provisions and

reservations, it was for the good of the Church, and exhorted Edward to

act as a Catholic prince should and to permit nothing to be done in his

realm inimical to the Roman Church and ecclesiastical liberty. Such

liberty the pope said he would "defend as having to give account at the

last judgment." Liberty in this case meant the free and unhampered

exercise of the lordly claims made by his predecessors from Hildebrand

down. [548] Thomas Fuller was close to the truth, when, defining papal

provisions and reservations, he wrote, "When any bishopric, abbot's

place, dignity or good living (aquila non capit muscas -- the eagle

does not take note of flies) was like to be void, the pope, by a

profitable prolepsis to himself, predisposed such places to such

successors as he pleased. By this device he defeated, when he so

pleased, the legal election of all convents and rightful presentation

of all patrons."

The memorable statute of Provisors forbade all papal provisions and

reservations and all taxation of Church property contrary to the

customs of England. The act of 1353 sought more effectually to clip the

pope's power by forbidding the carrying of any suit against an English

patron before a foreign tribunal. [549]

To these laws the pope paid only so much heed as expediency required.

This claim, made by one of his predecessors in the bull Cupientes, to

the right to fill all the benefices of Christendom, he had no idea of

abandoning, and, whenever it was possible, he provided for his hungry

family of cardinals and other ecclesiastics out of the proverbially fat

appointments of England. Indeed, the cases of such appointments given

by Merimuth, and especially in the papal books as printed by Bliss, are

so recurrent that one might easily get the impression that the

pontiff's only concern for the English Church was to see that its

livings were put into the hands of foreigners. I have counted the

numbers in several places as given by Bliss. On one page, 4 out of 9

entries were papal appointments. A section of 2� pages announces

"provisions of a canonry, with expectation of a prebend" in the

following churches: 7 in Lincoln, 5 in Salisbury, 2 in Chichester, and

1 each in Wells, York, Exeter, St. Patrick's, Dublin, Moray, Southwell,

Howden, Ross, Aberdeen, Wilton. [550] From 1342-1385 the deanery of

York was held successively by three Roman cardinals. In 1374, the

incomes of the treasurer, dean and two archdeaneries of Salisbury went

the same way. At the close of Edward III.'s reign, foreign cardinals

held the deaneries of York, Salisbury and Lichfield, the archdeanery of

Canterbury, reputed to be the richest of English preferments, and

innumerable prebends. Bishops and abbots-elect had to travel to Avignon

and often spend months and much money in securing confirmation to their

appointments, and, in cases, the prelate-elect was set aside on the

ground that provision had already been made for his office. As for sees

reserved by the pope, Stubbs gives the following list, extending over a

brief term of years: Worcester, Hereford, Durham and Rochester, 1317;

Lincoln and Winchester, 1320; Lichfield, 1322; Winchester, 1328;

Carlisle and Norwich, 1825; Worcester, Exeter and Hereford, 1827; Bath,

1829; Durham, Canterbury, Winchester and Worcester, 1334. Provisions

were made in full recognition of the plural system. Thus, Walter of

London, the king's confessor, was appointed by the pope to the deanery

of Wells, though, as stated in the papal brief, he already held a

considerable list of "canonries and prebends," Lincoln, Salisbury, St.

Paul, St. Martin Le Grand, London, Bridgenorth, Hastings and Hareswell

in the diocese of Salisbury. [551] By the practice of promoting bishops

from one see to another, the pope accomplished for his favorites what

he could not have done in any other way. Thus, by the promotion of

Sudbury in 1874 to Canterbury, the pope was able to translate Courtenay

from Hereford to London, and Gilbert from Bangor to Hereford, and thus

by a single stroke he was enriched by the first-fruits of four sees.

In spite of legislation, the papal collectors continued to ply their

trade in England, but less publicly and confidently than in the two

preceding centuries. In 1379, Urban VI. sent Cosmatus Gentilis as his

nuncio and collector-in-chief, with instructions that he and his

subcollectors make speedy returns to Rome, especially of Peter's pence.

[552] In 1375, Gregory XI. had called upon the archbishops of

Canterbury and York to collect a tax of 60,000 florins for the defence

of the lands of the Apostolic see, the English benefices, however, held

by cardinals being exempted. The chronicler Merimuth, in a noteworthy

paragraph summing up the curial practice of foraging upon the English

sees and churches, emphasizes the persistence and shrewdness with which

the Apostolic chair from the time of Clement V. had extorted gold and

riches as though the English might be treated as barbarians. John XXII.

he represents as having reserved all the good livings of England. Under

Benedict XII., things were not so bad. Benedict's successor, Clement

VI., was of all the offenders the most unscrupulous, reserving for

himself or distributing to members of the curia the fattest places in

England. England's very enemies, as Merimuth continues, were thus put

into possession of English revenues, and the proverb became current at

Avignon that the English were like docile asses bearing all the burdens

heaped upon them. [553] This prodigal Frenchman threatened Edward III.

with excommunication and the land with interdict, if resistance to his

appointments did not cease and if their revenues continued to be

withheld. The pope died in 1353, before the date set for the execution

of his wrathful threat. While France was being made English by English

arms, the Italian and French ecclesiastics were making conquest of

England's resources.

The great name of Wyclif, which appears distinctly in 1366, represents

the patriotic element in all its strength. In his discussions of

lordship, presented in two extensive treatises, he set forth the theory

of the headship of the sovereign over the temporal affairs of the

Church in his own dominions, even to the seizure of its temporalities.

In him, the Church witnessed an ecclesiastic of equal metal with Thomas

� Becket, a man, however, who did not stoop, in his love for his order,

to humiliate the state under the hand of the Church. He represented the

popular will, the common sense of mankind in regard to the province of

the Church, the New Testament theory of the spiritual sphere. Had he

not been practically alone, he would have anticipated by more than two

centuries the limitation of the pope's power in England.

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[536] Mandeville composed his travels in 1356 in French, and then

translated out of French into English, that every man of his nation

might understand. Trevisa, writing in 1387, said that all grammar

schools and English children "leaveth French and construeth and

learneth English."

[537] See Kriehn, AmHist. Rev., pp. 480, 483.

[538] Gascoigne, as quoted by Gairdner: Lollardy and the Reform., I.

262.

[539] p. 253

[540] His Defensio curatorum contra eos qui privilegatos se dicunt is

printed in Goldast, II. 466 sqq. See art. Fitzralph, by R. L. Poole,

Dict. of Nat. Biog., XIX. 194-198. Four books of Fitzralph's De

pauperie salvatoris were printed for the first time by Poole in his ed.

of Wyclif's De dominio, pp. 257-477. As for libraries, Fitzralph says

that in every English convent there was a grand library. On the other

hand, the author of the Philobiblion, Rich. de Bury, charges the friars

with losing their interest in books.

[541] Wyclif: De verit. scr., I. 30, 109, etc.

[542] De causa Dei contra Pelagium et de virtute causarum ad suos

Mertinenses, ed. by Sir Henry Saville, London, 1618. For other works,

see Seeberg's art. in Herzog, III. 350, and Stephens in Dict. of Nat.

Biog., VI. 188 sq. Also S. Hahn, Thos. Bradwardinus, und seine Lehre

von d. menschl. Willensfreiheit, M�nster, 1905.

[543] See art. by Tait in Dict. of Nat. Biog., LXIII. 225-231.

[544] Rolls Series, IV. 559.

[545] De eccles., p. 332

[546] Walsingham, Hist. Angl., I. 200 sqq., and the pope's reply, p.

208 sqq. Benedict showed his complete devotion to the French king when

he wrote that, if he had two souls, one of them should be given for

him. Quoted by Loserth, Stud. Zur Kirchenpol., p. 20.

[547] Gee and Hardy, pp. 92-94.

[548] For the text of the parliamentary brief and the king's letter,

which was written in French, see Merimuth, p. 138 sqq., 153 sqq., and

for Clement's reply, Bliss, III., 9 sqq.

[549] See the texts of these statutes in Gee and Hardy, 103 sqq.,

112-123. With reference to the renewal of the act in 1390, Fuller

quaintly says: "It mauled the papal power in the land. Some former laws

had pared the pope's nails to the quick, but this cut off his fingers."

[550] II. 345; III. 54 sq. Prebend has reference to the stipend,

canonry to the office.

[551] Bliss, II. 521. Cases of the payment of large sums for

appointments to the pope and of the disappointed ecclesiastics-elect

are given in Merimuth, pp. 31, 57, 59, 60, 61, 71, 120, 124, 172, etc.,

Bliss and others. Merimuth, p. 67, etc., refers constant]y to the

bribery used by such expressions as causa pecunialiter cognita, and non

sine magna pecuniae quantitate. In cases, the pope renounced the right

of provision, as Clement V., in 1308, the livings held in commendam by

the cardinal of St. Sabina, and valued at 1000 marks. See Bliss, II.

48. For the cases of agents sent by two cardinals to England to collect

the incomes of their livings, and their imprisonment, see Walsingham,

I. 259

[552] Bliss IV. 257.

[553] Inter curiales vertitur in proverbium quod Anglici sunt boni

asini, omnia onera eis imposita et intolerabilia supportantes.

Merimuth, p. 175. To these burdens imposed upon England by the papal

see were added, as in Matthew Paris' times, severe calamities from rain

and cold. Merimuth tells of a great flood in 1339, when the rain fell

from October to the first of December, so that the country looked like

a continuous sea. Then bitter cold setting in, the country looked like

one field of ice.

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� 40. John Wyclif.

"A good man was there of religioun

That was a pore Persone of a town;

But rich he was of holy thought and werk;

He was also a lerned man, a clerk,

That Christes gospel trewly wolde preche.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

This noble ensample to his shepe he gaf,

That first he wrought and after that he taught.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

A better priest I trow that nowhere non is,

He waited after no pompe ne reverence;

Ne maked him no spiced conscience,

But Christes lore and his apostles twelve

He taught, but first he folwed it himselve." [554]

Chaucer.

The title, Reformers before the Reformation, has been aptly given to a

group of men of the 14th and 15th centuries who anticipated many of the

teachings of Luther and the Protestant Reformers. They stand, each by

himself, in solitary prominence, Wyclif in England, John Huss in

Bohemia, Savonarola in Florence, and Wessel, Goch and Wesel in Northern

Germany. To these men the sculptor has given a place on the pedestal of

his famous group at Worms representing the Reformation of the 16th

century. They differ, if we except the moral reformer, Savonarola, from

the group of the German mystics, who sought a purification of life in

quiet ways, in having expressed open dissent from the Church's ritual

and doctrinal teachings. They also differ from the group of

ecclesiastical reformers, D'Ailly, Gerson, Nicolas of Clamanges, who

concerned themselves with the fabric of the canon law and did not go

beyond the correction of abuses in the administration and morals of the

Church. Wyclif and his successors were doctrinal reformers. In some

views they had been anticipated by Marsiglius of Padua and the other

assailants of the papacy of the early half of the 14th century.

John Wyclif, called the Morning Star of the Reformation, and, at the

time of his death, in England and in Bohemia the Evangelical doctor,

[555] was born about 1324 near the village of Wyclif, Yorkshire, in the

diocese of Durham. [556] His own writings give scarcely a clew to the

events of his career, and little can be gathered from his immediate

contemporaries. He was of Saxon blood. His studies were pursued at

Oxford, which had six colleges. He was a student at Balliol and master

of that hall in 1361. He was also connected with Merton and Queen's,

and was probably master of Canterbury Hall, founded by Archbishop

Islip. [557] He was appointed in succession to the livings of

Fillingham, 1363, Ludgershall, 1368, and by the king's appointment, to

Lutterworth, 1374. The living of Lutterworth was valued at �26 a year.

Wyclif occupies a distinguished place as an Oxford schoolman, a

patriot, a champion of theological and practical reforms and the

translator of the Scriptures into English. The papal schism, occurring

in the midst of his public career, had an important bearing on his

views of papal authority.

So far as is known, he confined himself, until 1366, to his duties in

Oxford and his parish work. In that year he appears as one of the

king's chaplains and as opposed to the papal supremacy in the

ecclesiastial affairs of the realm. The parliament of the same year

refused Urban V.'s demand for the payment of the tribute, promised by

King John, which was back 33 years. John, it declared, had no right to

obligate the kingdom to a foreign ruler without the nation's consent.

Wyclif, if not a member of this body, was certainly an adviser to it.

[558]

In the summer of 1374, Wyclif went to Bruges as a member of the

commission appointed by the king to negotiate peace with France and to

treat with the pope's agents on the filling of ecclesiastical

appointments in England. His name was second in the list of

commissioners following the name of the bishop of Bangor. At Bruges we

find him for the first time in close association with John of Gaunt,

Edward's favorite son, an association which continued for several

years, and for a time inured to his protection from ecclesiastical

violence. [559]

On his return to England, he began to speak as a religious reformer. He

preached in Oxford and London against the pope's secular sovereignty,

running about, as the old chronicler has it, from place to place, and

barking against the Church. [560] It was soon after this that, in one

of his tracts, he styled the bishop of Rome "the anti-Christ, the

proud, worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and

cut-purses." He maintained that-he "has no more power in binding and

loosing than any priest, and that the temporal lords may seize the

possessions of the clergy if pressed by necessity." The duke of

Lancaster, the clergy's open foe, headed a movement to confiscate

ecclesiastical property. Piers Ploughman had an extensive public

opinion behind him when he exclaimed, "Take her lands, ye Lords, and

let her live by dimes (tithes)." The Good Parliament of 1376, to whose

deliberation Wyclif contributed by voice and pen, gave emphatic

expression to the public complaints against the hierarchy.

The Oxford professor's attitude had become too flagrant to be suffered

to go unrebuked. In 1377, he was summoned before the tribunal of

William Courtenay, bishop of London, at St. Paul's, where the

proceedings opened with a violent altercation between the bishop and

the duke. The question was as to whether Wyclif should take a seat or

continue standing in the court. Percy, lord marshal of England, ordered

him to sit down, a proposal the bishop pronounced an unheard-of

indignity to the court. At this, Lancaster, who was present, swore he

would bring down Courtenay's pride and the pride of all the prelates in

England. "Do your best, Sir," was the spirited retort of the bishop,

who was a son of the duke of Devonshire. A popular tumult ensued,

Wyclif being protected by Lancaster.

Pope Gregory XI. himself now took notice of the offender in a document

condemning 19 sentences from his writings as erroneous and dangerous to

Church and state. In fact, he issued a batch of at least five bulls,

addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the

University of Oxford and the king, Edward III. The communication to

Archbishop Sudbury opened with an unctuous panegyric of England's past

most glorious piety and the renown of its Church leaders, champions of

the orthodox faith and instructors not only of their own but of other

peoples in the path of the Lord's commandments. But it had come to his

ears that the Lutterworth rector had broken forth into such detestable

madness as not to shrink from publicly proclaiming false propositions

which threatened the stability of the entire Church. His Holiness,

therefore, called upon the archbishop to have John sent to prison and

kept in bonds till final sentence should be passed by the papal court.

[561] It seems that the vice-chancellor of Oxford at least made a show

of complying with the pope's command and remanded the heretical doctor

to Black Hall, but the imprisonment was only nominal.

Fortunately, the pope might send forth his fulminations to bind and

imprison but it was not wholly in his power to hold the truth in bonds

and to check the progress of thought. In his letter to the chancellor

of Oxford, Gregory alleged that Wyclif was vomiting out of the filthy

dungeon of his heart most wicked and damnable heresies, whereby he

hoped to pollute the faithful and bring them to the precipice of

perdition, overthrow the Church and subvert the secular estate. The

disturber was put into the same category with those princes among

errorists, Marsiglius of Padua and John of Jandun. [562]

The archbishop's court at Lambeth, before which the offender was now

cited, was met by a message from the widow of the Black Prince to stay

the proceedings, and the sitting was effectually broken up by London

citizens who burst into the hall. At Oxford, the masters of theology

pronounced the nineteen condemned propositions true, though they

sounded badly to the ear. A few weeks later, March, 1878, Gregory died,

and the papal schism broke out. No further notice was taken of

Gregory's ferocious bulls. Among other things, the nineteen

propositions affirmed that Christ's followers have no right to exact

temporal goods by ecclesiastical censures, that the excommunications of

pope and priest are of no avail if not according to the law of Christ,

that for adequate reasons the king may strip the Church of

temporalities and that even a pope may be lawfully impeached by laymen.

With the year 1378 Wyclif's distinctive career as a doctrinal reformer

opens. He had defended English rights against foreign encroachment. He

now assailed, at a number of points, the theological structure the

Schoolmen and mediaeval popes had laboriously reared, and the abuses

that had crept into the Church. The spectacle of Christendom divided by

two papal courts, each fulminating anathemas against the other, was

enough to shake confidence in the divine origin of the papacy. In

sermons, tracts and larger writings, Wyclif brought Scripture and

common sense to bear. His pen was as keen as a Damascus blade. Irony

and invective, of which he was the master, he did not hesitate to use.

The directness and pertinency of his appeals brought them easily within

the comprehension of the popular mind. He wrote not only in Latin but

in English. His conviction was as deep and his passion as fiery as

Luther's, but on the one hand, Wyclif's style betrays less of the vivid

illustrative power of the great German and little of his sympathetic

warmth, while on the other, less of his unfortunate coarseness. As

Luther is the most vigorous tract writer that Germany has produced, so

Wyclif is the foremost religious pamphleteer that has arisen in

England; and the impression made by his clear and stinging thrusts may

be contrasted in contents and audience with the scholarly and finished

tracts of the Oxford movement led by Pusey, Keble and Newman, the one

reaching the conscience, the other appealing to the aesthetic tastes;

the one adapted to break down priestly pretension, the other to foster

it.

But the Reformer of the 14th century was more than a scholar and

publicist. Like John Wesley, he had a practical bent of mind, and like

him he attempted to provide England with a new proclamation of the pure

Gospel. To counteract the influence of the friars, whom he had begun to

attack after his return from Bruges, he conceived the idea of

developing and sending forth a body of itinerant evangelists. These

"pore priests," as they were called, were taken from the list of Oxford

graduates, and seem also to have included laymen. Of their number and

the rules governing them, we are in the dark. The movement was begun

about 1380, and on the one side it associates Wyclif with Gerrit de

Groote, and on the other with Wesley and with his more recent

fellow-countryman, General Booth, of the Salvation Army.

Although this evangelistic idea took not the form of a permanent

organization, the appearance of the pore preachers made a sensation.

According to the old chronicler, the disciples who gathered around him

in Oxford were many and, clad in long russet gowns of one pattern, they

went on foot, ventilating their master's errors among the people and

publicly setting them forth in sermons. [563] They had the distinction

of being arraigned by no less a personage than Bishop Courtenay "as

itinerant, unauthorized preachers who teach erroneous, yea, heretical

assertions publicly, not only in churches but also in public squares

and other profane places, and who do this under the guise of great

holiness, but without having obtained any episcopal or papal

authorization."

It was in 1381, the year before Courtenay said his memorable words,

that Walden reports that Wyclif "began to determine matters upon the

sacrament of the altar." [564] To attempt an innovation at this crucial

point required courage of the highest order. In 12 theses he declared

the Church's doctrine unscriptural and misleading. For the first time

since the promulgation of the dogma of transubstantiation by the Fourth

Lateran was it seriously called in question by a theological expert. It

was a case of Athanasius standing alone. The mendicants waxed violent.

Oxford authorities, at the instance of the archbishop and bishops,

instituted a trial, the court consisting of Chancellor Berton and 12

doctors. Without mentioning Wyclif by name, the judges condemned as

pestiferous the assertions that the bread and wine remain after

consecration, and that Christ's body is present only figuratively or

tropically in the eucharist. Declaring that the judges had not been

able to break down his arguments, Wyclif went on preaching and

lecturing at the university. But in the king's council, to which he

made appeal, the duke of Lancaster took sides against him and forbade

him to speak any more on the subject at Oxford. This prohibition Wyclif

met with a still more positive avowal of his views in his Confession,

which closes with the noble words, "I believe that in the end the truth

will conquer."

The same year, the Peasants' Revolt broke out, but there is no evidence

that Wyclif had any more sympathy with the movement than Luther had

with the Peasants' Rising of 1525. After the revolt was over, he

proposed that Church property be given to the upper classes, not to the

poor. [565] The principles, however, which he enunciated were germs

which might easily spring up into open rebellion against oppression.

Had he not written, "There is no moral obligation to pay tax or tithe

to bad rulers either in Church or state. It is permitted to punish or

depose them and to reclaim the wealth which the clergy have diverted

from the poor?" One hundred and fifty years after this time, Tyndale

said, "They said it in Wyclif's day, and the hypocrites say now, that

God's Word arouseth insurrection." [566]

Courtenay's elevation to the see of Canterbury boded no good to the

Reformer. In 1382, he convoked the synod which is known in English

history as the Earthquake synod, from the shock felt during its

meetings. The primate was supported by 9 bishops, and when the earth

began to tremble, he showed admirable courage by interpreting it as a

favorable omen. The earth, in trying to rid itself of its winds and

humors, was manifesting its sympathy with the body ecclesiastic. [567]

Wyclif, who was not present, made another use of the occurrence, and

declared that the Lord sent the earthquake "because the friars had put

heresy upon Christ in the matter of the sacrament, and the earth

trembled as it did when Christ was damned to bodily death." [568]

The council condemned 24 articles, ascribed to the Reformer, 10 of

which were pronounced heretical, and the remainder to be against the

decisions of the Church. [569] The 4 main subjects condemned as heresy

were that Christ is not corporally present in the sacrament, that oral

confession is not necessary for a soul prepared to die, that after

Urban VI.'s death the English Church should acknowledge no pope but,

like the Greeks, govern itself, and that it is contrary to Scripture

for ecclesiastics to hold temporal possessions. Courtenay followed up

the synod's decisions by summoning Rygge, then chancellor of Oxford, to

suppress the heretical teachings and teachers. Ignoring the summons,

Rygge appointed Repyngdon, another of Wyclif's supporters, to preach,

and when Peter Stokys, "a professor of the sacred page," armed with a

letter from the archbishop, attempted to silence him, the students and

tutors at Oxford threatened the Carmelite with their drawn swords.

But Courtenay would permit no trifling and, summoning Rygge and the

proctors to Lambeth, made them promise on their knees to take the

action indicated. Parliament supported the primate. The new preaching

was suppressed, but Wyclif stood undaunted. He sent a Complaint of 4

articles to the king and parliament, in which he pleaded for the

supremacy of English law in matters of ecclesiastical property, for the

liberty for the friars to abandon the rules of their orders and follow

the rule of Christ, and for the view that on the Lord's table the real

bread and wine are present, and not merely the accidents. [570]

The court was no longer ready to support the Reformer, and Richard II.

sent peremptory orders to Rygge to suppress the new teachings.

Courtenay himself went to Oxford, and there is some authority for the

view that Wyclif again met the prelate face to face at St. Frideswides.

Rigid inquisition was made for copies of the condemned teacher's

writings and those of Hereford. Wyclif was inhibited from preaching,

and retired to his rectory at Lutterworth. Hereford, Repyngdon, Aston

and Bedeman, his supporters, recanted. The whole party received a

staggering blow and with it liberty of teaching at Oxford. [571]

Confined to Lutterworth, Wyclif continued his labors on the translation

of the Bible, and sent forth polemic tracts, including the Cruciata,

[572] a vigorous condemnation of the crusade which the bishop of

Norwich, Henry de Spenser, was preparing in support of Urban VI.

against the Avignon pope, Clement VII. The warlike prelate had already

shown his military gifts during the Peasants' Uprising. Urban had

promised plenary indulgence for a year to all joining the army. Mass

was said and sermons preached in the churches of England, and large

sums collected for the enterprise. The indulgence extended to the dead

as well as to the living. Wyclif declared the crusade an expedition for

worldly mastery, and pronounced the indulgence "an abomination of

desolation in the holy place." Spenser's army reached the Continent,

but the expedition was a failure. The most important of Wyclif's

theological treatises, the Trialogus, was written in this period. It

lays down the principle that, where the Bible and the Church do not

agree, we must obey the Bible, and, where conscience and human

authority are in conflict, we must follow conscience. [573]

Two years before his death, Wyclif received a paralytic stroke which

maimed but did not completely disable him. It is possible that he

received a citation to appear before the pope. With unabated rigor of

conviction, he replied to the supreme pontiff that of all men he was

most under obligation to obey the law of Christ, that Christ was of all

men the most poor, and subject to mundane authority. No Christian man

has a right to follow Peter, Paul or any of the saints except as they

imitated Christ. The pope should renounce all worldly authority and

compel his clergy to do the same. He then asserted that, if in these

views he was found to err, he was willing to be corrected, even by

death. If it were in his power to do anything to advance these views by

his presence in Rome, he would willingly go thither. But God had put an

obstacle in his way, and had taught him to obey Him rather than man. He

closed with the prayer that God might incline Urban to imitate Christ

in his life and teach his clergy to do the same.

While saying mass in his church, he was struck again with paralysis,

and passed away two or three days after, Dec. 29, 1384, "having lit a

fire which shall never be put out." [574] Fuller, writing of his death,

exclaims, "Admirable that a hare, so often hunted with so many packs of

dogs, should die quietly sitting in his form."

Wyclif was spare, and probably never of robust health, but he was not

an ascetic. He was fond of a good meal. In temper he was quick, in mind

clear, in moral character unblemished. Towards his enemies he was

sharp, but never coarse or ribald. William Thorpe, a young contemporary

standing in the court of Archbishop Arundel, bore testimony that "he

was emaciated in body and well-nigh destitute of strength, and in

conduct most innocent. Very many of the chief men of England conferred

with him, loved him dearly, wrote down his sayings and followed his

manner of life." [575]

The prevailing sentiment of the hierarchy was given by Walsingham,

chronicler of St. Albans, who characterized the Reformer in these

words: "On the feast of the passion of St. Thomas of Canterbury, John

de Wyclif, that instrument of the devil, that enemy of the Church, that

author of confusion to the common people, that image of hypocrites,

that idol of heretics, that author of schism, that sower of hatred,

that coiner of lies, being struck with the horrible judgment of God,

was smitten with palsy and continued to live till St. Sylvester's Day,

on which he breathed out his malicious spirit into the abodes of

darkness."

The dead was not left in peace. By the decree of Arundel, Wyclif's

writings were suppressed, and it was so effective that Caxton and the

first English printers issued no one of them from the press. The

Lateran decree of February, 1413, ordered his books burnt, and the

Council of Constance, from whose members, such as Gerson and D'Ailly,

we might have expected tolerant treatment, formally condemned his

memory and ordered his bones exhumed from their resting-place and "cast

at a distance from the sepulchre of the church." The holy synod, so ran

the decree, "declares said John Wyclif to have been a notorious

heretic, and excommunicates him and condemns his memory as one who died

an obstinate heretic." [576] In 1429, at the summons of Martin IV., the

decree was carried out by Flemmyng, bishop of Lincoln.

The words of Fuller, describing the execution of the decree of

Constance, have engraven themselves on the page of English history.

"They burnt his bones to ashes and cast them into Swift, a neighboring

brook running hardby. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into

Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main

ocean. And thus the ashes of Wicliffe are the emblem of his doctrine,

which now is dispersed the world over."

In the popular judgment of the English people, John Wyclif, in company

with John Latimer and John Wesley, probably represents more fully than

any other English religious leader, independence of thought, devotion

to conscience, solid religious common sense, and the sound exposition

of the Gospel. In the history of the intellectual and moral progress of

his people, he was the leading Englishman of the Middle Ages. [577]

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[554] Often supposed to be a description of Wyclif.

[555] Fasciculi, p. 362.

[556] Leland's Itinerary placed Wyclif's birth in 1324. Buddensieg and

Rashdall prefer 1330. Leland, our first authority for the place of

birth, mentions Spresswell (Hipswell) and Wyclif-on-Tees, places a half

a mile apart. Wyclif's name is spelled in more than twenty different

ways, as Wiclif, accepted by Lechler, Loserth, Buddensieg and German

scholars generally; Wiclef, Wicliffe, Wicleff, Wycleff. Wycliffe,

adopted by Foxe, Milman, Poole, Stubbs, Rashdall, Bigg; Wyclif

preferred by Shirley, Matthew, Sergeant, the Wyclif Society, the Early

English Text Society, etc. The form Wyclif is found in a diocesan

register of 1361, when the Reformer was warden of Balliol College. The

earliest mention in an official state document, July 26, 1374, gives it

Wiclif. On Wyclif's birthplace, see Shirley, Fasciculi, p. x sqq.

[557] A Wyclif is mentioned in connection with all of these colleges.

The question is whether there were not two John Wyclifs. A John de

Whyteclyve was rector of Mayfield, 1361, and later of Horsted Kaynes,

where he died, 1383. In 1365 Islip, writing from Mayfield, appointed a

John Wyclyve warden of Canterbury Hall. Shirley, Note on the two

Wiclifs, in the Fasciculi, p. 513 sqq., advocated the view that this

Wyclif was a different person from our John Wyclif, and he is followed

by Poole, Rashdall and Sergeant. Principal Wilkinson of Marlborough

College, Ch. Quart. Rev., October, 1877, makes a strong statement

against this view; Lechler and Buddensieg, the two leading German

authorities on Wyclif's career, also admit only a single Wyclif as

connected with the Oxford Halls.

[558] So Lechler, who advances strong arguments in favor of this view.

Loserth, who is followed by Rashdall, brings considerations against it,

and places Wyclif's first appearance as a political reformer in 1376.

Studien zur Kirchenpol., etc., pp. 1, 32, 35, 44, 60. A serious

difficulty with this view is that it crowds almost all the Reformer's

writings into 7 years.

[559] John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was the younger brother of the

Black Prince. The prince had returned from his victories in France to

die of an incurable disease.

[560] Chron. Angl., p. 115 sq.

[561] Gee and Hardy, p. 105 sqq.

[562] Fasc., pp. 242-244.

[563] Chron. Angl., p. 395; also Knighton, II. 184 sq.

[564] Fasc., p. 104.

[565] See Trevelyan, p. 199; Kriehn, pp. 254-286, 458-485.

[566] Pref. to Expos. of St. John, p. 225, Parker Soc. ed.

[567] Sicut in terrae visceribus includuntur a�ret spiritus infecti et

ingrediuntur in terrae motum, Fasc., p. 272.

[568] Select Engl. Works, III. 503.

[569] Gee and Hardy, pp. 108-110.

[570] Select Engl. Writings, III. 507-523.

[571] Fasc., pp. 272-333. See Shirley, p. xliv.

[572] Latin Works, II. 577 sqq.

[573] Fasc., p. 341 sq.; Lechler-Lorimer, p. 417, deny the citation.

The reply is hardly what we might have expected from Wyclif, confining

itself, as it does, rather curtly to the question of the pope's

authority and manner of life. Luther's last treatment of the pope, Der

Papst der Ende-Christ und Wider Christ, is not a full parallel. Wyclif

was independent, not coarse.

[574] 2 The most credible narrative preserved of Wyclif's death comes

from John Horn, the Reformer's assistant for two years, and was written

down by Dr. Thomas Gascoigne upon Horn's sworn statement. Walden twice

makes the charge that disappointment at not being appointed bishop of

Worcester started Wyclif on the path of heresy, but there is no other

authority for the story, which is inherently improbable. Lies were also

invented against the memories of Luther, Calvin and Knox, which the

respectable Catholic historians set aside.

[575] Bale, in his account of the Examination of Thorpe, Parker Soc.

ed., I. 80-81. The biographies of Lewis, Vaughan, Lorimer and Sergeant

give portraits of Wyclif. The oldest, according to Sergeant, pp. 16-21,

is taken from Bale's Summary, 1548. There is a resemblance in all the

portraits, which represent the Reformer clothed in Oxford gown and cap,

with long beard, open face, clear, large eye, prominent nose and cheek

bones and pale complexion.

[576] A part of the sentence rans, Sancta synodus declarat diffinit et

sententiat eumdem J. Wicleff fuisse notorium haereticum pertinacem et

in haeresi decessisse ... ordinat corpus et ejus ossa, si ab aliis

fidelibus corporibus discerni possint exhumari et procul ab ecclesiae

sepultura jactari. Mansi, XXVII. 635.

[577] 2 Green, in his Hist. of the Engl. People, passes a notable

encomium on the "first Reformer," and the late Prof. Bigg, Wayside

Sketches, p.131, asserts "that his beliefs are in the main those of the

great majority of Englishmen to-day, and this is a high proof of the

justice, the clearness and the sincerity of his thoughts." The Catholic

historian of England, Lingard, IV. 192, after speaking of Wyclif's

intellectual perversion, refers to him, "as that extraordinary man who,

exemplary in his morals, declaimed against vice with the freedom and

severity of an Apostle."

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� 41. Wyclif's Teachings.

Wyclif's teachings lie plainly upon the surface of his many writings.

In each one of the eminent r�les he played, as schoolman, political

reformer, preacher, innovator in theology and translator of the Bible,

he wrote extensively. His views show progress in the direction of

opposition to the mediaeval errors and abuses. Driven by attacks, he

detected errors which, at the outset, he did not clearly discern. But,

above all, his, study of the Scriptures forced upon him a system which

was in contradiction to the distinctively mediaeval system of theology.

His language in controversy was so vigorous that it requires an unusual

effort to suppress the impulse to quote at great length.

Clear as Wyclif's statements always are, some of his works are drawn

out by much repetition. Nor does he always move in a straight line, but

digresses to this side and to that, taking occasion to discuss at

length subjects cognate to the main matter he has in hand. This habit

often makes the reading of his larger works a wearisome task.

Nevertheless, the author always brings the reader back from his

digression or, to use a modern expression, never leaves him

sidetracked.

I. As a Schoolman.--Wyclif was beyond dispute the most eminent scholar

who taught for any length of time at Oxford since Grosseteste, whom he

often quotes. [578] He was read in Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome and

other Latin Fathers, as well as in the mediaeval theologians from

Anselm to Duns Scotus, Bradwardine, Fitzralph and Henry of Ghent. His

quotations are many, but with increasing emphasis, as the years went

on, he made his final appeal to the Scriptures. He was a moderate

realist and ascribed to nominalism all theological error. He seems to

have endeavored to shun the determinism of Bradwardine, and declared

that the doctrine of necessity does not do away with the freedom of the

will, which is so free that it cannot be compelled. Necessity compels

the creature to will, that is, to exercise his freedom, but at that

point he is left free to choose. [579]

II. As a Patriot.--In this role the Oxford teacher took an attitude the

very reverse of the attitude assumed by Anselm and Thomas � Becket, who

made the English Church a servant to the pope's will in all things. For

loyalty to the Hildebrandian theocracy, Anselm was willing to suffer

banishment and � Becket suffered death. In Wyclif, the mutterings of

the nation, which had been heard against the foreign regime from the

days of William the Conqueror, and especially since King John's reign,

found a stanch and uncompromising mouthpiece. Against the whole system

of foreign jurisdiction he raised his voice, as also against the

Church's claim to hold lands, except as it acknowledged the rights of

the state. He also opposed the tenure of secular offices by the clergy

and, when Archbisbop Sudbury was murdered, declared that he died in sin

because he was holding the office of chancellor.

Wyclif's views on government in Church and state are chiefly set forth

in the works on Civil and Divine Lordship--De dominio divino, and De

dominio civili -- and in his Dialogus. [580] The Divine Lordship

discusses the title by which men hold property and exercise government,

and sets forth the distinction between sovereignty and stewardship.

Lordship is not properly proprietary. It is stewardship. Christ did not

desire to rule as a tenant with absolute rights, but in the way of

communicating to others. [581] As to his manhood, he was the most

perfect of servants.

The Civil Lordship opens by declaring that no one in mortal sin has a

right to lordship, and that every one in the state of grace has a real

lordship over the whole universe. All Christians are reciprocally lords

and servants. The pope, or an ecclesiastical body abusing the property

committed to them, may be deprived of it by the state. Proprietary

right is limited by proper use. Tithes are an expedient to enable the

priesthood to perform its mission. The New Testament does not make them

a rule.

From the last portion of the first book of the Civil Lordship, Gregory

XI. drew most of the articles for which Wyclif had to stand trial. Here

is found the basis for the charge ascribing to him the famous statement

that God ought to obey the devil. By this was meant nothing more than

that the jurisdiction of every lawful proprietor should be recognized.

III. As a Preacher.--Whether we regard Wyclif's constant activity in

the pulpit, or the impression his sermons made, he must be pronounced

by far the most notable of English preachers prior to the Reformation.

[582] 294 of his English sermons and 224 of his Latin sermons have been

preserved. To these discourses must be added his English expositions of

the Lord's prayer, the songs of the Bible, the seven deadly sins and

other subjects. With rare exceptions, the sermons are based upon

passages of the New Testament.

The style of the English discourses is simple and direct. No more

plainly did Luther preach against ecclesiastical abuses than did the

English Reformer. On every page are joined with practical religious

exposition stirring passages rebuking the pope and worldly prelates.

They are denounced as anti-christ and the servants of the devil--the

fiend--as they turn away from the true work of pasturing Christ's flock

for worldly gain and enjoyment. The preacher condemns the false

teachings which are nowhere taught in the Scriptures, such as

pilgrimages and indulgences. Sometimes Wyclif seems to be inconsistent

with himself, now making light of fasting, now asserting that the

Apostles commended it; now disparaging prayers for the dead, now

affirming purgatory. With special severity do his sermons strike at the

friars who preach out of avarice and neglect to expose the sins of

their hearers. No one is more idle than the rich friars, who have

nothing but contempt for the poor. Again and again in these sermons, as

in his other works, he urges that the goods of the friars be seized and

given to the needy classes. Wyclif, the preacher, was always the bold

champion of the layman's rights.

His work, The Pastoral Office, which is devoted to the duties of the

faithful minister, and his sermons lay stress upon preaching as the

minister's proper duty. Preaching he declared the "highest service,"

even as Christ occupied himself most in that work. And if bishops, on

whom the obligation to preach more especially rests, preach not, but

are content to have true priests preach in their stead, they are as

those that murder Jesus. The same authority which gave to priests the

privilege of celebrating the sacrament of the altar binds them to

preach. Yea, the preaching of the Word is a more precious occupation

than the ministration of the sacraments. [583]

When the Gospel was preached, as in Apostolic times, the Church grew.

Above all things, close attention should be given to Christ's words,

whose authority is superior to all the rites and commandments of pope

and friars. Again and again Wyclif sets forth the ideal minister, as in

the following description:--

"A priest should live holily, in prayer, in desires and thought, in

godly conversation and honest teaching, having God's commandments and

His Gospel ever on his lips. And let his deeds be so righteous that no

man may be able with cause to find fault with them, and so open his

acts that he may be a true book to all sinful and wicked men to serve

God. For the example of a good life stirreth men more than true

preaching with only the naked word."

The priest's chief work is to render a substitute for Christ's miracles

by converting himself and his neighbor to God's law. [584] The Sermon

on the Mount, Wyclif pronounced sufficient for the guidance of human

life apart from any of the requirements and traditions of men.

IV. As a Doctrinal Reformer.--Wyclif's later writings teem with denials

of the doctrinal tenets of his age and indictments against

ecclesiastical abuses. There could be no doubt of his meaning.

Beginning with the 19 errors Gregory XI. was able to discern, the list

grew as the years went on. The Council of Constance gave 45, Netter of

Walden, fourscore, and the Bohemian John L�cke, an Oxford doctor of

divinity, 266. Cochlaeus, in writing against the Hussites, went beyond

all former computations and ascribed to Wyclif the plump sum of 303

heresies, surely enough to have forever covered the Reformer's memory

with obloquy. Fuller suggests as the reason for these variations that

some lists included only the Reformer's primitive tenets or breeders,

and others reckoned all the younger fry of consequence derived from

them.

The first three articles adduced by the Council of Constance [585] had

respect to the Lord's Supper, and charged Wyclif with holding that the

substance of the bread remains unchanged after the consecration, that

Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar in a real sense, and the

accidents of a thing cannot remain after its substance is changed. The

4th article accuses him with declaring that the acts of bishop or

priest in baptizing, ordaining and consecrating are void if the

celebrant be in a state of mortal sin. Then follow charges of other

alleged heresies, such as that after Urban VI. the papacy should be

abolished, the clergy should hold no temporal possessions, the friars

should gain their living by manual toil and not by begging, Sylvester

and Constantine erred in endowing the Church, the papal elections by

the cardinals were an invention of the devil, it is not necessary to

salvation that one believe the Roman church to be supreme amongst the

churches and that all the religious orders were introduced by the

devil.

The most of the 45 propositions represent Wyclif's views with

precision. They lie on the surface of his later writings, but they do

not exhaust his dissent from the teachings and practice of his time.

His assault may be summarized under five heads: the nature of the

Church, the papacy, the priesthood, the doctrine of transubstantiation

and the use of the Scriptures.

The Church was defined in the Civil Lordship to be the body of the

elect,--living, dead and not yet born,--whose head is Christ. Scarcely

a writing has come down to us from Wyclif's pen in which he does not

treat the subject, and in his special treatise on the Church, written

probably in 1378, it is defined more briefly as the body of all the

elect--congregatio omnium predestinatorum. Of this body, Christ alone

is the head. The pope is the head of a local church. Stress is laid

upon the divine decree as determining who are the predestinate and who

the reprobate. [586]

Some persons, he said, in speaking of "Holy Church, understand thereby

prelates and priests, monks and canons and friars and all that have the

tonsure,--alle men that han crownes,--though they live ever so

accursedly in defiance of God's law." But so far from this being true,

all popes cardinals and priests are not among the saved. On the

contrary, not even a pope can tell assuredly that he is predestinate.

This knows no one on earth. The pope may be a prescitus, a reprobate.

Such popes there have been, and it is blasphemy for cardinals and

pontiffs to think that their election to office of itself constitutes a

title to the primacy of the Church. The curia is a nest of heretics if

its members do not follow Christ, a fountain of poison, the abomination

of desolation spoken of in the sacred page. Gregory XI. Wyclif called a

terrible devil--horrendus diabolus. God in His mercy had put him to

death and dispersed his confederates, whose crimes Urban VI. had

revealed. [587]

Though the English Reformer never used the terms visible and invisible

Church, he made the distinction. The Church militant, he said,

commenting on John 10:26, is a mixed body. The Apostles took two kinds

of fishes, some of which remained in the net and some broke away. So in

the Church some are ordained to bliss and some to pain, even though

they live godly for a while. [588] It is significant that in his

English writings Wyclif uses the term Christen men--Christian

men--instead of the term the faithful.

As for the papacy, no one has used more stinging words against

individual popes as well as against the papacy as an institution than

did Wyclif. In the treatises of his last years and in his sermons, the

pope is stigmatized as anti-Christ. His very last work, on which he was

engaged when death overtook him, bore the title, Anti-christ, meaning

the pope. He went so far as to call him the head-vicar of the fiend.

[589] He saw in the papacy the revelation of the man of sin. The office

is wholly poisonous--totum papale officium venenosum. He heaped

ridicule upon the address "most holie fadir." The pope is neither

necessary to the Church nor is he infallible. If both popes and all

their cardinals were cast into hell, believers could be saved as well

without them. They were created not by Christ but by the devil. The

pope has no exclusive right to declare what the Scriptures teach, or

proclaim what is the supreme law. His absolutions are of no avail

unless Christ has absolved before. Popes have no more right to

excommunicate than devils have to curse. Many of them are damned--multi

papae sunt dampnati. Strong as such assertions are, it is probable that

Wyclif did not mean to cast aside the papacy altogether. But again and

again the principle is stated that the Apostolic see is to be obeyed

only so far as it follows Christ's law. [590]

As for the interpretation of Matthew 16:18, Wyclif took the view that

"the rock" stands for Peter and every true Christian. The keys of the

kingdom of heaven are not metal keys, as popularly supposed, but

spiritual power, and they were committed not only to Peter, but to all

the saints, "for alle men that comen to hevene have these keies of

God." [591] Towards the pope's pretension to political functions,

Wyclif was, if possible, more unsparing. Christ paid tribute to Caesar.

So should the pope. His deposition of kings is the tyranny of the

devil. By disregarding Peter's injunction not to lord it over God's

heritage, but to feed the flock, he and all his sect--tota secta --

prove themselves hardened heretics.

Constantine's donation, the Reformer pronounced the beginning of all

evils in the Church. The emperor was put up to it by the devil. It was

his new trick to have the Church endowed. [592] Chapter after chapter

of the treatise on the Church calls upon the pope, prelates and priests

to return to the exercise of spiritual functions. They had become the

prelates and priests of Caesar. As the Church left Christ to follow

Caesar, so now it should abandon Caesar for Christ. As for kissing the

pope's toe, there it; no foundation for it in Scripture or reason.

The pope's practice of getting money by tribute and taxation calls

forth biting invective. It was the custom, Wyclif said, to solemnly

curse in the parish churches all who clipped the king's coins and cut

men's purses. From this it would seem, he continued, that the proud and

worldly priest of Rome and all his advisers were the most cursed of

clippers and out-purses,--cursed of clipperis and purse-kerveris,--for

they drew out of England poor men's livelihoods and many thousands of

marks of the king's money, and this they did for spiritual favors. If

the realm had a huge hill of gold, it would soon all be spent by this

proud and worldly priest-collector. Of all men, Christ was the most

poor, both in spirit and in goods and put from him all manner of

worldly lordship. The pope should leave his authority to worldly lords,

and speedily advise his clergy to do the same. I take it, as a matter

of faith, that no man should follow the pope, nor even any of the

saints in heaven, except as they follow Christ. [593]

The priests and friars formed another subject of Wyclif's vigorous

attack. Clerics who follow Christ are true priests and none other. The

efficacy of their acts of absolution of sins depends upon their own

previous absolution by Christ. The priest's function is to show

forgiveness, already pronounced by God, not to impart it. It was, he

affirmed, a strange and marvellous thing that prelates and curates

should "curse so faste," when Christ said we should bless rather than

reprove. A sentence of excommunication is worse than murder.

The rule of auricular confession Wyclif also disparaged. True

contrition of heart is sufficient for the removal of sins. In Christ's

time confession of man to man was not required. In his own day, he

said, "shrift to God is put behind; but privy (private) shrift, a

new-found thing, is authorized as needful for the soul's health." He

set forth the dangers of the confessional, such as the unchastity of

priests. He also spoke of the evils of pilgrimages when women and men

going together promiscuously were in temptation of great "lecherie."

[594] Clerical celibacy, a subject the Reformer seldom touched upon, he

declared, when enforced, is against Scripture, and as under the old law

priests were allowed to marry, so under the new the practice is never

forbidden, but rather approved.

Straight truth-telling never had a warmer champion than Wyclif.

Addressing the clergy, he devotes nearly a hundred pages of his Truth

of Scripture to an elaboration of this principle. Not even the most

trifling sin is permissible as a means of averting a greater evil,

either for oneself or one's neighbor. Under no circumstances does a

good intention justify a falsehood. The pope himself has no right to

tolerate or practice misrepresentation to advance a good cause. To

accomplish a good end, the priest dare not even make a false appeal to

fear. All lying is of itself sin, and no dispensation can change its

character. [595]

The friars called forth the Reformer's keenest thrusts, and these

increased in sharpness as he neared the end of his life. Quotations,

bearing on their vices, would fill a large volume. Entire treatises

against their heresies and practices issued from his pen. They were

slavish agents of the pope's will; they spread false views of the

eucharist; they made merchandise of indulgences and letters of

fraternity which pretended to give the purchasers a share in their own

good deeds here and at the final accounting. Their lips were full of

lies and their hands of blood. They entered houses and led women

astray; they lived in idleness; they devoured England. [596]

The Reformer had also a strong word to say on the delusion of the

contemplative life as usually practised. It was the guile of Satan that

led men to imagine their fancies and dreamings were religious

contemplation and to make them an excuse for sloth. John the Baptist

and Christ both left the desert to live among men. He also went so far

as to demand that monks be granted the privilege of renouncing the

monkish rule for some other condition where they might be useful. [597]

The four mendicant orders, the Carmelites, Augustinians, Jacobites or

Dominicans, and Minorites or Franciscans gave their first letters to

the word Caim, showing their descent from the first murderer. Their

convents, Wyclif called Cain's castles. His relentless indignation

denounced them as the tail of the dragon, ravening wolves, the sons of

Satan, the emissaries of anti-christ and Luciferians and pronounced

them worse than Herod, Saul and Judas. The friars repeat that Christ

begged water at the well. It were to their praise if they begged water

and nothing else. [598]

With the lighter hand of ridicule, Chaucer also held up the mendicants

for indictment. In the Prologue to his Canterbury Tales he represents

the friar as an--

... easy man to yeve penaunce,

Ther as he wiste to have a good pitaunce

For unto a powre order for to give

Is signe that a man is well y-shrive.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

His wallet lay biforn him in his lappe

Bretful of pardoun come from Rome all hoot,

A voys he hadde as smal as hath a goot

Ne was ther swich another pardonour

For in his male he hadde a pilwe-beer [pillow]

Which that, he seyde, was our Lady's veyl:

And in a glas he hadde a pigges bones.

Skeat's ed., 4:7, 21.

If it required boldness to attack the powerful body of the monks, it

required equal boldness to attack the mediaeval dogma of

transubstantiation. Wyclif himself called it a doctrine of the moderns

and of the recent Church--novella ecclesia. In his treatise on the

eucharist, he praised God that he had been delivered from its laughable

and scandalous errors. [599] The dogma of the transmutation of the

elements he pronounced idolatry, a lying fable. His own view is that of

the spiritual presence. Christ's body, so far as its dimensions are

concerned, is in heaven. It is efficaciously or virtually in the host

as in a symbol. [600] This symbol "represents"--vicarius est--the body.

Neither by way of impanation nor of identification, much less by way of

transmutation, is the body in the host. Christ is in the bread as a

king is in all parts of his dominions and as the soul is in the body.

In the breaking of the bread, the body is no more broken than the

sunbeam is broken when a piece of glass is shattered: Christ is there

sacramentally, spiritually, efficiently--sacramentaliter, spiritualiter

et virtualiter. Transubstantiation is the greatest of all heresies and

subversive of logic, grammar and all natural science. [601]

The famous controversy as to whether a mouse, partaking of the

sacramental elements, really partakes of Christ's body is discussed in

the first pages of the treatise on the eucharist. Wyclif pronounces the

primary assumption false, for Christ is not there in a corporal manner.

An animal, in eating a man, does not eat his soul. The opinion that the

priest actually breaks Christ's body and so breaks his neck, arms and

other members, is a shocking error. What could be more

shocking,--horribilius,--he says, than that the priest should daily

make and consecrate the Lord's body, and what more shocking than to be

obliged to eat Christ's very flesh and drink his very blood. Yea, what

could be thought of more shocking than that Christ's body may be burned

or eructated, or that the priest carries God in bodily form on the tips

of his fingers. The words of institution are to be taken in a

figurative sense. In a similar manner, the Lord spoke of himself as the

seed and of the world as the field, and called John, Elijah, not

meaning that the two were one person. In saying, I am the vine, he

meant that the vine is a symbol of himself.

The impossibility of the miracle of elemental transmutation, Wyclif

based on the philosophical principle that the substance of a thing

cannot be separated from its accidents. If accidents can exist by

themselves, then it is impossible to tell what a thing is or whether it

exists at all. Transubstantiation would logically demand

transaccidentation, an expression the English Reformer used before

Luther. The theory that the accidents remain while the substance is

changed, he pronounced "grounded neither in holy writt ne reson ne wit

but only taughte by newe hypocritis and cursed heretikis that magnyfyen

there own fantasies and dremes." [602]

Another proof of Wyclif's freedom of mind was his assertion that the

Roman Church, in celebrating the sacrament, has no right to make a

precise form of words obligatory, as the words of institution differ in

the different accounts of the New Testament. As for the profitable

partaking of the elements, he declared that the physical eating profits

nothing except the soul be fed with love. Announcing it as his

expectation that he would be set upon for his views, he closed his

notable treatise on the eucharist with the words, The truth of reason

will prevail over all things.

Super omnia vincit veritas rationis.

In these denials of the erroneous system of the mediaeval Church at its

vital points, Wyclif was far in advance of his own age and anticipated

the views of the Protestant Reformers.

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[578] Op. evang., p. 17, etc., De dom. div., p. 215, etc., De dom.

civ., 384 sqq., where the case of Frederick of Lavagna is related at

length.

[579] Hergenr�ther, II. 881, speaks of Wyclif's system as pantheistic

realism and fatalism, D. Lehrsystem des Wiclif ist krasser,

pantheistischer Realismus, Fatalismus u. Predestianismus.

[580] The De dom. civ. and the De dom. div., ed. for the Wyclif Soc. by

R. L. Poole, London, 1885, 1890. See Poole's Prefaces and his essay on

Wyclif's Doctrine of Lordship in his Illustrations, etc., pp. 282-311.

TheDialogus, sive speculum ecclesiae militantis, ed. by A. W. Pollard,

1886.

[581] Salvator noster noluit esse proprietarie dominans, sed

communicative, p. 204.

[582] Loserth, Introd. to Lat. sermones, II., p. xx, pronounce their

effect extraordinary. The Engl. sermons have been ed. by Arnold, Select

Engl. Works, vols, I, II, and the Lat. sermons by Loserth, in 4 vols.

[583] Evangelizatio verbi est preciosior quam ministratio alicujus

ecclesiastici sacramenti, Op. evang., I. 375. Predicatio verbi Dei est

solemnior quam confectio sacramenti, De sac. scr., II. 156. See also

Arnold, Engl. Works, III. 153 sq., 464;Serm. Lat., II. 115;De scr.

sac., II. 138.

[584] Debemus loco miraculorum Christi nos et proximos ad legem Dei

convertere. De ver., I. 90; Op. evang., I. 368.

[585] See Mansi, XXVII., 632-636, and Mirbt, p. 157 sq.

[586] De dom. civ., I. 358. Ecclesia cath. sive Apost. est universitas

predestinatorum. De eccles., ed. by Loserth, pp. 2, 5, 31, 94, Engl.

Works, III. 339, 447, etc.

[587] De eccles., 5, 28 sq., 63, 88, 89, 355, 358, 360.

[588] Engl. Works., I. 50.

[589] The condemnatory epithets and characterizations are found in the

Engl. Works, ed. by Matthew, De papa, pp. 458-487, and The Church and

her Members, and The Schism of the Rom. Pontiffs, Arnold's ed., III.

262 sqq., 340 sqq., the Trialogus, Dialogus, the Latin Sermons, vol.

II., and especially the Opus evangelicum, parts of which went under the

name Christ and his Adversary, Antichrist. See Loserth's introductions

to Lat. Serm., II. p. iv sq., and Op. evang., vol. II.; also his art.

Wiclif's Lehre, vom wahren, undfalschen Papsttum, Hist Ztschrift, 1907,

and his ed. of the De potestate papae. In these last works Loserth

presents the somewhat modified view that when Wyclif inveighed against

the papacy it was only as it was abused. The De potestate was written

perhaps in 1379. His later works show an increased severity.

[590] Lat. Serm., IV. 95; De dom. civ., 366-394; De ver. scr., II. 56

sqq.; Dial., p. 25; Op. evang., I. 38, 92, 98, 382, 414, II. 132, III.

187; Engl. Works, II. 229 sq., etc.

[591] Op. evang., II. 105 sq.; Engl. Works, I. 350 sq.

[592] De ver., I. 267; Engl. Works, III. 341 sq.; De Eccles., 189, 365

sqq.; Op. Evang., III. 188.

[593] Engl. Works, III. 320. Letter to Urban VI., Fasc. ziz., p. 341;

Engl. Works, III. 504-506.

[594] His De eucharistia et poenitentia sive de confessione elaborates

this subject. See also Engl. Works, I. 80, III. 141, 348, 461.

[595] De eccles., p. 162; De ver. scr., II. 1-99. Omne mendacium est

per se peccatum sed nulla circumstantia potest rectificare, ut peccatum

sit non peccatum, De ver., II. 61.

[596] Engl. Works, III. 420 sqq.; Op. evang., II. 40; Lat. serm., IV.

62, 121, etc.

[597] See the tract Of Feigned Contemplative Life in Matthew, pp. 187,

196; De eccles., p. 380; Lat. Serm., II. 112.

[598] Lat. serm., II. 84; Trial., IV. 33; Engl. Works, III. 348; Dial.,

pp. 13, 65, etc.

[599] Ab isto scandaloso et derisibili errore de quidditate hujus

sacramenti, pp. 52, 199.

[600] Corpus Chr. est dimensionaliter in coelo a virtualiter in hostia

ut in signo. De euchar., pp. 271, 303. Walden, Fasc. ziz., rightly

represents Wyclif as holding that "the host is neither Christ nor any

part of Christ, but the effectual sign of him."

[601] De euchar., p. 11; Trial., pp. 248, 261.

[602] De euch., pp. 78, 81, 182; Engl. Works, III. 520.

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� 42. Wyclif and the Scriptures.

Wyclif's chief service for his people, next to the legacy of his own

personality, was his assertion of the supreme authority of the Bible

for clergy and laymen alike and his gift to them of the Bible in their

own tongue. His statements, setting forth the Scriptures as the clear

and sufficient manual of salvation and insisting that the literal sense

gives their plain meaning, were as positive and unmistakable as any

made by Luther. In his treatise on the value and authority of the

Scriptures, with 1000 printed pages, [603] more is said about the Bible

as the Church's appointed guide-book than was said by all the mediaeval

theologians together. And none of the Schoolmen, from Anselm and

Abaelard to Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, exalted it to such a

position of pre�minence as did he. With one accord they limited its

authority by co�rdinating with its contents tradition, that is, the

teachings of the Church. This man, with unexcelled precision and

cogency, affirmed its final jurisdiction, as the law of God, above all

authorities, papal, decretist or patristic. What Wyclif asserts in this

special treatise, he said over again in almost every one of his works,

English and Latin. If possible, he grew more emphatic as his last years

went on, and his Opus evangelicum, probably his very last writing,

abounds in the most positive statements language is capable of.

To give the briefest outline of the Truth of Scripture will be to state

in advance the positions of the Protestant Reformers in regard to the

Bible as the rule of faith and morals. To Wyclif the Scriptures are the

authority for every Catholic tenet. They are the Law of Christ, the Law

of God, the Word of God, the Book of Life--liber vitae. They are the

immaculate law of the Lord, most true, most complete and most

wholesome. [604] All things necessary to belief for salvation are found

in them. They are the Catholic faith, the Christian faith,--fides

christiana,--the primal rule of human perfection, the primal foundation

of the Christian proclamation.

This book is the whole truth which every Christian should study. [605]

It is the measure and standard of all logic. Logic, as in Oxford,

changes very frequently, yea, every twenty years, but the Scriptures

are yea, yea and nay, nay. They never change. They stand to eternity.

[606] All logic, all law, all philosophy and all ethic are in them. As

for the philosophy of the pagan world, whatever it offers that is in

accord with the Scriptures is true. The religious philosophy which the

Christian learns from Aristotle he learns because it was taught by the

authors of Scripture. [607] The Greek thinker made mistakes, as when he

asserted that creation is eternal. In several places Wyclif confesses

that he himself had at one time been led astray by logic and the desire

to win fame, but was thankful to God that he had been converted to the

full acceptance of the Scriptures as they are and to find in them all

logic.

All through this treatise, and in other works, Wyclif contends against

those who pronounced the sacred writings irrational or blasphemous or

abounding in errors and plain falsehoods. Such detractors he labelled

modern or recent doctors--moderni novelli doctores. Charges such as

these would seem well-nigh incredible, if Wyclif did not repeat them

over and over again. They remind us of the words of the priest who told

Tyndale, 150 years later, "It were better to be without God's laws than

to be without the pope's." What could be more

shocking,--horribilius,--exclaimed Wyclif, than to assert that God's

words are false. [608]

The supreme authority of the Scriptures appears from their contents,

the beneficent aim they have in view, and from the witness borne to

them by Christ. God speaks in all the books. They are one great Word of

God. Every syllable of the two Testaments is true, and the authors were

nothing more than scribes or heralds. [609] If any error seem to be

found in them, the error is due to human ignorance and perverseness.

Nothing is to be believed that is not founded upon this book, and to

its teachings nothing is to be added. [610]

Wyclif devotes much time to the principles of biblical exposition and

brushes away the false principles of the Fath-ers and Schoolmen by

pronouncing the "literal verbal sense" the true one. On occasion, in

his sermons, he himself used the other senses, but his sound judgment

led him again and again to lay emphasis upon the etymological meaning

of words as final. The tropological, anagogical and allegorical

meanings, if drawn at all, must be based upon the literal meaning.

Wyclif confessed his former mistake of striving to distinguish them

with strict precision. There is, in fact, only one sense of Scripture,

the one God himself has placed in it as the book of life for the

wayfaring man. [611] Heresy is the contradiction of Scripture. As for

himself, Wyclif said, he was ready to follow its teachings, even unto

martyrdom, if necessary. [612] For hundreds of years no eminent teacher

had emphasized the right of the laity to the Word of God. It was

regarded as a book for the clergy, and the interpretation of its

meaning was assumed to rest largely with the decretists and the pope.

The Council of Toulouse, 1229, had forbidden the use of the Bible to

laymen. The condemned sects of the 12th and 13th centuries, especially

the Waldenses, had adopted another rule, but their assailants, such as

Alanus ab Insulis, had shown how dangerous their principle was. Wyclif

stood forth as the champion of an open Bible. It was a book to be

studied by all Christians, for "it is the whole truth." Because it was

given to the Church, its teachings are free to every one, even as is

Christ himself. [613]

To withhold the Scriptures from the laity is a fundamental sin. To make

them known in the mother-tongue is the first duty of the priest. For

this reason priests ought always to be familiar with the language of

the people. Wyclif held up the friars for declaring it heresy to

translate God's law into English and make it known to laymen. He argued

against their position by referring to the gift of tongues at Pentecost

and to Jerome's translation, to the practice of Christ and the Apostles

who taught peoples in their native languages and to the existence in

his own day of a French translation made in spite of all hindrances.

Why, he exclaims, "should not Englishmen do the same, for as the lords

of England have the Bible in French, it would not be against reason if

they had the same material in English." Through an English Bible

Englishmen would be enabled best "to follow Christ and come to heaven."

[614] What could be more positive than the following words?

Christen men and women, olde and young, shulden study fast in the New

Testament, and no simple man of wit shulde be aferde unmeasurably to

study in the text of holy Writ. Pride and covetise of clerks is cause

of their blyndness and heresie and priveth them fro verie understonding

of holy Writ. The New Testament is of ful autorite and open to

understonding of simple men, as to the pynts that ben most needful to

salvation.

Wyclif was the first to give the Bible to his people in their own

tongue. He knew no Hebrew and probably no Greek. His version, which was

made from the Latin Vulgate, was the outgrowth of his burning desire to

make his English countrymen more religious and more Christian. The

paraphrastic translation of books which proceeded from the pen of

Richard Rolle and perhaps a verse of the New Testament of Kentish

origin and apparently made for a nunnery, [615] must be considered as

in no wise in conflict with the claim of priority made for the English

Reformer. In his task he had the aid of Nicolas Hereford, who

translated the Old Testament and the Apocryphal books as far as Baruch

3:20. A revision was made of Wyclif's Bible soon after his death, by

Purvey. In his prologue, Purvey makes express mention of the "English

Bible late translated," and affirms that the Latin copies had more need

of being corrected than it. One hundred and seventy copies of these two

English bibles are extant, and it seems strange that, until the edition

issued by Forshall and Madden in 1850, they remained unprinted. [616]

The reason for their not being struck off on the presses of Caxton and

other early English printers, who issued the Golden Legend, with its

fantastic and often grewsome religious tales, was that Wyclif had been

pronounced a heretic and his version of the Scriptures placed under the

ban by the religious authorities in England.

A manuscript preserved in the Bodleian, Forshall and Madden affirm to

be without question the original copy of Hereford himself. These

editors place the dates of the versions in 1382 and 1388. Purvey was a

Lollard, who boarded under Wyclif's roof and, according to the

contemporary chronicler, Knighton, drank plentifully of his

instructions. He was imprisoned, but in 1400 recanted, and was promoted

to the vicarage of Hythe. This preferment he resigned three years

later. He was imprisoned a second time by Archbishop Chichele, 1421,

was alive in 1427, and perhaps died in prison.

To follow the description given by Knighton in his Chronicle, the gift

of the English Bible was regarded by Wyclif's contemporaries as both a

novel act and an act of desecration. The irreverence and profanation of

offering such a translation was likened to the casting of pearls before

swine. The passage in Knighton, who wrote 20 years after Wyclif's

death, runs thus: --

The Gospel, which Christ bequeathed to the clergy and doctors of the

Church,--as they in turn give it to lay and weaker persons,--this

Master John Wyclif translated out of the Latin into the Anglican

tongue, not the Angelic tongue, so that by him it is become

common,--vulgare,--and more open to the lay folk and to women, knowing

how to read, than it used to be to clerics of a fair amount of learning

and of good minds. Thus, the Gospel pearl is cast forth and trodden

under foot of swine, and what was dear to both clergy and laity is now

made a subject of common jest to both, and the jewel of the clergy is

turned into the sport of the laity, so that what was before to the

clergy and doctors of the Church a divine gift, has been turned into a

mock Gospel [or common thing]. [617]

The plain meaning of this statement seems to be that Wyclif translated

at least some of the Scriptures, that the translation was a novelty,

and that the English was not a proper language for the embodiment of

the sacred Word. It was a cleric's book, and profane temerity, by

putting it within the reach of the laity, had vulgarized it.

The work speedily received reprobation at the hands of the Church

authorities. A bill presented in the English parliament, 1891, to

condemn English versions, was rejected through the influence of the

duke of Lancaster, but an Oxford synod, of 1408, passed the ominous

act, that upon pain of greater excommunication, no man, by his own

authority, should translate into English or any other tongue, until

such translation were approved by the bishop, or, if necessary, by the

provincial council. It distinctly mentions the translation "set forth

in the time of John Wyclif." Writing to John XXIII., 1412, Archbishop

Arundel took occasion to denounce "that pestilent wretch of damnable

memory, yea, the forerunner and disciple of anti-christ who, as the

complement of his wickedness, invented a new translation of the

Scriptures into his mother-tongue." [618]

In 1414, the reading of the English Scriptures was forbidden upon pain

of forfeiture "of land, cattle, life and goods from their heirs

forever." Such denunciations of a common English version were what

Wyclif's own criticisms might have led us to expect, and quite in

consonance with the decree of the Synod of Toulouse, 1229, and

Arundel's reprobation has been frequently matched by prelatical

condemnation of vernacular translations of the Bible and their

circulation down to the papal fulminations of the 19th century against

Bible societies, as by Pius VII., 1816, who declared them "fiendish

institutions for the undermining of the foundation of religion." The

position, taken by Catholic apologists, that the Catholic hierarchy has

never set itself against the circulation of the Scriptures in the

vernacular, but only against unauthorized translations, would be

adapted to modify Protestantism's notion of the matter, if there were

some evidence of only a limited attempt to encourage Bible study among

the laity of the Catholic Church with the pages of Scripture open

before them. If we go to the Catholic countries of Southern Europe and

to South America, where her away has been unobstructed, the very

opposite is true.

In the clearest language, Wyclif charged the priestly authorities of

his time with withholding the Word of God from the laity, and denying

it to them in the language the people could understand. And the fact

remains that, from his day until the reign of Elizabeth, Catholic

England did not produce any translations of the Bible, and the English

Reformers were of the opinion that the Catholic hierarchy was

irrevocably set against English versions. Tyndale had to flee from

England to translate his New Testament, and all the copies of the first

edition that could be collected were burnt on English soil. And though

it is alleged that Tyndale's New Testament was burnt because it was an

"unauthorized" translation, it still remains true that the hierarchy

made no attempt to give the Bible to England until long after the

Protestant Reformation had begun and Protestantism was well

established.

The copies of Wyclif's and Purvey's versions seem to have been

circulated in considerable numbers in England, and were in the

possession of low and high. The Lollards cherished them. A splendid

copy was given to the Carthusians of London by Henry VI., and another

copy was in the possession of Henry VII. Sir Thomas More states

distinctly that there was found in the possession of John Hunne, who

was afterwards burnt, a Bible "written after Wyclif's copy and by him

translated into our tongue." [619] While for a century and a half these

volumes helped to keep alive the spirit of Wyclif in England, it is

impossible to say how far Wyclif's version influenced the Protestant

Reformers. In fact, it is unknown whether they used it at all. Some of

its words, such as mote and beam and strait gate, which are found in

the version of the 16th century, seem to indicate, to say the least,

that these terms had become common property through the medium of

Wyclif's version. [620] The priceless heirloom which English-speaking

peoples possess in the English version and in an open Bible free to all

who will read, learned and unlearned, lay and cleric, will continue to

be associated with the Reformer of the 14th century. As has been said

by one of the ablest of recent Wyclif students, Buddensieg, the call to

honor the Scriptures as the Word of God and to study and diligently

obey them, runs through Wyclif's writings like a scarlet thread. [621]

Without knowing it, he departed diametrically from Augustine when he

declared that the Scriptures do not depend for their authority upon the

judgment of the Church, but upon Christ.

In looking over the career and opinions of John Wyclif, it becomes

evident that in almost every doctrinal particular did this man

anticipate the Reformers. The more his utterances are studied, the

stronger becomes this conviction. He exalted preaching; he insisted

upon the circulation of the Scriptures among the laity; he demanded

purity and fidelity of the clergy; he denied infallibility to the papal

utterances, and went so far as to declare that the papacy is not

essential to the being of the Church. He defined the Church as the

congregation of the elect; he showed the unscriptural and unreasonable

character of the doctrine of transubstantiation; he pronounced priestly

absolution a declarative act. He dissented from the common notion about

pilgrimages; he justified marriage on biblical grounds as honorable

among all men; he appealed for liberty for the monk to renounce his

vow, and to betake himself to some useful work.

The doctrine of justification by faith Wyclif did not state. However,

he constantly uses such expressions as, that to believe in Christ is

life. The doctrine of merit is denied, and Christ's mediation is made

all-sufficient. He approached close to the Reformers when he pronounced

"faith the supreme theology,"--fides est summa theologia,--and that

only by the study of the Scriptures is it possible to become a

Christian. [622]

Behind all Wyclif's other teaching is his devotion to Christ and his

appeal to men to follow Him and obey His law. It is scarcely an

exaggeration to say that the name of Christ appears on every page of

his writings. To him, Christ was the supreme philosopher, yea, the

content of all philosophy. [623]

In reaching his views Wyclif was, so far as we know, as independent as

any teacher can well be. There is no indication that he drew from any

of the medieval sects, as has been charged, nor from Marsiglius and

Ockam. He distinctly states that his peculiar views were drawn not from

Ockam but from the Scriptures. [624]

The Continental Reformers did not give to Wyclif the honor they gave to

Huss. Had they known more about him, they might have said more. [625]

Had Luther had access to the splendid shelf of volumes issued by the

Wyclif Society, he might have said of the English Reformer what he said

of Wessel's Works when they were put into his hands. The reason why no

organized reformation followed Wyclif's labors is best given when we

say, the time was not yet ripe. And, after all the parallelisms are

stated between his opinions and the doctrines of the Reformers, it will

remain true that, evangelical as he was in speech and patriotic as he

was in spirit, the Englishman never ceased to be a Schoolman. Luther

was fully a man of the new age.

Note. - The Authorship of the First English Bible. Recently the

priority of Wyclif's translation has been denied by Abbot Gasquet in

two elaborate essays, The Old English Bible, pp. 87-155. He also

pronounces it to be very doubtful if Wyclif ever translated any part of

the Bible. All that can be attempted here is a brief statement of the

case. In addition to Knighton's testimony, which seems to be as plain

as language could put it, we have the testimony of John Huss in his

Reply to the Carmelite Stokes, 1411, that Wyclif translated the whole

Bible into English. No one contends that Wyclif did as much as this,

and Huss was no doubt speaking in general terms, having in mind the

originator of the work and the man's name connected with it. The doubt

cast upon the first proposition, the priority of Wyclif's version, is

due to Sir Thomas More's statement in his Dialogue, 1530, Works, p.

233. In controverting the positions of Tyndale and the Reformers, he

said, "The whole Bible was before Wyclif's days, by virtuous and

well-learned men, translated into English and by good and godly people,

with devotion and soberness, well and reverently read." He also says

that he saw such copies. In considering this statement it seems very

possible that More made a mistake (1) because the statement is contrary

to Knighton's words, taken in their natural sense and Huss' testimony.

(2) Because Wyclif's own statements exclude the existence of any

English version before his own. (3) Because the Lollards associated

their Bible with Wyclif's name. (4) Because before the era of the

Reformation no English writer refers to any translating except in

connection with Wyclif's name and time. Sir Thomas More was engaged in

controversy and attempting to justify the position that the Catholic

hierarchy had not been opposed to translations of the Scriptures nor to

their circulation among proper classes of the laity. But Abbot Gasquet,

after proposing a number of conjectural doubts and setting aside the

natural sense of Knighton's and Arundel's statements, denies altogether

the Wycliffite authorship of the Bible ascribed to him and edited by

Forshall and Madden, and performs the feat of declaring this Bible one

of the old translations mentioned by More. It must be stated here, a

statement that will be recalled later, that Abbot Gasquet is the

representative in England of the school of Janssen, which has

endeavored to show that the Catholic Church was in an orderly process

of development before Luther arose, and that Luther and the Reformers

checked that development and also wilfully misrepresented the condition

of the Church of their day. Dr. Gasquet, with fewer plausible facts and

less literature at command than Janssen, seeks to present the English

Church's condition in the later Middle Ages as a healthy one. And this

he does (1) by referring to the existence of an English mediaeval

literature, still in MSS., which he pronounces vast in its bulk; (2) by

absolutely ignoring the statements of Wyclif; (3) by setting aside the

testimonies of the English Reformers; (4) by disparaging the Lollards

as a wholly humble and illiterate folk. Against all these witnesses he

sets up the single witness, Sir Thomas More.

The second proposition advocated by Dr. Gasquet that it is doubtful,

and perhaps very improbable, that Wyclif did nothing in the way of

translating the Bible, is based chiefly upon the fact that Wyclif does

not refer to such a translation anywhere in his writings. If we take

the abbot's own high priest among authorities, Sir Thomas More, the

doubt is found to be unjustifiable, if not criminal. More, speaking of

John Hunne, who was burnt, said that he possessed a copy of the Bible

which was "after a Wycliffite copy." Eadie, I. 6O sqq.; Westcott, Hist.

of the Eng. Bible. Gairdner who discusses the subject fairly in his

Lollardy, I. 101-117, Capes, pp. 125-128, F. D. Matthew, in Eng. Hist.

Rev., 1895, and Bigg, Wayside Sketches, p. 127 sq., take substantially

the position taken by the author. Gasquet was preceded by Lingard,

Hist. of Eng., IV. 196, who laid stress upon More's testimony to offset

and disparage the honor given from time immemorial to Wyclif in

connection with the English Bible.

How can a controversialist be deemed fair who, in a discussion of this

kind, does not even once refer to Wyclif's well-known views about the

value of a popular knowledge of the Scriptures, and his urgency that

they be given to all the people through plain preaching and in

translation? Dr. Gasquet's attitude to "the strange personality of

Wyclif" may be gotten from these words, Old Eng. Bible, p. 88:

"Whatever we may hold as Catholics as to his unsound theological

opinions, about which there can be no doubt, or, as peace-loving

citizens, about his wild revolutionary social theories, on which, if

possible, there can be less," etc.

The following are two specimens of Wyclif's versions:--

MATT. VIII. 23-27. And Jhesu steyinge vp in to a litel ship, his

disciplis sueden him. And loo! a grete steryng was made in the see, so

that the litil ship was hilid with wawis; but he slepte. And his

disciplis camen nigh to hym, and raysiden hym, sayinge, Lord, saue vs:

we perishen. And Jhesus seith to hem, What ben yhee of litil feith

agast? Thanne he rysynge comaundide to the wyndis and the see, and a

grete pesiblenesse is maad. Forsothe men wondreden, sayinge: What

manere man is he this, for the wyndis and the see obeishen to hym.

ROM. VIII. 5-8. For thei that ben aftir the fleisch saueren tho thingis

that ben of the fleisch, but thei that ben aftir the spirit felen tho

thingis that ben of the spirit. For the prudence of fleisch: is deeth,

but the prudence of spirit: is liif and pees. For the wisdom of

fleische is enemye to God, for it is not suget to the lawe of God: for

nether it may. And thei that ben in fleisch: moun not please to God.

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[603] De veritate Scripturae, ed. by Buddensieg, with Introd., 3 vols.,

Leip., 1904. The editor, I. p. xci, gives the date as 1387, 1388.

Wyclif starts out by quoting Augustine at length, I. 6-16. The treatise

contains extensive digressions, as on the two natures of Christ, I. 179

sqq., the salutation of Mary, I. 282 sqq., lying, II. 1-99,

Mohammedanism, II. 248-266, the functions of prelates and priests, III.

1-104, etc.

[604] lex domini immaculata ... verissima, completissima et

saluberrima, I. 156.

[605] Illum librum debet omnis christianus adiscere cum sit omnis

veritas, I. 109, 138.

[606] I. 54. Aliae logicae saepissime variantur ... logica scripturae

in eternum stat.

[607] I. 22, 29, 188. Christianus philosophiam non discit quia

Aristotelis sed quia autorum scripturae sac. et per consequens tamquam

suam scientiam quo in libris theologiae rectius est edocta.

[608] I. 151, 200, 394, 408; Lat. serm., 179; De eccles., 173, 318,

etc.

[609] Tota scrip. est unum magnum Verbum Dei., I. 269. Autores nisi

scribae vel precones ad scrib. Dei legem. I. 392. Also I. 86, 156, 198,

220 sqq., III. 106 sqq., 143.

[610] Falsitas in proposito est in false intelligente et non in Scrip.

sac., p. 193. Nulli alii in quoquam credere nisi de quanto se

fundaverit ex script. I. 383. De civ. dom., p. 394.

[611] De ver., 114, 119, 123. Sensus literalis script. est utrobique

verus, p. 73. Solum ille est sensus script. quem deus et beati legunt

in libro vitae qui est uni talis et alteri viatoribus, semper verus,

etc., p. 126.

[612] Oportet conclusiones carnis et seculi me deserere et sequi

Christum in pauperie si debeam coronari, I. 357. Also II. 129-131. In

view of the above statement, it is seen how utterly against the truth

Kropatschek's statement is, Man wird den Begriff Vorreformatoren

getrost in die historische Rumpelkammer werfen k�nnen, we may without

further thought cast the idea of Reformers before the Reformation into

the historical rag bag. The remark he makes after stating how little

the expression sola scriptura meant in the mouths of mediaeval

reformers. See Walter In Litzg., 1905, p. 447.

[613] Illum librum debet omnis Chriatianus adiscere cum sit omnis

veritas. De ver., I. 109. Fideles cujuscunque generis, fuerint clerici

vel laici, viri vel feminae, inveniunt in ea virtutem operandi, etc.,

pp. 117, 136. Op. evang., II. 36.

[614] Matthew, Sel. Works, p. 429 sq.

[615] The text pub. Cambr., 1902 and 1905, by Anna C. Paues: A

Fourteenth Engl. Bible Vs.

[616] The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with the

Apocryphal Books, in the earliest English Versions made from the

Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers. 4 vols., Oxford, 1850. The

work cost 22 years of labor. It contains Purvey's Prologue and an

exhaustive Preface by the editors. Purvey's New Test. had been printed

by John Lewis, London, 1781, and reprinted by Henry Baber, Lond., 1810,

and in the Bagster English Hexapla, Lond., 1841. Adam Clarke had

published Wyclif's version of the Canticles in his Commentary, 3rd

vol., 1823, and Lea Wilson, Wyclif's New Test., Lond., 1848.

[617] Commune aeternum. It is hard to give the exact rendering of these

words. Knighton goes on to refer to William of St. Amour, who said of

some that they changed the pure Gospel into another Gospel, the

evangelium aeternum or evangelium Spiritus sancti. Knighton, Chronicle,

II. 151 sq.

[618] Novae ad suae malitiae complementum Scripturarum in linguam

maternam translationis practica adinventa. Wilkins, III. 350.

[619] More's Works, p. 240, quoted by Gairdner, I. 112.

[620] See Forshall and Madden, p. xxxii, and Eadie, pp. 90-94.

[621] Buddensieg, Introd. to De ver., pp. xxxii, xxxviii.

[622] See De ver. scr., I. 209, 212, 214, 260, II. 234. He made a

distinction between the material and formal principles when he spoke of

the words of Christ as something materiale, and the inner meaning as

something formale. Buddensieg, p. xlv, says Wyclif had a dawning

presentiment of justifying faith. According to Poole, he stated the

doctrine in other terms in his treatment of lordship. Rashdall, Dict.

Natl. Biog., LXIII. 221, says that, apart from the doctrine of

justification by faith, there is little in the teachings of the 16th

cent. which Wyclif did not anticipate.

[623] Summus philos., immo summa philosophia est Christus, deus noster,

quem sequendo et discendo sumus philosophi. De ver. scr., I. 32.

[624] De ver. scr., I. 346 sqq. See Loserth, Kirchenpolitik, pp. 2, 112

sq. Buddensieg, De ver. scr., p. viii, says, Was er war wissen wir,

nicht wie er es geworden. We know what he was, but not how he came to

be what he was. See, for a Rom. Cath. judgment, Hergenr�ther-Kirsch,

II. 878, who finds concentrated in Wyclif the false philosophy of the

Waldenses and the Apocalypties, of Marsiglius and Ockam.

[625] Melanchthon, in a letter to Myconius, declared that Wyclif was

wholly ignorant of the doctrine of justification, and at another time

he said he had foolishly mixed up the Gospel and politics.

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� 43. The Lollards.

Although the impulse which Wyclif started in England did not issue

there in a compact or permanent organization, it was felt for more than

a century. Those who adopted his views were known as Wycliffites or

Lollards, the Lollards being associated with the Reformer's name by the

contemporary chroniclers, Knighton and Walsingham, and by Walden. [626]

The former term gradually gave way to the latter, which was used to

embrace all heretics in England.

The term Lollards was transplanted to England from Holland and the

region around Cologne. As early as 1300 Lollard heretics were classed

by the authorities with the Beghards, Beguines, Fratricelli,

Swestriones and even the Flagellants, as under the Church's ban. The

origin of the word, like the term Huguenots, is a matter of dispute.

The derivation from the Hollander, "Walter Lollard," who was burnt in

Cologne, 1322, is now abandoned. [627] Contemporaries derived it from

lolium,--tares,--and referred it to the false doctrine these sectarists

were sowing, as does Knighton, and probably also Chaucer, or, with

reference to their habit of song, from the Latin word laudare, to

praise. [628] The most natural derivation is from the Low German,

lullen or einlullen to sing to sleep, whence our English lullaby. None

of the Lollard songs have come down to us. Scarcely a decade after

Wyclif's death a bull was issued by Boniface IX., 1396, against the

"Lullards or Beghards" of the Low Countries.

The Wycliffite movement was suppressed by a rigid inquisition, set on

foot by the bishops and sanctioned by parliament. Of the first

generation of these heretics down to 1401, so far as they were brought

to trial, the most, if not all, of them recanted. The 15th century

furnished a great number of Lollard trials and a number of Lollard

martyrs, and their number was added to in the early years of the 16th

century. Active measures were taken by Archbishop Courtenay; and under

his successor, Thomas, earl of Arundel, the full force of persecution

was let loose. The warlike bishop of Norwich, Henry Spenser, joined

heartily in the repressive crusade, swearing to put to death by the

flames or by decapitation any of the dissenters who might presume to

preach in his diocese. The reason for the general recantations of the

first generation of Wyclif's followers has been found in the novelty of

heresy trials in England and the appalling effect upon the accused,

when for the first time they felt themselves confronted with the whole

power of the hierarchy. [629]

In 1394, they were strong enough to present a petition in full

parliament, containing twelve Conclusions. [630] These propositions

called the Roman Church the stepmother of the Church in England,

declared that many who had priestly ordination were not ordained of

God, took up the evils growing out of enforced celibacy, denied

Christ's material presence in the eucharist, condemned pilgrimages and

image-worship, and pronounced priestly confession and indulgences

measures invented for the profit of the clergy. The use of mitres,

crosses, oil and incense was condemned and also war, on the ground that

warriors, after the first blood is let, lose all charity, and so "go

straight to hell." In addition to the Bible, the document quotes

Wyclif's Trialogus by name.

From about 1390 to 1425, we hear of the Lollards in all directions, so

that the contemporary chronicler was able to say that of every two men

found on the roads, one was sure to be a Lollard. [631] With the

accession of Henry IV. of Lancaster (1399-1413), a severe policy was

adopted. The culminating point of legislation was reached in 1401, when

parliament passed the act for the burning of heretics, the first act of

the kind in England. [632] The statute referred to the Lollards as a

new sect, damnably thinking of the faith of the Church in respect to

the sacraments and, against the law of God and the Church, usurping the

office of preaching. It forbade this people to preach, hold schools and

conventicles and issue books. The violators were to be tried in the

diocesan courts and, if found guilty and refusing to abjure, were to be

turned over to the civil officer and burnt. The burning, so it was

stipulated, was to be on a high place where the punishment might be

witnessed and the onlookers be struck with fear.

The most prominent personages connected with the earliest period of

Wycliffism, Philip Repyngdon, John Ashton, Nicolas Hereford and John

Purvey, all recanted. The last three and Wyclif are associated by

Knighton as the four arch-heretics.

Repyngdon, who had boldly declared himself at Oxford for Wyclif and his

view of the sacrament, made a full recantation, 1382. Subsequently he

was in high favor, became chancellor of Oxford, bishop of Lincoln and a

cardinal, 1408. He showed the ardor of his zeal by treating with

severity the sect whose views he had once espoused.

John Ashton had been one of the most active of Wyclif's preachers. In

setting forth his heretical zeal, Knighton describes him as "leaping up

from his bed and, like a dog, ready to bark at the slightest sound." He

finally submitted in Courtenay's court, professing that he "believed as

our modur, holy kirke, believes," and that in the sacrament the priest

has in his hand Christ's very body. He was restored to his privileges

as lecturer in Oxford, but afterwards fell again into heretical

company. [633]

Hereford, Wyclif's fellow-translator, appealed to Rome, was condemned

there and cast into prison. After two years of confinement, he escaped

to England and, after being again imprisoned, made his peace with the

Church and died a Carthusian.

In 1389, nine Lollards recanted before Courtenay, at Leicester. The

popular preacher, William Swynderby, to whose sermons in Leicester the

people flocked from every quarter, made an abject recantation, but

later returned to his old ways, and was tried in 1891 and convicted.

Whether he was burnt or died in prison, Foxe says, he could not

ascertain.

The number suffering death by the law of 1401 was not large in the

aggregate. The victims were distributed through the 125 years down to

the middle of Henry VIII.'s reign. There were among them no clergymen

of high renown like Ridley and Latimer. The Lollards were an humble

folk, but by their persistence showed the deep impression Wyclif's

teachings had made. The first martyr, the poor chaplain of St. Osythe,

William Sawtr�, died March 2, 1401, before the statute for burning

heretics was passed. He abjured and then returned again to his

heretical views. After trying him, the spiritual court ordered the

mayor or sheriff of London to "commit him to the fire that he be

actually burnt." [634] The charges were that he denied the material

presence, condemned the adoration of the cross and taught that

preaching was the priesthood's most important duty.

Among other cases of burnings were John Badby, a tailor of Evesham,

1410, who met his awful fate chained inside of a cask; two London

merchants, Richard Turming and John Claydon at Smithfield, 1415;

William Taylor, a priest, in 1423 at Smithfield; William White at

Norwich, 1428; Richard Hoveden, a London citizen, 1430; Thomas Bagley,

a priest, in the following year; and in 1440, Richard Wyche, who had

corresponded with Huss. Peter Payne, the principal of St. Edmund's

College, Oxford, took refuge in flight, 1417, and became a leader among

the Hussites, taking a prominent part as their representative at the

Council of Basel. According to Foxe there were, 1424-1480, 100

prosecutions for heresy in Norwich alone. The menace was considered so

great that, in 1427, Richard Flemmyng, bishop of Lincoln, founded

Lincoln College, Oxford, to counteract heresy. It was of this college

that John Wesley was a fellow, the man who made a great breach in the

Church in England.

The case of William Thorpe, who was tried in 1397 and again before

Arundel, 1407, is of interest not only in itself, but for the

statements that were made in the second trial about Wyclif. The

archbishop, after accusing Thorpe of having travelled about in Northern

England for 20 years, spreading the infection of heresy, declared that

he was called of God to destroy the false sect to which the prisoner

belonged, and pledged himself to "punish it so narrowly as not to leave

a slip of you in this land." [635] Thorpe's assertion that Wyclif was

the greatest clerk of his time evoked from Arundel the acknowledgment

that he was indeed a great clerk and, by the consent of many, "a

perfect liver," but that many of the conclusions of his learning were

damned, as they ought to be.

Up to the close of the 14th century, a number of laymen in high

position at court had favored Wycliffism, including Sir Lewis Clifford,

Sir Richard Stury and Sir John Clanvowe, all of the king's council, Sir

John Cheyne, speaker of the lower house, the Lord Chancellor, Sir

Thomas Erpingham and also the earl of Salisbury. [636] This support was

for the most part withdrawn when persecution took an active form. With

Sir John Oldcastle, otherwise known as Lord Cobham from his marriage

with the heiress of the Cobham estate, it was different. He held firm

to the end, encouraged the new preachers on his estates in Kent, and

condemned the mass, auricular confession and the worship of images.

Arundel's court, before which he appeared after repeated citations,

turned him over to the secular arm "to do him to death." Oldcastle was

imprisoned in the Tower, but made his escape and was at large for four

years. In 1414, he was charged with being a party to an uprising of

20,000 Lollards against the king. Declared an outlaw, he fled to Wales,

where he was seized three years later and taken to London to be hanged

and burnt as a traitor and heretic, Dec. 15, 1417. [637] John Foxe saw

in him "the blessed martyr of Christ, the good Lord Cobham."

It is a pleasant relief from these trials and puttings-to-death to find

the University of Oxford in 1406 bearing good testimony to the memory

of its maligned yet distinguished dead, placing on record its high

sense of his purity of life, power in preaching and diligence in

studies. But fragrant as his memory was held in Oxford, at least

secretly, parliament was fixed in its purpose to support the

ecclesiastical authorities in stamping out his doctrine. In 1414, it

ordered the civil officer to take the initiative in ferreting out

heresy, and magistrates, from the Lord chancellor down, were called

upon to use their power in extirpating "all manner of heresies, errors

and lollardies." This oath continued to be administered for two

centuries, until Sir Edward Coke, Lord High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire,

refused to take it, with the name Lollard included, insisting that the

principles of Lollardy had been adopted by the Church of England. [638]

Archbishop Chichele seemed as much bent as his predecessor, Arundel, on

clearing the realm of all stain of heresy. In 1416 he enjoined his

suffragans to inquire diligently twice a year for persons under

suspicion and, where they did not turn them over to the secular court,

to commit them to perpetual or temporary imprisonment, as the nature of

the case might require. It was about the same time that an Englishman,

at the trial of Huss in Constance, after a parallel had been drawn

between Wyclif's views and those of the Bohemian, said, "By my soul, if

I were in your place I would abjure, for in England all the masters,

one after another, albeit very good men, when suspected of Wicliffism,

abjured at the command of the archbishop." [639]

Heresy also penetrated into Scotland, James Resby, one of Wyclif's poor

priests, being burnt at Perth, 1407, and another at Glasgow, 1422. In

1488, a Bohemian student at St. Andrews, Paul Craw, suffered the same

penalty for heresy. [640] The Scotch parliament of 1425 enjoined

bishops to make search for heretics and Lollards, and in 1416 every

master of arts at St. Andrews was obliged to take an oath to defend the

Church against them.

Between 1450-1517, Lollardy was almost wholly restricted to the rural

districts, and little mention is made of it in contemporary records. At

Amersham, one of its centres, four were tried in 1462, and some

suffered death, as William Barlowe in 1466, and John Goose a few years

later. In 1507, three were burnt there, including William Tylsworth,

the leading man of the congregation. At the crucial moment he was

deserted by the members, and sixty of them joined in carrying fagots

for his burning. This time of recantation continued to be known in the

district as the Great Abjuration. The first woman to suffer martyrdom

in England, Joan Broughton, was burnt at Smithfield, 1494, as was also

her daughter, Lady Young. Nine Lollards made public penance at

Coventry, 1486, but, as late as 1519, six men and one woman suffered

death there. Foxe also mentions William Sweeting and John Brewster as

being burnt at Smithfield, 1511, and John Brown at Ashford the same

year. How extensively Wyclif's views continued to be secretly held and

his writings read is a matter of conjecture. Not till 1559 was the

legislation directed against Lollardy repealed.

Our knowledge of the tenets and practices of the Lollards is derived

from their Twelve Conclusions and other Lollard documents, the records

of their trials and from the Repressor for over-much Blaming of the

Clergy, an English treatise written by Dr. Pecock, bishop of

Chichester, and finished 1455. Inclined to liberal thought, Bishop

Pecock assumed a different attitude from Courtenay, Arundel and other

prelates, and sought by calm reasoning to win the Lollards from their

mistakes. He mentioned the designation of Known Men--1 Cor. 14:38, 2

Tim. 2:19--as being one of old standing for them, and he also calls

them "the lay party" or "the Bible Men." He proposed to consider their

objections against 11 customs and institutions, such as the worship of

images, pilgrimages, landed endowments for the church, degrees of rank

among the clergy, the religious orders, the mass, oaths and war. Their

tenet that no statute is valid which is not found in the Scriptures he

also attempted to confute. In advance of his age, the bishop declared

that fire, the sword and hanging should not be resorted to till the

effort had been made "by clene wit to draw the Lollards into the

consent of the true faith." His sensible counsel brought him into

trouble, and in 1457 he was tried by Archbishop Bouchier and offered

the alternative of burning or public recantation. Pecock chose the

latter, and made abjuration at St. Paul's Cross before the archbishop

and thousands of spectators. He was clothed in full episcopal robes,

and delivered up 14 of his writings to be burnt. [641] He was forced to

resign his see, and in 1459 was, at the pope's instance, remanded to

close confinement in Thorney Abbey. His Repressor had been twice burnt

in Oxford.

There seems to have been agreement among the Lollards in denying the

material presence of Christ in the eucharistic bread and in condemning

pilgrimages, the worship of images and auricular confession. They also

held to the right of the people to read the Scriptures in their own

tongue. [642] The expression, God's law, was widely current among them,

and was opposed to the canon law and the decisions of the Church

courts. Some denied purgatory, and even based their salvation on faith,

[643] the words, "Thy faith hath saved thee," being quoted for this

view. Some denied that the marriage bond was dependent upon the

priest's act, and more the scriptural warrant and expediency of

priestly celibacy. [644]

Lollardy was an anticipation of the Reformation of the sixteenth

century, and did something in the way of preparing the mind of the

English people for that change. Professed by many clerics, it was

emphatically a movement of laymen. In the early Reformation period,

English Lutherans were at times represented as the immediate followers

of Wyclif. Writing in 1523 to Erasmus, Tonstall, bishop of London, said

of Lutheranism that "it was not a question of some pernicious novelty,

but only that new arms were being added to the great band of Wycliffite

heretics." [645]

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[626] In 1382 Repyngdon was called Lollardus de secta Wyclif, and Peter

Stokes was referred to as having opposed the "Lollards and the sect of

Wyclif," Fasc., 296. Knighton, II. 182, 260, expressly calls the

Wycliffians Lollards, Wycliviani qui et Lollardi dicti sunt.

[627] Fredericq, I. 172. A certain Matthew, whose bones were exhumed

and burnt, is called Mattaeus Lollaert. Fred., I. 250. For documents

associating the Lollards with other sectarists, see Fred., I. 228, II.

132, 133, III. 46, etc.

[628] So Jan Hocsem of Li�ge, d. 1348, who in his Gesta pontiff.

Leodiensium says, eodem anno (1309) quidam hypocritae gyrovagi qui

Lollardi sive Deum laudantes vocabuntur, etc. Fred., I. 154. Chaucer,

in his Prologue to the Shipman's Tale, says:-- This loller here wol

prechen us somewhat He wolde sowen some difficulte Or sprenge cokkle in

our clene corn.

[629] Cheyney, p. 436 sqq.

[630] Gee and Hardy, pp. 126-132. Fasc., pp. 360-369. See Gairdner, I.

44-46

[631] Knighton, II. 191.

[632] De comburendo haeretico, Gee and Hardy, pp. 133-137.

[633] Knighton, II. 171 sqq., gives the recantation in English, the

Fasc., p. 329, in Latin. John Foxe's accounts of the Lollard martyrs

are always quaintly related. Gairdner is the fullest and best of the

recent treatments. For his judgment of Foxe, see I. 159, 336 sqq. He

ascribes to him accuracy in transcribing documents. The articles in the

Dict. of Natl. Biog. are always to be consulted.

[634] Gee and Hardy give the sentence and the Fasc. the proceedings of

the trial. It is a matter of dispute under what law Sawtr� was

condemned to the flames. Prof. Maitland, In his Canon Law, holds that

It was under the old canon practice as expressed in papal bulls. The

statute De comburendo was before parliament at the time of Sawtre's

death.

[635] The proceedings are given at great length by Foxe and by Bale,

who copied Tyndale's account. Sel. Works of Bp. Bale, pp. 62-133.

[636] Walsingham, II, 244; Knighton, II. 181; Chron. Angl., p. 377.

[637] Walsingham, II. 328, says he was hung as a traitor and burnt as a

heretic. Usk p. 317 , reports he "was hung on the gallows in a chain of

iron after that he had been drawn. He was once and for all burnt up

with fierce fire, paying justly the penalty of both swords." The

Fasciculi give a protracted account of Sir John's opinions and trial.

Judgments have been much divided about him. Fuller speaks of him "as a

boon companion, jovial roysterer and yet a coward to boot." Shakespeare

presents him in the character of Falstaff. See Gairdner, I. 97 sq.

[638] Summers, p. 67.

[639] Loserth, Wiclif and Hus, p. 175.

[640] Mitchell: Scottish Reformation, p. 15.

[641] Among these works was the Provoker, in which Pecock denied that

the Apostles had compiled the Apostles' Creed. See Introd. to

Babington's Ed. of the Repressor in Rolls Series, and art. Pecock in

Dict. Natl. Biog., XLIV. 198-202.

[642] Knighton, II. 155, complains of the Lollards having the

Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Such a translation he said the laity

regarded as melior et dignior quam lingua latina.

[643] So Walsingham, II. 253.

[644] Summers, p. 60, speaks of an unpublished Lollard MS. of 37

articles which deal with clerical abuses, such as simony, quarrelling,

holding secular offices, oaths, the worship of images, the eucharist

and papal authority.

[645] Trevelyan, p. 349.

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� 44. John Huss of Bohemia.

Across the seas in Bohemia, where the views of Wyclif were

transplanted, they took deeper root than in England, and assumed an

organized form. There, the English Reformer was called the fifth

evangelist and, in its earlier stages, the movement went by the name of

Wycliffism. It was only in the later periods that the names Hussites

and Hussitism were substituted for Wycliffites and Wycliffism. Its

chief spokesmen were John Huss and Jerome of Prag, who died at the

stake at Constance for their avowed allegiance to Wyclif.

Through Huss, Prag became identified with a distinct stage in the

history of religious progress. Distinguished among its own people as

the city of St. John of Nepomuk, d. 1383, and in the history of armies

as the residence of Wallenstein, the Catholic leader in the Thirty

Years' War, Prag is known in the Western world pre-eminently as the

home of Huss. Through his noble advocacy, the principles enunciated by

Wyclif became the subject of discussion in oecumenical councils, called

forth armed crusades and furnished an imposing spectacle of steadfast

resistance against religious oppression. Wycliffism passed out of view

in England; but Hussitism, in spite of the most bitter persecution by

the Jesuits, has trickled down in pure though small streamlets into the

religious history of modern times, notably through the Moravians of

Herrnhut.

During the reign of Charles IV., king of Bohemia and emperor,

1346-1378, the Bohemian kingdom entered upon the

[picture with title below]

John Huss of Bohemia

golden era of its literary and religious history. In 1344, the

archbishopric of Prag was created, and the year 1347 witnessed an event

of far more than local importance in the founding of the University of

Prag. The first of the German universities, it was forthwith to enter

upon the era of its brightest fame. The Czech and German languages were

spoken side by side in the city, which was divided, at the close of the

14th century into five quarters. The Old Town, inhabited chiefly by

Germans, included the Teyn church, the Carolinum, the Bethlehem chapel

and the ancient churches of St. Michael and St. Gallus. Under the first

archbishop of Prag, Arnest of Pardubitz, and his successor Ocko of

Wlaschim, a brave effort was made to correct ecclesiastical abuses. In

1355, the demand for popular instruction was recognized by a law

requiring parish priests to preach in the Czech. The popular preachers,

Konrad of Waldhausen, d. 1369, Militz of Kremsier, d. 1874, and

Matthias of Janow, d. 1394, made a deep impression. They quoted at

length from the Scriptures, urged the habit of frequent communion, and

Janow, as reported by Rokyzana at the Council of Basel, 1433, seems to

have administered the cup to the laity. [646] When John Huss entered

upon his career in the university, he was breathing the atmosphere

generated by these fervent evangelists, although in his writings he

nowhere quotes them.

Close communication between England and Bohemia had been established

with the marriage of the Bohemian king Wenzel's sister, Anne of

Luxemburg, to Richard II., 1382. She was a princess of cultivated

tastes, and had in her possession copies of the Scriptures in Latin,

Czech and German. Before this nuptial event, the philosophical faculty

of the University of Prag, in 1367, ordered its bachelors to add to the

instructions of its own professors the notebooks of Paris and Oxford

doctors. Here and there a student sought out the English university, or

even went so far as the Scotch St. Andrews. Among those who studied in

Oxford was Jerome of Prag. Thus a bridge for the transmission of

intellectual products was laid from Wyclif's lecture hall to the

capital on the Moldau. [647] Wyclif's views and writings were known in

Bohemia at an early date. In 1381 a learned Bohemian theologian,

Nicolas Biceps, was acquainted with his leading principles and made

them a subject of attack. Huss, in his reply to the English Carmelite,

John Stokes, 1411, declared that he and the members of the university

had had Wyclif's writings in their hands and been reading them for 20

years and more. [648] Five copies are extant of these writings, made in

Huss' own hand, 1398. They were carried away in the Thirty Years' War

and are preserved in the Royal Library of Stockholm.

John Huss was born of Czech parents, 1369, at Husinec in Southern

Bohemia. The word Hus means goose, and its distinguished bearer often

applied the literal meaning to himself. For example, he wrote from

Constance expressing the hope that the Goose might be delivered from

prison, and he bade the Bohemians, "if they loved the Goose," to secure

the king's aid in having him released. Friends also referred to him in

the same way. [649] His parents were poor and, during his studies in

the University of Prag, he supported himself by singing and manual

services. He took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1393 and of

divinity a year later. In 1396 he incepted as master of arts, and in

1398 began delivering lectures in the university. In 1402 he was chosen

rector, filling the office for six months.

With his academic duties Huss combined the activity of a preacher, and

in 1402 was appointed to the rectorship of the Chapel of the Holy

Innocents of Bethlehem. This church, usually known as the Bethlehem

church, was founded in 1391 by two wealthy laymen, with the stipulation

that the incumbent should preach every Sunday and on festival days in

Czech. It was made famous by its new rector as the little church,

Anastasia, in Constantinople, was made famous in the fourth century by

Gregory of Nazianzus, and by his discourses against the Arian heresy.

As early as 1402, Huss was regarded as the chief exponent and defender

of Wycliffian views at the university. Protests, made by the clergy

against their spread, took definite form in 1403, when the university

authorities condemned the 24 articles placed under the ban by the

London council of 1382. At the same time 21 other articles were

condemned, which one of the university masters, John H�bner, a Pole,

professed to have extracted from the Englishman's writings. The

decision forbade the preaching and teaching of these 45 articles. Among

Wyclif's warm defenders were Stanislaus of Znaim and Stephen Paletz.

The subject which gave the most offence was his doctrine of the Lord's

Supper.

A distinct stage in the religious controversies agitating Bohemia was

introduced by the election of Sbinko of Hasenburg to the see of Prag,

1403. In the earlier years of his administration Huss had the prelate's

confidence, held the post of synodal preacher and was encouraged to

bring to the archbishop's notice abuses that might be reformed. He was

also appointed one of a commission of three to investigate the alleged

miracles performed by the relic of Christ's blood at Wylsnak and

attracting great throngs. The report condemned the miracles as a fraud.

The matter, however, became subject of discussion at the university and

as far away as Vienna and Erfurt, the question assuming the form

whether Christ left any of his blood on the earth. In a tract entitled

the Glorification of all Christ's Blood, [650] Huss took the negative

side. In spite of him and of the commission's report, the miracles at

Wylsnak went on, until, in 1552, a zealous Lutheran broke the pyx which

held the relic and burnt it.

So extensive was the spread of Wycliffism that Innocent VII., in 1405,

called upon Sbinko to employ severe measures to stamp it out and to

seize Wyclif's writings. The same year a Prag synod forbade the

propaganda of Wyclif's views and renewed the condemnation of the 45

articles. Three years later Huss--whose activity in denouncing clerical

abuses and advocating Wyclif's theology knew no abatement--was deposed

from the position of synodal preacher. The same year the University

authorities, at the archbishop's instance, ordered that no public

lectures should be delivered on Wyclif's Trialogus and Dialogus and his

doctrine of the Supper, and that no public disputation should concern

itself with any of the condemned 45 articles.

The year following, 1409, occurred the emigration from the university

of the three nations, the Bavarians, Saxons and Poles, the Czechs alone

being left. The bitter feeling of the Bohemians had expressed itself in

the demand for three votes, while the other nations were to be

restricted to one each. When Wenzel consented to this demand, 2000

masters and scholars withdrew, the Germans going to Leipzig and

founding the university of that city. The University of Prag was at

once reduced to a provincial school of 500 students, and has never

since regained its prestige. [651]

Huss, a vigorous advocate of the use of the Czech, was the recognized

head of the national movement at the university, and chosen first

rector under the new r�gime. If possible, his advocacy of Wyclif and

his views was more bold than before. From this time forth, his Latin

writings were filled with excerpts from the English teacher and teem

with his ideas. Wyclif's writings were sown broadcast in Bohemia. Huss

himself had translated the Trialogus into Czech. Throngs were attracted

by preaching. Wherever, wrote Huss in 1410, in city or town, in village

or castle, the preacher of the holy truth made his appearance, the

people flocked together in crowds and in spite of the clergy. [652]

Following a bull issued by Alexander V., Sbinko, in 1410, ordered

Wyclif's writings seized and burnt, and forbade all preaching in

unauthorized places. The papal document called forth the protest of

Huss and others, who appealed to John XXIII. by showing the absurdity

of burning books on philosophy, logic and other non-theological

subjects, a course that would condemn the writings of Aristotle and

Origen to the flames. The protest was in vain and 200 manuscript copies

of the Reformer's writings were cast into the flames in the courtyard

of the archiepiscopal palace amidst the tolling of the church bells.

[653]

Two days after this grewsome act, the sentence of excommunication was

launched against Huss and all who might persist in refusing to deliver

up Wyclif's writings. Defying the archbishop and the papal bull, Huss

continued preaching in the Bethlehem chapel. The excitement among all

classes was intense and men were cudgelled on the streets for speaking

against the Englishman. Satirical ballads were sung, declaring that the

archbishop did not know what was in the books he had set fire to. Huss'

sermons, far from allaying the commotion, were adapted to increase it.

Huss had no thought of submission and, through handbills, announced a

defence of Wyclif's treatise on the Trinity before the university, July

27. But his case had now passed from the archbishop's jurisdiction to

the court of the curia, which demanded the offender's appearance in

person, but in vain. In spite of the appeals of Wenzel and many

Bohemian nobles who pledged their honor that he was no heretic, John

XXIII. put the case into the hands of Cardinal Colonna, afterwards

Martin V., who launched the ban against Huss for his refusal to comply

with the canonical citation.

Colonna's sentence was read from all the pulpits of Prag except two.

But the offensive preaching continued, and Sbinko laid the city under

the interdict, which, however, was withdrawn on the king's promise to

root out heresy from his realm. Wenzel gave orders that "Master Huss,

our beloved and faithful chaplain, be allowed to preach the Word of God

in peace." According to the agreement, Sbinko was also to write to the

pope assuring him that diligent inquisition had been made, and no

traces of heresy were to be found in Bohemia. This letter is still

extant, but was never sent.

Early in September, 1411, Huss wrote to John XXIII. protesting his full

agreement with the Church and asking that the citation to appear before

the curia be revoked. In this communication and in a special letter to

the cardinals [654] Huss spoke of the punishment for heresy and

insubordination. He, however, wrote to John that he was bound to speak

the truth, and that he was ready to suffer a dreadful death rather than

to declare what would be contrary to the will of Christ and his Church.

He had been defamed, and it was false that he had expressed himself in

favor of the remanence of the material substance of the bread after the

words of institution, and that a priest in mortal sin might not

celebrate the eucharist. Sbinko died Sept. 28, 1411. At this juncture

the excitement was increased by the arrival in Prag of John Stokes, a

Cambridge man, and well known in England as an uncompromising foe of

Wycliffism. He had come with a delegation, sent by the English king, to

arrange an alliance with Sigismund. Stokes' presence aroused the

expectation of a notable clash, but the Englishman, although he

ventilated his views privately, declined Huss' challenge to a public

disputation on the ground that he was a political representative of a

friendly nation. [655]

The same year, 1411, John XXIII. called Europe to a crusade against

Ladislaus of Naples, the defender of Gregory XII., and promised

indulgence to all participating in it, whether by personal enlistment

or by gifts. Tiem, dean of Passau, appointed preacher of the holy war,

made his way to Prag and opened the sale of indulgences. Chests were

placed in the great churches, and the traffic was soon in full sway. As

Wyclif, thirty years before, in his Cruciata, had lifted up his voice

against the crusade in Flanders, so now Huss denounced the religious

war and denied the pope's right to couple indulgences with it. He

filled the Bethlehem chapel with denunciations of the sale and, in a

public disputation, took the ground that remission of sins comes

through repentance alone and that the pope has no authority to seize

the secular sword. Many of his paragraphs were taken bodily from

Wyclif's works on the Church and on the Absolution from guilt and

punishment. [656] Huss was supported by Jerome of Prag.

Popular opinion was on the side of these leaders, but from this time

Huss' old friends, Stanislaus of Znaim and Stephen Paletz, walked no

more with him. Under the direction of Wok of Waldstein, John's two

bulls, bearing on the crusade and offering indulgence, were publicly

burnt, after being hung at the necks of two students, dressed as

harlots, and drawn through the streets in a cart. [657] Huss was still

writing that he abhorred the errors ascribed to him, but the king could

not countenance the flagrant indignity shown to the papal bulls, and

had three men of humble position executed, Martin, John and Stanislaus.

They had cried out in open church that the bulls were lies, as Huss had

proved. They were treated as martyrs, and their bodies taken to the

Bethlehem chapel, where the mass for martyrs was said over them.

To reaffirm its orthodoxy, the theological faculty renewed its

condemnation of the 45 articles and added 6 more, taken from Huss'

public utterances. Two of the latter bore upon preaching. [658] The

clergy of Prag appealed to be protected "from the ravages of the wolf,

the Wycliffist Hus, the despiser of the keys," and the curia pronounced

the greater excommunication. The heretic was ordered seized, delivered

over to the archbishop, and the Bethlehem chapel razed to the ground.

Three stones were to be hurled against Huss' dwelling, as a sign of

perpetual curse. Thus the Reformer had against him the archbishop, the

university, the clergy and the curia, but popular feeling remained in

his favor and prevented the papal sentence from being carried out. The

city was again placed under the interdict. Huss appealed from the pope

and, because a general council's action is always uncertain and at best

tardy, looked at once to the tribunal of Christ. He publicly asserted

that the pope was exercising prerogatives received from the devil.

To allay the excitement, Wenzel induced Huss to withdraw from the city.

This was in 1412. In later years Huss expressed doubts as to whether he

had acted wisely in complying. He was moved not only by regard for the

authority of his royal protector but by sympathy for the people whom

the interdict was depriving of spiritual privileges. Had he defied the

sentence and refused compliance with the king's request, it is probable

he would have lost the day and been silenced in prison or in the flames

in his native city. In this case, the interest of his career would have

been restricted to the annals of his native land, and no place would

have been found for him in the general history of Europe. So Huss went

into exile, but there was still some division among the ecclesiastical

authorities of the kingdom over the merits of Wycliffism, and a

national synod, convoked February 13, 1413, to take measures to secure

peace, adjourned without coming to a decision.

Removed from Prag, Huss was indefatigable in preaching and writing.

Audiences gathered to hear him on the marketplaces and in the fields

and woods. Lords in their strong castles protected him. Following

Wyclif, he insisted upon preaching as the indefeasible right of the

priest, and wrote that to cease from preaching, in obedience to the

mandate of pope or archbishop, would be to disobey God and imperil his

own salvation. [659] He also kept in communication with the city by

visiting it several times and by writing to the Bethlehem chapel, the

university and the municipal synod. This correspondence abounds in

quotations from the Scriptures, and Huss reminds his friends that

Christ himself was excommunicated as a malefactor and crucified. No

help was to be derived from the saints. Christ's example and his

salvation are the sufficient sources of consolation and courage. The

high priests, scribes, Pharisees, Herod and Pilate condemned the Truth

and gave him over to death, but he rose from the tomb and gave in his

stead twelve other preachers. So he would do again. What fear, he

wrote, "shall part us from God, or what death? What shall we lose if

for His sake we forfeit wealth, friends, the world's honors and our

poor life?... It is better to die well than to live badly. We dare not

sin to avoid the punishment of death. To end in grace the present life

is to be banished from misery. Truth is the last conqueror. He wins who

is slain, for no adversity "hurts him if no iniquity has dominion over

him." In this strain he wrote again and again. The "bolts of

anti-christ," he said, could not terrify him, and should not terrify

the "elect of Prag." [660]

Of the extent of Huss' influence during this period he bore witness at

Constance when, in answer to D'Ailly, he said:

I have stated that I came here of my own free will. If I had been

unwilling to come, neither that king [referring to Wenzel] nor this

king here [referring to Sigismund] would have been able to force me to

come, so numerous and so powerful are the Bohemian nobles who love me,

and within whose castles I should have been able to lie concealed.

And when D'Ailly rebuked the statement as effrontery, John of Chlum

replied that it was even as the prisoner said, "There are numbers of

great nobles who love him and have strong castles where they could keep

him as long as they wished, even against both those kings."

The chief product of this period of exile was Huss' work on the Church,

De ecclesia, the most noted of all his writings. It was written in view

of the national synod held in 1413, and was sent to Prag and read in

the Bethlehem chapel, July 8. Of this tractate Cardinal D'Ailly said at

the Council of Constance that by an infinite number of arguments, it

combated the pope's plenary authority as much as the Koran, the book of

the damned Mohammed, combated the Catholic faith. [661]

In this volume, next to Wyclif's, the most famous treatment on the

Church since Cyprian's work, De ecclesia, and Augustine's writings

against the Donatists, Huss defined the Church and the power of the

keys, and then proceeds to defend himself against the fulminations of

Alexander V. and John XXIII. and to answer the Prag theologians,

Stephen Paletz and Stanislaus of Znaim, who had deserted him. The

following are some of its leading positions.

The Holy Catholic Church is the body or congregation of all the

predestinate, the dead, the living and those yet to be. [662] The term

'catholic' means universal. The unity of the Church is a unity of

predestination and of blessedness, a unity of faith, charity and grace.

The Roman pontiff and the cardinals are not the Church. The Church can

exist without cardinals and a pope, and in fact for hundreds of years

there were no cardinals. [663] As for the position Christ assigned to

Peter, Huss affirmed that Christ called himself the Rock, and the

Church is founded on him by virtue of predestination. In view of

Peter's clear and positive confession, "the Rock--Petra -- said to

Peter--Petro -- 'I say unto thee, Thou art Peter, that is, a confessor

of the true Rock which Rock I am.' And upon the Rock, that is, myself,

I will build this Church." Thus Huss placed himself firmly on the

ground taken by Augustine in his Retractations. Peter never was the

head of the Holy Catholic Church. [664]

He thus set himself clearly against the whole ultramontane theory of

the Church and its head. The Roman bishop, he said, was on an equality

with other bishops until Constantine made him pope. It was then that he

began to usurp authority. Through ignorance and the love of money the

pope may err, and has erred, and to rebel against an erring pope is to

obey Christ. [665] There have been depraved and heretical popes. Such

was Joan, whose case Huss dwelt upon at length and refers to at least

three times. Such was also the case of Liberius, who is also treated at

length. Joan had a son and Liberius was an Arian. [666]

In the second part of the De ecclesia, Huss pronounced the bulls of

Alexander and John XXIII. anti-christian, and therefore not to be

obeyed. Alexander's bull, prohibiting preaching in Bohemia except in

the cathedral, parish and monastic churches was against the Gospel, for

Christ preached in houses, on the seaside, and in synagogues, and bade

his disciples to go into all the world and preach. No papal

excommunication may be an impediment to doing what Christ did and

taught to be done. [667]

Turning to the pope's right to issue indulgences, the Reformer went

over the ground he had already traversed in his replies to John's two

bulls calling for a crusade against Ladislaus. He denied the pope's

right to go to war or to make appeal to the secular sword. If John was

minded to follow Christ, he should pray for his enemies and say, "My

kingdom is not of this world." Then the promised wisdom would be given

which no enemies would be able to gainsay. The power to forgive sins

belongs to no mortal man anymore than it belonged to the priest to whom

Christ sent the lepers. The lepers were cleansed before they reached

the priest. Indeed, many popes who conceded the most ample indulgences

were themselves damned. [668] Confession of the heart alone is

sufficient for the soul's salvation where the applicant is truly

penitent.

In denying the infallibility of the pope and of the Church visible, and

in setting aside the sacerdotal power of the priesthood to open and

shut the kingdom of heaven, Huss broke with the accepted theory of

Western Christendom; he committed the unpardonable sin of the Middle

Ages. These fundamental ideas, however, were not original with the

Bohemian Reformer. He took them out of Wyclif's writings, and he also

incorporated whole paragraphs of those writings in his pages. Teacher

never had a more devoted pupil than the English Reformer had in Huss.

The first three chapters of De ecclesia are little more than a series

of extracts from Wyclif's treatise on the Church. What is true of this

work is also true of most of Huss' other Latin writings. [669] Huss,

however, was not a mere copyist. The ideas he got from Wyclif he made

thoroughly his own. When he quoted Augustine, Bernard, Jerome and other

writers, he mentioned them by name. If he did not mention Wyclif, when

he took from him arguments and entire paragraphs, a good reason can be

assigned for his silence. It was well known that it was Wyclif's cause

which he was representing and Wycliffian views that he was defending,

and Wyclif's writings were wide open to the eye of members of the

university faculties. He made no secret of following Wyclif, and being

willing to die for the views Wyclif taught. As he wrote to Richard

Wyche, he was thankful that "under the power of Jesus Christ, Bohemia

had received so much good from the blessed land of England." [670]

The Bohemian theologian was fully imbued with Wyclif's heretical

spirit. The great Council of Constance was about to meet. Before that

tribunal Huss was now to be judged.

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[646] The truth of Rokyzana's statement is denied by Loserth, In

Herzog, VIII. 588 sq. On other Bohemian preachers of Huss' day, see

Flajshans, Serm. de Sanctis, p. iv.

[647] See Loserth, Wiclif and Hus, p. 70. Wenzel or Wenceslaus IV.,

surnamed the Lazy, was the son of Charles IV. His second wife was

Sophia of Bavaria. His half-brother, Sigismund, succeeded him on the

throne.

[648] Flajshans: Serm. de Sanctis, p. xxi. N�rnb. ed., I. 135.

[649] Workman: Hus' Letters, pp. 94, 118, 163, 189, 192, 198, 201. The

spelling, Hus, almost universally adopted in recent years by German and

English writers, has been exchanged by Loserth in his art. in Herzog

for Huss, as a form more congenial to the German mode of spelling. For

the same reason this volume has adopted the form Huss as more agreeable

to the English reader's eye and more consonant with our mode of

spelling. Karl M�ller adopts this spelling in his Kirchengeschichte.

The exact date of Huss' birth is usually given as July 6th, 1369, but

with insufficient authority. Loserth, Wiclif and Hus, p. 65 sq.

[650] De Omni Christi sanguine glorificato, ed. by Flajshans p. 42.

[651] See Rashdall: Universities of Europe, I. 211-242. The number of

departing students is variously given. The number given above has the

authority of Procopius, a chronicler of the 15th century. Only 602 were

matriculated at Leipzig the first year, and this figure seems to point

to a smaller number than 2000 leaving Prag. K�gelgen, Die

Gef�ngnissbriefe, p. ix, adopts the uureasonable number, 5000.

[652] Workman: Hus' Letters, p. 36.

[653] Among the condemned writings, 17 in all, were the Dialogus,

Trialogus, De incarnatione Verbi and the De dominio civili.

[654] These letters are given by Workman, pp. 51-54.

[655] Huss' reply, Replica, and Stokes' statement, which called it

forth, are given in the N�rnb. ed., I. 135-139.

[656] Huss' tract is entitled De indulgentiis sive de cruciatu papae

Joh. XXIII. fulminata contra Ladislaum Apuliae regem. N�rnb. ed.,

213-235.

[657] Workman: Hus' Letters.

[658] See Huss' reply, Defensio quorundam articulorum J. Wicleff, and

the rejoinder of the Theol. faculty, N�rnb. ed., I. 139-146.

[659] Workman: Hus' Letters, pp. 60, 66.

[660] Workman, p. 107-120. Workman translates seventeen letters written

from this exile, pp. 83-138.

[661] Du Pin, Opp. Gerson., II. 901. The De ecclesia is given in the

N�rnb. ed., I. 243-319.

[662] Eccl. est omnium praedestinatorum universitas; quae est omnes

praedestinati, praesentes, praeteriti et futuri. N�rnb. ed. I., 244.

[663] Writing to Christian Prachatitz, in 1413, Huss said, "If the pope

is the head of the Roman Church and the cardinals are the body, then

they in themselves form the entire Holy Roman Church, as the entire

body of a man with the head is the man. The satellites of anti-christ

use interchangeably the expressions 'Holy Roman Church' and 'pope and

cardinals' etc." Workman: Hus' Letters, p. 121.

[664] Propter confessionem tam claram et firmam, dixit Petra Petro, et

ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus, id est confessor Petrae vertae qui est

Christus et super hanc Petram quam confessus es, id est, super me,

etc., N�rnb. ed., I. 257. Petrus non fuit nec est caput s. eccles.

cathol., p. 263. See also the same interpretation in Huss' Serm. de

Sanctis, p. 84.

[665] N�rnb. ed., I. 260, 284, 294, etc.

[666] Huss also in his Letters repeatedly refers to Joan and Liberius,

e.g. he writes, "I should like to know if pope Liberius the heretic,

Leo the heretic and the pope Joan, who was delivered of a boy, were the

heads of the Roman Church." Workman: Hus' Letters, p. 125.

[667] N�rnb. ed., I. 302.

[668] De indulgentiis, N�rnb. ed., pp. 220-228.

[669] Loserth wrote his Wicliff and Hus to show the dependence of Huss

upon his English predecessor, and the latter half of this work gives

proof of it by printing in parallel columns portions of the two

authors, compositions. He says, p. 111, that the De ecclesia is only "a

meagre abridgement of Wyclif's work on the same subject." This author

affirms that in his Latin tractates Huss "has drawn all his arguments

from Wyclif," and that "the most weighty parts are taken word for word

from his English predecessor," pp. xiv, 139, 141, 156, etc. Neander

made a mistake in rating the influence of Matthias of Janow upon Huss

higher than the influence of Wyclif. He wrote before the Wyclif Society

began its publications. Even Palacky, in his Church History of Bohemia,

III. 190-197, pronounced it uncertain how far Huss was influenced by

Wyclif's writings, and questions whether he had attached himself

closely to the English Reformer. The publications of the Wyclif

Society, which make a comparison possible, show that one writer could

scarcely be more dependent upon another than Huss was upon Wyclif.

[670] Workman: Hus' Letters, p. 36.

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� 45. Huss at Constance.

Thou wast their Rock, their fortress and their might;

Thou, Lord, their captain in the well-fought fight;

Thou, in the darkness drear, their light of light. Alleluia.

The great expectations aroused by the assembling of the Council of

Constance included the settlement of the disturbance which was rending

the kingdom of Bohemia. It was well understood that measures were to be

taken against the heresy which had invaded Western Christendom. In two

letters addressed to Conrad, archbishop of Prag, Gerson bore witness

that, in learned centres outside of Bohemia, the names of Wyclif and

Huss were indissolubly joined. Of all Huss' errors, wrote the

chancellor, "the proposition is the most perilous that a man who is

living in deadly sin may not have authority and dominion over Christian

men. And this proposition, as is well known, has passed down to Huss

from Wyclif." [671]

To Constance Sigismund, king of the Romans and heir of the Bohemian

crown, turned for relief from the embarrassment of Hussitism; and from

Lombardy he sent a deputation to summon Huss to attend the council at

the same time promising him safe conduct. The Reformer expressed his

readiness to go, and had handbills posted in Prag announcing his

decision. Writing to Wenzel and his queen, he reaffirmed his readiness,

and stated he was willing to suffer the penalty appointed for heretics,

should he be condemned. [672]

Under date of Sept. 1, 1414, Huss wrote to Sigismund that he was ready

to go to Constance "under safe-conduct of your protection, the Lord

Most High being my defender." A week later, the king replied,

expressing confidence that, by his appearance, all imputation of heresy

would be removed from the kingdom of Bohemia.

Huss set out on the journey Oct. 11, 1414, and reached Constance Nov.

3. He was accompanied by the Bohemian nobles, John of Chlum, Wenzel of

Duba and Henry Lacembok. With John of Chlum was Mladenowitz, who did an

important service by preserving Huss' letters and afterwards editing

them with notes. Huss' correspondence, from this time on, deserves a

place in the choice autobiographical literature of the Christian

centuries. For pathos, simplicity of expression and devotion to Christ,

the writings of the Middle Ages do not furnish anything superior.

In a letter, written to friends in Bohemia on the eve of his departure,

Huss expressed his expectation of being confronted at Constance by

bishops, doctors, princes and canons regular, yea, by more foes than

the Redeemer himself had to face. He prayed that, if his death would

contribute aught to God's glory, he might be enabled to meet it without

sinful fear. A second letter was not to be opened, except in case of

his death. It was written to Martin, a disciple whom the writer says he

had known from childhood. He binds Martin to fear God, to be careful

how he listened to the confessions of women, and not to follow him in

any frivolity he had been guilty of in other days, such as

chess-playing. Persecution was about to do its worst because he had

attacked the greed and incontinence of the clergy. He willed to Martin

his gray cloak and bade him, in case of his death, give to the rector

his white gown and to his faithful servant, George, a guinea.

The route was through N�rnberg. Along the way Huss was met by throngs

of curious people. He sat down in the inns with the local priests,

talking over his case with them. At N�rnberg the magistrates and

burghers invited him to meet them at an inn. Deeming it unnecessary to

go out of its way to meet Sigismund, who was at Spires, the party

turned its face directly to the lake of Constance. Arrived on its upper

shore, they sent back most of their horses for sale, a wise measure, as

it proved, in view of the thousands of animals that had to be cared for

at Constance. [673]

Arrived at Constance, Huss took lodgings with a "second widow of

Sarepta," who had kept the bakery to the White Pigeon. The house is

still shown. His coming was a great sensation, and he entered the town,

riding through a large crowd. The day after, John of Chlum and Baron

Lacembok called upon pope John XXIII., who promised that no violence

should be done their friend, nay, even though he had killed the pope's

own brother. He granted him leave to go about the city, but forbade him

to attend high mass. Although he was under sentence of excommunication,

Huss celebrated mass daily in his own lodgings. The cardinals were

incensed that a man charged openly with heresy should have freedom, and

whatever misgivings Huss had had of unfair dealing were to be quickly

justified. Individual liberty had no rights before the bar of an

ecclesiastical court in the 15th century when a heretic was under

accusation. Before the month had passed, Huss' imprisonment began, a

pretext being found in an alleged attempt to escape from the city

concealed in a hay-wagon. [674] On November 28, the two bishops of

Trent and Augsburg entered his lodgings with a requisition for him to

appear before the cardinals. The house was surrounded by soldiers.

Huss, after some hesitation, yielded and left, with the hostess

standing at the stairs in tears. It was the beginning of the end.

After a short audience with the cardinals, the prisoner was taken away

by a guard of soldiers, and within a week he was securely immured in

the dungeon of the Dominican convent. Preparations had been going on

for several days to provide the place with locks, bolts and other

strong furnishings.

In this prison, Huss languished for three months. His cell was hard by

the latrines. Fever and vomiting set in, and it seemed likely they

would quickly do their dismal work. John XXIII. deserves some credit

for having sent his physician, who applied clysters, as Huss himself

wrote. To sickness was added the deprivation of books, including the

Bible. For two months we have no letters from him. They begin again,

with January, 1415, and give us a clear insight into the indignities to

which he was exposed and the misery he suffered. These letters were

sent by the gaoler.

What was Sigismund doing? He had issued the letter of safe-conduct,

Oct. 18. On the day before his arrival in Constance, Dec. 24th, John of

Chlum posted up a notice on the cathedral, protesting that the king's

agreement had been treated with defiance by the cardinals. Sigismund

professed to be greatly incensed, and blustered, but this was the end

of it. He was a time-serving prince who was easily persuaded to yield

to the arguments of such ecclesiastical figures as D'Ailly, who

insisted that little matters like Huss' heresy should not impede the

reformation of the church, the council's first concern, and that error

unreproved was error countenanced. [675] All good churchmen prayed his

Majesty might not give way to the lies and subtleties of the

Wycliffists. The king of Aragon wrote that Huss should be killed off at

once, without having the formality of a hearing.

During his imprisonment in the Black Friars' convent, Huss wrote for

his gaoler, Robert, tracts on the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer,

Mortal Sin and Marriage. Of the 13 letters preserved from this time,

the larger part were addressed to John of Chlum, his trusty friend.

Some of the letters were written at midnight, and some on tattered

scraps of paper. [676] In this correspondence four things are

prominent: Huss' reliance upon the king and his word of honor, his

consuming desire to be heard in open council, the expectation of

possible death and his trust in God. He feared sentence would be passed

before opportunity was given him to speak with the king. "If this is

his honor, it is his own lookout," he wrote. [677]

In the meantime the council had committed the matter of heresy to a

commission, with D'Ailly at its head. It plied Huss with questions, and

presented heretical articles taken from his writings. Stephen Paletz,

his apostate friend, badgered him more than all the rest. His request

for a "proctor and advocate" was denied. The thought of death was

continually before him. But, as the Lord had delivered Jonah from the

whale's belly, and Daniel from the lions, so, he believed, God would

deliver him, if it were expedient.

Upon John XXIII.'s flight, fears were felt that Huss might be delivered

by his friends, and the keys of the prison were put into the hands of

Sigismund. On March 24th the bishop of Constance had the prisoner

chained and transferred by boat to his castle, Gottlieben. There he had

freedom to walk about in his chains by day, but he was handcuffed and

bound to the wall at night. The imprisonment at Gottlieben lasted

seventy-three days, from March 24th-June 5th. If Huss wrote any letters

during that time none have survived. It was a strange freak of history

that the runaway pontiff, on being seized and brought back to

Constance, was sent to Gottlieben to be fellow-prisoner with Huss, the

one, the former head of Christendom, condemned for almost every known

misdemeanor; the other, the preacher whose life was, by the testimony

of all contemporaries, almost without a blemish. The criminal pope was

to be released after a brief confinement and elevated to an exalted

dignity; the other was to be contemned as a religious felon and burnt

as an expiation to orthodox theology.

At Gottlieben, Huss suffered from hemorrhage, headache and other

infirmities, and at times was on the brink of starvation. A new

commission, appointed April 6, with D'Ailly at its head, now took up

seriously the heresy of Huss and Wyclif, whom the council coupled

together. [678] Huss' friends had not forgotten him, and 250 Moravian

and Bohemian nobles signed a remonstrance at Prag, May 13, which they

sent to Sigismund, protesting against the treatment "the beloved master

and Christian preacher" was receiving, and asked that he might be

granted a public hearing and allowed to return home. Upon a public

hearing Huss staked everything, and with such a hearing in view he had

gone to Constance.

In order to bring the prisoner within more convenient reach of the

commission, he was transferred in the beginning of June to a third

prison,--the Franciscan friary. From June 5-8 public hearings were had

in the refectory, the room being crowded with cardinals, archbishops,

bishops, theologians and persons of lesser degree. Cardinal D'Ailly was

present and took the leading part as head of the commission. The action

taken May 4th condemning 260 errors and heresies extracted from

Wyclif's works was adapted to rob Huss of whatever hope of release he

still indulged. Charges were made against him of holding that Christ is

in the consecrated bread only as the soul is in the body, that Wyclif

was a good Christian, that salvation was not dependent upon the pope

and that no one could be excommunicated except by God Himself. He also

had expressed the hope his soul might be where Wyclif's was. [679] When

a copy of his book on the Church was shown, they shouted, "Burn it."

Whenever Huss attempted to explain his positions, he was met with

shouts, "Away with your sophistries. Say, Yes or No." The Englishman,

John Stokes, who was present, declared that it seemed to him as if he

saw Wyclif himself in bodily form sitting before him.

On the morning of June 7th, Huss exclaimed that God and his conscience

were on his side. But, Said D'Ailly, "we cannot go by your conscience

when we have other evidence, and the evidence of Gerson himself against

you, the most renowned doctor in Christendom." [680] D'Ailly and an

Englishman attempted to show the logical connection of the doctrine of

remanence with realism. When Huss replied that such reasoning was the

logic of schoolboys, another Englishman had the courage to add, Huss is

quite right: what have these quibbles to do with matters of faith?

Sigismund advised Huss to submit, saying that he had told the

commission he would not defend any heretic who was determined to stick

to his heresy. He also declared that, so long as a single heretic

remained, he was ready to light the fire himself with his own hand to

burn him. He, however, promised that Huss should have a written list of

charges the following day.

That night, as Huss wrote, he suffered from toothache, vomiting,

headache and the stone. On June 8th, 39 distinct articles were handed

to him, 26 of which were drawn from his work on the Church. When he

demurred at some of the statements, D'Ailly had the pertinent sections

from the original writings read. When they came to the passage that no

heretic should be put to death, the audience shouted in mockery. Huss

went on to argue from the case of Saul, after his disobedience towards

Agag, that kings in mortal sin have no right to authority. Sigismund

happened to be at the moment at the window, talking to Frederick of

Bavaria. The prelates, taking advantage of the avowal, cried out, "Tell

the king Huss is now attacking him." The emperor turned and said, "John

Huss, no one lives without sin." D'Ailly suggested that the prisoner,

not satisfied with pulling down the spiritual fabric, was attempting to

hurl down the monarchy likewise. In an attempt to break the force of

his statement, Huss asked why they had deposed pope John. Sigismund

replied that Baldassarre was real pope, but was deposed for his

notorious crimes.

The 39 articles included the heretical assertions that the Church is

the totality of the elect, that a priest must continue preaching, even

though he be under sentence of excommunication, and that whoso is in

mortal sin cannot exercise authority. Huss expressed himself ready to

revoke statements that might be proved untrue by Scripture and good

arguments, but that he would not revoke any which were not so proved.

When Sigismund remonstrated, Huss appealed to the judgment bar of God.

At the close of the proceedings, D'Ailly declared that a compromise was

out of the question. Huss must abjure. [681]

As Huss passed out in the charge of the archbishop of Riga, John of

Chlum had the courage to reach out his hand to him. The act reminds us

of the friendly words Georg of Frundsberg spoke to Luther at Worms.

Huss was most thankful, and a day or two afterward wrote how delightful

it had been to see Lord John, who was not ashamed to hold out his hand

to a poor, abject heretic, a prisoner in irons and the butt of all

men's tongues. In addressing the assembly after Huss' departure,

Sigismund argued against accepting submission from the prisoner who, if

released, would go back to Bohemia and sow his errors broadcast. "When

I was a boy," he said, "I remember the first sprouting of this sect,

and see what it is today. We should make an end of the master one day,

and when I return from my journey we will deal with his pupil. What's

his name?" The reply was, Jerome. Yes, said the king, I mean Jerome.

Huss, as he himself states, was pestered in prison by emissaries who

sought to entrap him, or to "hold out baskets" for him to escape in.

Some of the charges made against him he ascribes to false witnesses.

But many of the charges were not false, and it is difficult to

understand how he could expect to free himself by a public statement,

in view of the solemn condemnation passed upon the doctrines of Wyclif.

He was convinced that none of the articles brought against him were

contrary to the Gospel of Christ, but canon law ruled at councils, not

Scripture. A doctor told him that if the council should affirm he had

only one eye, he ought to accept the verdict. Huss replied if the whole

world were to tell him so, he would not say so and offend his

conscience, and he appealed to the case of Eleazar in the Book of the

Maccabees, who would not make a lying confession. [682] But he was

setting his house in order. He wrote affecting messages to his people

in Bohemia and to John of Chlum. He urged the Bohemians to hear only

priests of good report, and especially those who were earnest students

of Holy Writ. Martin he adjured to read the Bible diligently,

especially the New Testament.

On June 15th, the council took the far-reaching action forbidding the

giving of the cup to laymen. This action Huss condemned as wickedness

and madness, on the ground that it was a virtual condemnation of

Christ's example and command. To Hawlik, who had charge of the

Bethlehem chapel, he wrote, urging him not to withhold the cup from the

laity. [683] He saw indisputable proof that the council was fallible.

One day it kissed the feet of John, as a paragon of virtue, and called

him "most holy," and the next it condemned him as "a shameful homicide,

a sodomite, a simoniac and a heretic." He quoted the proverb, common

among the Swiss, that a generation would not suffice to cleanse

Constance from the sins the body had committed in that city.

The darkness deepened around the prisoner. On June 24th, by the

council's orders, his writings were to be burnt, even those written in

Czech which, almost in a tone of irony, as he wrote, the councillors

had not seen and could not read. He bade his friends not be terrified,

for Jeremiah's books, which the prophet had written at the Lord's

direction, were burnt.

His affectionate interest in the people of "his glorious country" and

in the university on the Moldau, and his feeling of gratitude to the

friends who had supported him continued unabated. A dreadful death was

awaiting him, but he recalled the sufferings of Apostles and the

martyrs, and especially the agonies endured by Christ, and he believed

he would be purged of his sins through the flames. D'Ailly had replied

to him on one occasion by peremptorily saying he should obey the

decision of 50 doctors of the Church and retract without asking any

questions. "A wonderful piece of information," he wrote, "As if the

virgin, St. Catherine, ought to have renounced the truth and her faith

in the Lord because 50 philosophers opposed her." [684] In one of his

last letters, written to his alma mater of Prag, he declared he had not

recanted a single article.

On the first day of July, he was approached by the archbishops of Riga

and Ragusa and 6 other prelates, who still had a hope of drawing from

him a recantation. A written declaration made by Huss in reply showed

the hope vain. [685] Another effort was made July 5th, Cardinals

D'Ailly and Zabarella and bishop Hallum of Salisbury being of the party

of visiting prelates. Huss closed the discussion by declaring that he

would rather be burnt a thousand times than abjure, for by abjuring he

said he would offend those whom he had taught. [686]

Still another deputation approached him, his three friends John of

Chlum, Wenzel of Duba and Lacembok, and four bishops. They were sent by

Sigismund. As a layman, John of Chlum did not venture to give Huss

advice, but bade him, if he felt sure of his cause, rather than to be

against God, to stand fast, even to death. One of the bishops asked

whether he presumed to be wiser than the whole council. No, was the

reply, but to retract he must be persuaded of his errors out of the

Scriptures. "An obstinate heretic!" exclaimed the bishops. This was the

final interview in private. The much-desired opportunity was at hand

for him to stand before the council as a body, and it was his last day

on earth.

After seven months of dismal imprisonment and deepening disappointment,

on Saturday, July 6th, Huss was conducted to the cathedral. It was 6 A.

M., and he was kept waiting outside the doors until the celebration of

mass was completed. He was then admitted to the sacred edifice, but not

to make a defence, as he had come to Constance hoping to do. He was to

listen to sentence pronounced upon him as an ecclesiastical outcast and

criminal. He was placed in the middle of the church on a high stool,

set there specially for him. [687] The bishop of Lodi preached from

Rom. 6:6, "that the body of sin may be destroyed." The extermination of

heretics was represented as one of the works most pleasing to God, and

the preacher used the time-worn illustrations from the rotten piece of

flesh, the little spark which is in danger of turning into a great

flame and the creeping cancer. The more virulent the poison the swifter

should be the application of the cauterizing iron. In the style of

Bossuet in a later age, before Louis XIV., he pronounced upon Sigismund

the eulogy that his name would be coupled with song and triumph for all

time for his efforts to uproot schism and destroy heresy.

The commission, which included Patrick, bishop of Cork, appointed to

pronounce the sentence, then ascended the pulpit. All expressions of

feeling with foot or hand, all vociferation or attempt to start

disputation were solemnly forbidden on pain of excommunication. 30

articles were then read, which were pronounced as heretical, seditious

and offensive to pious ears. The sentence coupled in closest relation

Wyclif and Huss. [688] The first of the articles charged the prisoner

with holding that the Church is the totality of the predestinate, and

the last that no civil lord or prelate may exercise authority who is in

mortal sin. Huss begged leave to speak, but was hushed up.

The sentence ran that "the holy council, having God only before its

eye, condemns John Huss to have been and to be a true, real and open

heretic, the disciple not of Christ but of John Wyclif, one who in the

University of Prag and before the clergy and people declared Wyclif to

be a Catholic and an evangelical doctor--vir catholicus et doctor

evangelicus." It ordered him degraded from the sacerdotal order, and,

not wishing to exceed the powers committed unto the Church, it

relinquished him to the secular authority.

Not a dissenting voice was lifted against the sentence. Even John

Gerson voted for it. One incident has left its impress upon history,

although it is not vouched for by a contemporary. It is said that, when

Huss began to speak, he looked at Sigismund, reminding him of the

safe-conduct. The king who sat in state and crowned, turned red, but

did not speak.

The order of degradation was carried out by six bishops, who disrobed

the condemned man of his vestments and destroyed his tonsure. They then

put on his head a cap covered over with pictures of the devil and

inscribed with the word, heresiarch, and committed his soul to the

devil. With upturned eyes, Huss exclaimed, "and I commit myself to the

most gracious Lord Jesus."

The old motto that the Church does not want blood--ecclesia non sitit

sanguinem -- was in appearance observed, but the authorities knew

perfectly well what was to be the last scene when they turned Huss over

to Sigismund. "Go, take him and do to him as a heretic" were the words

with which the king remanded the prisoner to the charge of Louis, the

Count Palatine. A guard of a thousand armed men was at hand. The

streets were thronged with people. As Huss passed on, he saw the flames

on the public square which were consuming his books. For fear of the

bridge's breaking down, the greater part of the crowd was not allowed

to cross over to the place of execution, called the Devil's Place.

Huss' step had been firm, but now, with tears in his eyes, he knelt

down and prayed. The paper cap falling from his head, the crowd shouted

that it should be put on, wrong side front.

It was midday. The prisoner's hands were fastened behind his back, and

big neck bound to the stake by a chain. On the same spot sometime

before, so the chronicler notes, a cardinal's worn-out mule had been

buried. The straw and wood were heaped up around Huss' body to the

chin, and rosin sprinkled upon them. The offer of life was renewed if

he would recant. He refused and said, "I shall die with joy to-day in

the faith of the gospel which I have preached." When Richental, who was

standing by, suggested a confessor, he replied, "There is no need of

one. I have no mortal sin." At the call of bystanders, they turned his

face away from the East, and as the flames arose, he sang twice,

Christ, thou Son of the living God, have mercy upon me. The wind blew

the fire into the martyr's face, and his voice was hushed. He died,

praying and singing. To remove, if possible, all chance of preserving

relics from the scene, Huss' clothes and shoes were thrown into the

merciless flames. The ashes were gathered up and cast into the Rhine.

While this scene was being enacted, the council was going on with the

transaction of business as if the burning without the gates were only a

common event. Three weeks later, it announced that it had done nothing

more pleasing to God than to punish the Bohemian heretic. For this act

it has been chiefly remembered by after generations.

Not one of the members of the Council of Constance, after its

adjournment, so far as we know, uttered a word of protest against the

sentence. No pope or oecumenical synod since has made any apology for

it. Nor has any modern Catholic historian gone further than to indicate

that in essential theological doctrines Huss was no heretic, though his

sentence was strictly in accord with the principles of the canon law.

So long as the dogmas of an infallible Church organization and an

infallible pope continue to be strictly held, no apology can be

expected. It is of the nature of Protestant Christianity to confess

wrongs and, as far as is possible, make reparation for them. When the

Massachusetts court discovered that it had erred in the case of the

Salem witchcraft in 1692, it made full confession, and offered

reparation to the surviving descendants; and Judge Sewall, one of the

leaders in the prosecution, made a moving public apology for the

mistake he had committed. The same court recalled the action against

Roger Williams. In 1903, the Protestants of France reared a monument at

Geneva in expiation of Calvin's part in passing sentence upon Servetus.

Luther, in his Address to the German Nobility, called upon the Roman

Church to confess it had done wrong in burning Huss. That innocent

man's blood still cries from the ground.

Huss died for his advocacy of Wycliffism. The sentence passed by the

council coupled the two names together. [689] The 25th of the 30

Articles condemned him for taking offence at the reprobation of the 45

articles, ascribed to Wyclif. How much this article was intended to

cover cannot be said. It is certain that Huss did not formally deny the

doctrine of transubstantiation, although he was charged with that

heresy. Nor was he distinctly condemned for urging the distribution of

the cup to the laity, which he advocated after the council had

positively forbidden it. His only offence was his definition of the

Church and his denial of the infallibility of the papacy and its

necessity for the being of the Church. These charges constitute the

content of all the 30 articles except the 25th. Luther said brusquely

but truly, that Huss committed no more atrocious sin than to declare

that a Roman pontiff of impious life is not the head of the Church

catholic. [690]

John Huss struck at the foundations of the hierarchical system. He

interpreted our Lord's words to Peter in a way that was fatal to the

papal theory of Leo, Hildebrand and Innocent III. [691] His conception

of the Church, which he drew from Wyclif, contains the kernel of an

entirely new system of religious authority. He made the Scriptures the

final source of appeal, and exalted the authority of the conscience

above pope, council and canon law as an interpreter of truth. He

carried out these views in practice by continuing to preach in spite of

repeated sentences of excommunication, and attacking the pope's right

to call a crusade. If the Church be the company of the elect, as Huss

maintained, then God rules in His people and they are sovereign. With

such assertions, the teachings of Thomas Aquinas were set aside.

The enlightened group of men who shared the spirit of Gerson and

D'Ailly did not comprehend Wycliffism, for Wycliffism was a revolt

against an alleged divine institution, the visible Church. Gerson

denied that the appeal to conscience was an excuse for refusing to

submit to ecclesiastical authority. Faith, with him, was agreement with

the Church's system. The chancellor not only voted for Huss'

condemnation, but declared he had busily worked to bring the sentence

about. Nineteen articles he drew from Huss' work on the Church, he

pronounced "notoriously heretical." However, at a later time, in a huff

over the leniency shown to Jean Petit, he stated that if Huss had been

given an advocate, he would never have been convicted. [692]

In starting out for Constance, Huss knew well the punishment appointed

for heretics. The amazing thing is that he should ever have thought it

possible to clear himself by a public address before the council. In

view of the procedure of the Inquisition, the council showed him

unheard-of consideration in allowing him to appear in the cathedral.

This was done out of regard for Sigismund, who was on the eve of his

journey to Spain to induce Benedict of Luna to abdicate. [693]

As for the safe-conduct--salvo-conductus -- issued by Sigismund, all

that can be said is that a king did not keep his word. He was more

concerned to be regarded as the patron of a great council than to

protect a Bohemian preacher, his future subject. Writing with reference

to the solemn pledge, Huss said, "Christ deceives no man by a

safe-conduct. What he pledges he fulfils. Sigismund has acted

deceitfully throughout." [694] The plea, often made, that the king had

no intention of giving Huss an unconditional pledge of protection, is

in the face of the documentary evidence. In September, 1415, the

Council of Constance took formal notice of the criticisms floating

about that in Huss' execution a solemn promise had been broken, and

announced that no brief of safe-conduct in the case of a heretic is

binding. No pledge is to be observed which is prejudicial to the

Catholic faith and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. [695]

The safe-conduct was in the ordinary form, addressed to all the princes

and subjects of the empire, ecclesiastical and secular, and informing

them that Huss should be allowed to pass, remain and return without

impediment. Jerome, according to the sentence passed upon him by the

council, declared that the safe-conduct had been grossly violated, and

when, in 1433, the legates of the Council of Basel attempted to throw

the responsibility for Huss' condemnation on false witnesses, so

called, Rokyzana asked how the Council of Constance could have been

moved by the Holy Ghost if it were controlled by perjurers, and showed

that the violation of the safe-conduct had not been forgotten. When the

Bohemian deputies a year earlier had come to Basel, they demanded the

most carefully prepared briefs of safe-conduct from the Council of

Basel, the cities of Eger and Basel and from Sigismund and others.

Frederick of Brandenburg and John of Bavaria agreed to furnish troops

to protect the Hussites on their way to Basel, at Basel, and on their

journey home. A hundred and six years later, Luther profited by Huss'

misfortune when he recalled Sigismund's perfidy, perfidy which the

papal system of the 16th century would have repeated, had Charles V.

given his consent. [696]

In a real sense, Huss was the precursor of the Reformation. It is true,

the prophecy was wrongly ascribed to him, "To-day you roast a

goose--Huss--but a hundred years from now a swan will arise out of my

ashes which you shall not roast." Unknown to contemporary writers, it

probably originated after Luther had fairly entered upon his work. But

he struck a hard blow at hierarchical assumption before Luther raised

his stronger arm. Luther was moved by Huss' case, and at Leipzig,

forced to the wall by Eck's thrusts, the Wittenberg monk made the open

avowal that oecumenical councils also may err, as was done in putting

Huss to death at Constance. Years before, at Erfurt, he had taken up a

volume of the Bohemian sermons, and was amazed that a man who preached

so evangelically should have been condemned to the stake. But for fear

of the taint of heresy, he quickly put it down. [697] The accredited

view in Luther's time was given by Dobneck in answer to Luther's good

opinion, when he said that Huss was worse than a Turk, Jew, Tartar and

Sodomite. In his edition of Huss' letters, printed 1537, Luther praised

Huss' patience and humility under every indignity and his courage

before an imposing assembly as a lamb in the midst of wolves and lions.

If such a man, he wrote, "is to be regarded as a heretic, then no

person under the sun can be looked upon as a true Christian."

A cantionale, dating from 1572, and preserved in the Prag library,

contains a hymn to Huss' memory and three medallions which well set

forth the relation in which Wyclif and Huss stand to the Reformation.

The first represents Wyclif striking sparks from a stone. Below it is

Huss, kindling a fire from the sparks. In the third medallion, Luther

is holding aloft the flaming torch. his is the historic succession,

although it is true Luther began his career as a Reformer before he was

influenced by Huss, and continued his work, knowing little of Wyclif.

To the cause of religious toleration, and without intending it, John

Huss made a more effectual contribution by his death than could have

been made by many philosophical treatises, even as the deaths of

Blandina and other martyrs of the early Church, who were slaves, did

more towards the reduction of the evils of slavery than all the

sentences of Pagan philosophers. Quite like his English teacher, he

affirmed the sovereign rights of the truth. It was his habit, so he

stated, to conform his views to the truth, whatever the truth might be.

If any one, he said, "can instruct me by the sacred Scriptures or by

good reasoning, I am willing to follow him. From the outset of my

studies, I have made it a rule to joyfully and humbly recede from a

former opinion when in any matter I perceive a more rational opinion."

[698]

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[671] Van der Hardt, I. 18; Palacky, Docum., pp. 523-528.

[672] For these letters and copies of the handbill, see Workman, Hus'

Letters, p. 140 sqq.

[673] Huss kept one for himself, thinking it might be necessary for him

to ride and see Sigismund. Writing from Constance, Nov. 4th, he said

that horses were cheap there. One, bought in Bohemia for 6 guineas, was

given away for 7 florins, or one-third the original price. Workman:

Letters, p. 158.

[674] The charge is reported by Richental, p. 76 sq. His story is

invalidated by the false date he gives and also by the testimony of

Mladenowitz, who declared it wholly untrue. If there had been any

attempt at escape, it would hardly have been allowed to go unnoticed in

the trial. See Wylie, p. 139.

[675] In an audience with Sigismund, D'Ailly protested that factum J.

Hus et alia minora non debebant reformationem eccles. et Bon. imperii

impedire quod erat principale pro quo fuerat concilium congregatum.

Fillflastre, in Finke, p. 253.

[676] On reading a letter in the Bethlehem chapel, Hawlik exclaimed,

alas, Hus is running out of paper." And John of Chlum spoke of one of

Huss' letters as being written " on a tattered, three-cornered bit of

paper." Workman: Hus' Letters, p. 196.

[677] Workman: Letters, p. 174, 182, 184, 190.

[678] See Card. Fillastre's Diary in Finke's Forschungen, pp. 164, 179.

[679] Utinam anima esset ibi, ubi est anima Joh. Wicleff. Mansi, xxvII.

756.

[680] Nos non possumus secundum tuam conscientiam judicare, etc.,

Palacky, Doc. 278. Tschackert, pp. 225, 235, says D'Ailly would have

been obliged to lay aside his purple if he had not resisted Huss'

views. Huss had said of Gerson,O si deus daret tempus scribendi contra

mendacia Parisiensis cancellarii, Palacky, Doc. 97. Gerson went so far

as to say that Huss was condemned for his realism. See Schwab, pp. 298,

586.

[681] See Tschackert p. 230. D'Ailly persisted in this position after

he left Constance. Wyclif and Huss remained to him the dangerous

heretics, pernitiosi heretici. Van der Hardt, VI. 16.

[682] Workman: Hus' Letters, pp. 226, 289-241.

[683] See Workman, pp. 185, 245, 248.

[684] Workman, p. 264.

[685] Ibid., p. 276.

[686] Non vellet abjurare sed millisies comburi, Mansi, XXVII. 764.

[687] Ad medium concilii ubi erat levatus in altum scamnum pro eo.

Mansi, XXVII. 747.

[688] The articles are given in Mansi, pp. 754 sq., 1209-1211, and

Hardt, IV. 408-12.

[689] Buddenseig, Hus, Patriot and Reformer, p. 11, says, "The whole

Hussite movement is mere Wycliffism." Loserth, Wiclif and Hus, p. xvi,

says, it was Wyclif's doctrine principally for which Hus yielded up his

life. Invectives flying about in Constance joined their names together.

TheMissa Wiclefistarum ran, Credo in Wykleph ducem inferni patronum

Boemiae et in Hus filium ejus unicum nequam nostrum, qui conceptus est

ex spiritu Luciferi, natus matre ejus et factus incarnatus equalis

Wikleph, secundum malam voluntatem et major secundum ejus

persecutionem, regnans tempore desolationis studii Pragensis, tempore

quo Boemia a fide apostotavit. Qui propter nos hereticos descendit ad

inferna et non resurget a mortuis nec habebit vitam eternam. Amen.

[690] Note appended to Huss' writings, ed. 1537. See Huss' Opp.,

Prelim. Statement, I. 4. It did not require the study of the modem

historian to affirm the view taken above. John Foxe, in his Book of

Martyrs, presented it clearly when he said, "By the life, acts and

letters of Huss, it is plain that he was condemned not for any error of

doctrine, for he neither denied their popish transubstantiation,

neither spake against the authority of the church of Rome, if it were

well governed, nor yet against the seven sacraments, but said mass

himself and in almost all their popish opinions was a papist with them,

but only through evil will was he accused because he spoke against the

pomp, pride and avarice and other wicked enormities of the pope,

cardinals and prelates of the church, etc.

[691] Gerson declared that among the causes for which Huss was

condemned was that he had affirmed that the Church could be ruled by

priests dispersed throughout the world in the absence of one head an

well as with one head. Schwab, p. 588.

[692] Schwab, pp. 588-599, 600. On the whole subject of Huss' views

Schwab has excellent remarks, p. 596 sqq.

[693] See Workman: Age of Hus, pp. 284, 293, 364, and Wylie, p. 175

sqq.

[694] Workman: Hus' Letters, p. 269 sq.

[695] Mansi, XXVII. 791, 799. Also Mirbt, p. 156. Lea, Inquisition, II.

p. 462 sqq., has an excellent statement of the whole question of Huss'

safe-conduct.

[696] Luther declared that a safe-conduct promised to the devil must be

kept. See K�stlin, M. Luther, I. 352.

[697] John Zacharias, one of the professors of the university at

Erfurt, had taken a prominent part in the debates at Constance against

Huss, and received as his reward the red rose from the pope. K�stlin,

M. Luther, I. 53, 87.

[698] Si aliqua persona ecclesiae me scrip. s. vel ratione

valida,docuerit, paratissime consentire. Nam a primo studii mei tempore

hoc mihi statui proregula, ut quotiescunque saniorem sententiam in

quacunque materia perciperem, a priori sententia gaudenter et humiliter

declinarem. Wyclif had expressed the same sentiment in his De

universalibus, which Huss translated, 1398. See Loserth, p. 253.

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� 46. Jerome of Prag.

A year after Huss' martyrdom, on May 30, 1416, his friend Jerome of

Prag was condemned by the council and also suffered at the stake. He

shared Huss' enthusiasm for Wyclif, was perhaps his equal in

scholarship, but not in steadfast constancy. Huss' life was spent in

Prag and its vicinity. Jerome travelled in Western Europe and was in

Prag only occasionally. Huss left quite a body of writings, Jerome,

none.

Born of a good family at Prag, Jerome studied in his native city, and

later at Oxford and Paris. At Oxford he became a student and admirer of

Wyclif's writings, two of which, the Trialogus and the Dialogus, he

carried with him back to Bohemia not later than 1402. In Prag, he

defended the English doctor as a holy man "whose doctrines were more

worthy of acceptance than Augustine himself," stood with Huss in the

contest over the rights of the Bohemian nation, and joined him in

attacking the papal indulgences, 1412.

Soon after arriving in Constance, Huss wrote to John of Chlum not to

allow Jerome on any account to go to join him. In spite of this

warning, Jerome set out and reached Constance April 4th, 1415, but

urged by friends he quit the city. He was seized at Hirschau, April 15,

and taken back in chains. There is every reason for supposing he and

Huss did not see one another, although Huss mentions him in a letter

within a week before his death, [699] expressing the hope that he would

die holy and blameless and be of a braver spirit in meeting pain than

he was. Huss had misjudged himself. In the hour of grave crisis he

proved constant and heroic, while his friend gave way.

On Sept. 11, 1415, Jerome solemnly renounced his admiration for Wyclif

and professed accord with the Roman church and the Apostolic see and,

twelve days later, solemnly repeated his abjuration in a formula

prepared by the council. [700]

Release from prison did not follow. It was the council's intention that

Jerome should sound forth his abjuration as loudly as possible in

Bohemia, and write to Wenzel, the university and the Bohemian nobles;

but he disappointed his judges. Following Gerson's lead, the council

again put the recusant heretic on trial. The sittings took place in the

cathedral, May 23 and 26, 1416. The charge of denying

transubstantiation Jerome repudiated, but he confessed to having done

ill in pledging himself to abandon the writings and teachings of that

good man John Wyclif, and Huss. Great injury had been done to Huss, who

had come to the council with assurance of safe-conduct. Even Judas or a

Saracen ought under such circumstances to be free to come and go and to

speak his mind freely.

On May 30, Jerome was again led into the cathedral. The bishop of Lodi

ascended the pulpit and preached a sermon, calling upon the council to

punish the prisoner, and counselling that against other such heretics,

if there should be any, any witnesses whatever should be allowed to

testify,--ruffians, thieves and harlots. The sermon being over, Jerome

mounted a bench--bancum ascendens -- and made a defence whose eloquence

is attested by Poggio and others who were present. Thereupon, the, holy

synod "pronounced him a follower of Wyclif and Huss, and adjudged him

to be cast off as a rotten and withered branch--palmitem putridum et

aridum. [701]

Jerome went out from the cathedral wearing a cheerful countenance. A

paper cap was put on his head, painted over with red devils. No

sentence of deposition was necessary or ceremony of disrobing, for the

condemned man was merely a laic. [702] He died on the spot where Huss

suffered. As the wood was being piled around him, he sang the Easter

hymn, salva festa dies, Hail, festal day. The flames were slow in

putting an end to his miseries as compared with Huss. His ashes were

thrown into the Rhine. And many learned people wept, the chronicler

Richental says, that he had to die, for he was almost more learned than

Huss. After his death, the council joined his name with the names of

Wyclif and Huss as leaders of heresy.

Poggio Bracciolini's description of Jerome's address in the cathedral

runs thus:--

It was wonderful to see with what words, with what eloquence, with what

arguments, with what countenance and with what composure, Jerome

replied to his adversaries, and how fairly he put his case .... He

advanced nothing unworthy of a good man, as though he felt

confident--as he also publicly asserted--that no just reason could be

found for his death .... Many persons he touched with humor, many with

satire, many very often he caused to laugh in spite of the sad affair,

jesting at their reproaches .... He took them back to Socrates,

unjustly condemned by his fellow-citizens. Then be mentioned the

captivity of Plato, the flight of Anaxagoras, the torture of Zeno and

the unjust condemnation of many other Pagans .... Thence he passed to

the Hebrew examples, first instancing Moses, the liberator of his

people, Joseph, sold by his brethren, Isaiah, Daniel, Susannah ....

Afterwards, coming down to John the Baptist and then to the Saviour, he

showed how, in each case, they were condemned by false witnesses and

false judges .... Then proceeding to praise John Huss, who had been

condemned to be burnt, he called him a good man, just and holy,

unworthy of such a death, saying that he himself was prepared to go to

any punishment whatsoever .... He said that Huss had never held

opinions hostile to the Church of God, but only against the abuses of

the clergy, against the pride, the arrogance and the pomp of prelates

.... He displayed the greatest cleverness,--for, when his speech was

often interrupted with various disturbances, he left no one unscathed

but turned trenchantly upon his accusers and forced them to blush, or

be still .... For 340 days he lay in the bottom of a foul, dark tower.

He himself did not complain at the harshness of this treatment, but

expressed his wonder that such inhumanity could be shown him. In the

dungeon, he said, he had not only no facilities for reading, but none

for seeing .... He stood there fearless and unterrified, not alone

despising death but seeking it, so that you would have said he was

another Cato. O man, worthy of the everlasting memory of men! I praise

not that which he advanced, if anything contrary to the institutions of

the Church; but I admire his learning, his eloquence, his

persuasiveness of speech, his adroitness in reply .... Persevering in

his errors, he went to his fate with joyful and willing countenance,

for he feared not the fire nor any kind of torture or death .... When

the executioners wished to start the fire behind his back that he might

not see it, he said, 'Come here and light the fire in front of me. If I

had been afraid of it, I should never have come to this place.' In this

way a man worthy, except in respect of faith, was burnt .... Not Mutius

himself suffered his arm to burn with such high courage as did this man

his whole body. Nor did Socrates drink the poison so willingly as be

accepted the flames. [703]

Aeneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II., bore similar testimony to the

cheerfulness which Huss and Jerome displayed in the face of death, and

said that they went to the stake as to a feast and suffered death with

more courage than any philosopher. [704]

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[699] Workman: Letters, p. 266.

[700] Mansi, XXVII. 794 sqq., 842-864.

[701] For the sentence, see Mansi, XXVII. 887-897. Foxe, in his Book of

Martyrs, gives a translation and an excellent account of the

proceedings against Jerome and his martyrdom.

[702] Laicus, Mansi, XXVII. 894.

[703] Huss, Opera, II. 532-534. Palacky, Mon. 624-699. A full

translation is given by Whitcomb in Lit. Source-Book of the Italian

Renaissance, pp. 40-47.

[704] Hist. Boh., c. 36.

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� 47. The Hussites.

The news of Huss' execution stirred the Bohemian nation to its depths.

Huss was looked upon as a national hero and a martyr. The revolt, which

followed, threatened the very existence of the papal rule in Bohemia.

No other dissenting movement of the Middle Ages assumed such formidable

proportions. The Hussites, the name given to the adherents of the new

body, soon divided into two organized parties, the Taborites and the

Calixtines or Utraquists. They agreed in demanding the distribution of

the cup to the laity. A third body, the Unitas Fratrum, or Bohemian

Brethren, originated in the middle of the 15th century, forty years

after Huss' death. When it became known that Huss had perished in the

flames, the populace of Prag stoned the houses of the priests

unfriendly to the martyr; and the archbishop himself was attacked in

his palace, and with difficulty eluded the popular rage by flight. King

Wenzel at first seemed about to favor the popular party.

The Council of Constance, true to itself, addressed a document to the

bishop and clergy of Prag, designating Wyclif, Huss and Jerome as most

unrighteous, dangerous and shameful men, [705] and calling upon the

Prag officials to put down those who were sowing their doctrines.

The high regard in which Huss was held found splendid expression at the

Bohemian diet, Sept. 2, 1415, when 452 nobles signed an indignant

remonstrance to the council for its treatment of their "most beloved

brother," whom they pronounced to be a righteous and catholic man,

known in Bohemia for many years by his exemplary life and honest

preaching of the law of the Gospel. They concluded the document by

announcing their intention to defend, even to the effusion of blood,

the law of Christ and his devoted preachers. [706] Three days later,

the nobles formed a league which was to remain in force for six years,

in which they bound themselves to defend the free preaching of the

Gospel on their estates, and to recognize the authority of prelates

only so far as they acted according to the Scriptures.

To this manifesto the council, Feb. 20, 1416, replied by citing the

signers to appear before it within 50 days, on pain of being declared

contumacious.

Huss' memory also had honor at the hands of the university, which, on

May 23, 1416, sent forth a communication addressed to all lands,

eulogizing him as in all things a master whose life was without an

equal. [707] In omnibus Magister vitae sine pari.

Upon the dissolution of the council, Martin V., who, as a member of the

curia, had excommunicated Huss, did not allow the measures to root out

Hussitism drag. In his bull Inter cunctos, [708] Feb. 22, 1418, he

ordered all of both sexes punished as heretics who maintained "the

pestilential doctrine of the heresiarchs, John Wyclif, John Huss and

Jerome of Prag." Wenzel announced his purpose to obey the council, but

many of his councillors left the court, including the statesman,

Nicolas of Pistna, and the military leader, the one-eyed John Zizka.

The popular excitement ran so high that, during a Hussite procession,

the crowd rushed into the council-house and threw out of the window

seven of the councillors who had dared to insult the procession.

Affairs entered a new stage with Wenzel's death, 1419. With

considerable unanimity the Bohemian nobles acceded to his successor

Sigismund's demand that the cup be withheld from the laity, but the

nation at large did not acquiesce, and civil war followed. Convents and

churches were sacked. Sigismund could not make himself master of his

kingdom, and an event occurred during his visit in Breslau which

deepened the feeling against him. A merchant, John Krasa, asserting on

the street the innocence of Huss, was dragged at a horse's tail to the

stake and burnt. Hussite preachers inveighed against Sigismund, calling

him the dragon of the Apocalypse.

Martin V. now summoned Europe to a crusade against Bohemia, offering

the usual indulgences, as Innocent III. had done two centuries before,

when he summoned a crusade against the Cathari in Southern France. In

obedience to the papal mandate, 150,000 men gathered from all parts of

Europe. All the horrors of war were perpetrated, and whole provinces

desolated. Five times the holy crusaders entered the land of Huss, and

five times they were beaten back. In 1424 the Hussites lost their

bravest military leader, John Zizka, but in 1427, under his successor,

Procopius Rasa, called the Great, the most influential priest of Prag,

they took the offensive and invaded Germany.

While they were winning victories over the foreign intruders, the

Hussites were divided among themselves in regard to the extent to which

the religious reformation should be carried. The radical party, called

the Taborites, from the steep hill Tabor, 60 miles south of Prag, on

which they built a city, rejected transubstantiation, the worship of

saints, prayers for the dead, indulgences and priestly confession and

renounced oaths, dances and other amusements. They admitted laymen,

including women, to the office of preaching, and used the national

tongue in all parts of the public service. Zizka, their first leader,

held the sword in the spirit of one of the Judges. After his death, the

stricter wing of the Taborites received the name of the Orphans.

The moderate party was called now Pragers, from the chief seat of their

influence, now Calixtines,--from the word calix or cup,--or Utraquists

from the expression sub utraque specie, "under both forms," from their

insisting upon the administration of the cup to the laity. The

University of Prag took sides with the Calixtines and, in 1420, the

four so-called Prag articles were adopted. This compact demanded the

free preaching of the Gospel, the distribution of the cup to the laity,

the execution of punishment for mortal sins by the civil court, and the

return of the clergy to the practice of Apostolic poverty. The

Calixtines confined the use of Czech at the church service to the

Scripture readings. [709]

After the disastrous rout of the Catholic army, led by Cardinal

Cesarini at Tauss, Aug. 14, 1431, the history of the Bohemian movement

passed into a third stage, marked by the negotiations begun by the

Council of Basel and the almost complete annihilation of the Taborite

party. It was a new spectacle for an oecumenical council to treat with

heretics as with a party having rights. Unqualified submission was the

demand which the Church had heretofore made. On Oct. 15, 1431, the

council invited the Bohemians to a conference and promised delegates

safe-conduct. This promise assured them that neither guile nor deceit

would be resorted to on any ground whatsoever, whether it be of

authority or the privileges of canon law or of the decisions of the

Councils of Constance and Siena or any other council. [710] Three

hundred delegates appointed by the Bohemian diet appeared in Basel. On

the way, at Eger, and in the presence of the landgrave of Brandenburg

and John, duke of Bavaria, they laid down their own terms, which were

sent ahead and accepted by the council. [711] These terms, embodied in

thirteen articles, dealt with the method of carrying on the

negotiations, the cessation of the interdict during the sojourn of the

delegates in the Swiss city and the privilege of practising their own

religious rites. The leaders of the Bohemian delegation were John

Rokyzana of the Utraquist party and the Taborite, Procopius. Rokyzana

was the pastor of the Teyn Church in Prag.

The council recognized the austere principles of the Hussites by

calling upon the Basel authorities to prohibit all dancing and gambling

and the appearance of loose women on the streets. On their arrival,

Jan. 4, 1433, the Bohemians were assigned to four public taverns, and a

large supply of wine and provisions placed at their disposal.

Delegations from the council and from the city bade them formal

welcome. They followed their own rituals, the Taborites arousing most

curiosity by the omission of all Latin from the services and discarding

altar and priestly vestments.

On the floor of the council, the Bohemians coupled praise with the

names of Wyclif and Huss, and would tolerate no references to

themselves as heretics. The discussions were prolonged to a wearisome

length, some of their number occupying as much as two or three days in

their addresses. Among the chief speakers was the Englishman, Peter

Payne, whose address consumed three days. The final agreement of four

articles, known as the Campactata, was ratified by deputies of the

council and of the three Bohemian parties giving one another the hand.

The main article granted the use of the cup to the laity, where it was

asked, but on condition that the doctrine be inculcated that the whole

Christ is contained in each of the elements. The use of the cup was

affirmed to be wholesome to those partaking worthily. [712] The

Compacts were ratified by the Bohemian diet of Iglau, July 5, 1436. All

ecclesiastical censures were lifted from Bohemia and its people. The

abbot of Bonnival, addressing the king of Castile upon the progress of

the Council of Basel, declared that the Bohemians at the start were

like ferocious lions and greedy wolves, but through the mercy of Christ

and after much discussion had been turned into the meekest lambs and

accepted the four articles. [713]

Although technically the question was settled, the Taborites were not

satisfied. The Utraquists approached closer to the Catholics.

Hostilities broke out between them, and after a wholesale massacre in

Prag, involving, it is said, 22,000 victims, the two parties joined in

open war. The Taborites were defeated in the battle at Lipan, May 30,

1434, and Procopius slain. This distinguished man had travelled

extensively, going as far as Jerusalem before receiving priestly

orders. He was a brilliant leader, and won many successes in Austria,

Moravia and Hungary. The power of the Taborites was gone, and in 1452

they lost Mt. Tabor, their chief stronghold.

The emperor now entered upon possession of his Bohemian kingdom and

granted full recognition to the Utraquist priests, promising to give

his sanction to the elections of bishops made by the popular will and

to secure their ratification by the pope. Rokyzana was elected

archbishop of Prag by the Bohemian diet of 1435. Sigismund died soon

after, 1437, and the archbishop never received papal recognition,

although he administered the affairs of the diocese until his death,

1471.

Albert of Austria, son-in-law of Sigismund and an uncompromising

Catholic, succeeded to the throne. In 1457 George Podiebrad, a powerful

noble, was crowned by Catholic bishops, and remained king of Bohemia

till 1471. He was a consistent supporter of the national party which

held to the Compactata. The papal authorities, refusing to recognize

Rokyzana, despatched emissaries to subdue the heretics by the measures

of preaching and miracles. The most noted among them were Fra Giacomo

and John of Capistrano. John, whose miraculous agency equalled his

eloquence, succumbed to a fever after the battle of Belgrade.

In 1462 the Compacts were declared void by Pius II., who threatened

with excommunication all priests administering the cup to the laity.

George Podiebrad resisted the papal bull. Four years later, a papal

decree sought to deprive that "son of perdition" of his royal dignity,

and summoned the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus, to take his crown.

[714] Matthias accepted the responsibility, the cross and invaded

Moravia. The war was still in progress when Podiebrad died. By the

peace of Kuttenberg 1485 and an agreement made in 1512, the Utraquists

preserved their right to exist at the side of their Catholic neighbors.

Thus they continued till 1629, when the right of communion in both

kinds was withdrawn by Ferdinand II. of Austria, whose hard and bloody

hand put an end to all open dissent in Bohemia. [715]

The third outgrowth from the Hussite stock, the Unitas Fratrum,

commonly called the Bohemian Brethren, has had an honorable and a

longer history than the Taborites and Calixtines. This body still has

existence in the Moravians, whose missionary labors, with Herrnhut as a

centre, have stirred all Protestant Christendom. Its beginnings are

uncertain. It appears distinctly for the first time in 1457, and

continued to grow till the time of the Reformation. Its synod of 1467

was attended by 60 Brethren. The members in Prag were subjected to

persecution, and George Podiebrad gave them permission to settle on the

estate, Lititz, in the village corporation of Kunwald. [716] Martin,

priest at K�niggraetz, with a part of his flock affiliated himself with

them, and other congregations were soon formed. They were a distinct

type, worshipping by themselves, and did not take the sacraments from

the Catholic priests. They rejected oaths, war and military service and

resorted, apparently from the beginning, to the lot. They also rejected

the doctrine of purgatory and all services of priests of unworthy life.

The exact relation which this Hussite body bore to the Taborites and to

the Austrian Waldenses is a matter which has called forth much learned

discussion, and is still involved in uncertainty. But there seems to be

no doubt that the Bohemian Brethren were moved by the spirit of Huss,

and also that in their earliest period they came into contact with the

Waldenses. Pressing up from Italy, the followers of Peter Valdez had

penetrated into Bohemia in the later part of the 14th century, and had

Frederick Reiser as their leader. [717] This Apostolic man was present

at the Council of Basel, 1435, and styled himself, "the bishop of the

faithful in the Romish church, who reject the donation of Constantine."

With Anna Weiler, he suffered at the stake in Strassburg, 1458. One of

the earliest names associated with the Bohemian Brethren is the name of

Peter Chelcicky, a marked religious personage in his day in Bohemia. We

know he was a man of authority among them, but little more. [718]

Believing that the papal priesthood had been corrupt since

Constantine's donation to Sylvester, the Brethren, at the synod of

1467, chose Michael, pastor of Senftenburg, "presbyter and bishop," and

sent him to the Waldensian bishop Stephen for sanction or consecration.

[719] It seems probable that Stephen had received orders at Basel from

bishops in the regular succession. On his return, Michael consecrated

Matthias of Kunwald, while he himself, for a time and for a reason not

known, was not officially recognized. The synod had resorted to the lot

and placed the words "he is" on 3 out of 12 ballots, 9 being left

blank. Matthias chose one of he printed ballots. [720] Matthias, in

turn, ordained Thomas and Elias bishops, men who had drawn the other

two printed ballots.

By 1500, the Bohemian Brethren numbered 200,000 scattered in 300 or 400

congregations in Bohemia and Moravia. They had their own confession,

catechism and hymnology. [721] Of the 60 Bohemian books printed

1500-1510, 50 are said to have been by members of the sect. A new

period in their history was introduced by Lucas of Prag, d. 1528, a

voluminous writer. He gave explanations of the Brethren's doctrine of

the Lord's Supper to Luther. Brethren, including Michael Weiss, the

hymnwriter, visited the German Reformer, and in 1521 he had in his

possession their catechism.

The merciless persecutions of the Brethren and the other remaining

Hussite sectarists were opened under the Austrian rule of Ferdinand I.

in 1549, and continued, with interruptions, till the Thirty Years' War

when, under inspiration of the Jesuits, the government resorted to

measures memorable for their heartlessness to blot out heresy from

Bohemia and Moravia.

The Church of the Brethren had a remarkable resurrection in the

Moravians, starting with the settlement of Christian David and other

Hussite families in 1722 on land given by Count Zinzendorf at Herrnhut.

They preserve the venerable name of their spiritual ancestry, Unitas

Fratrum, and they have made good their heritage by their missionary

labors which have carried the Gospel to the remotest ends of the earth,

from Greenland to the West Indies and Guiana, and from the leper colony

of Jerusalem to Thibet and Australia. In our own land, David Zeisberger

and other Moravian missionaries have shown in their labors among the

Indian tribes the godly devotion of John Huss, whose body the flames at

Constance were able to destroy, but not his sacred memory and

influence.

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[705] Improbissimos, et periculosissimos, teterrimosque viros, Mansi,

XXVII. 781-783.

[706] Mansi, pp. 789-91.

[707] Palacky, Monum., I. 80-82.

[708] Mansi, XXVII. 1204-15. Also Mirbt, p. 157 sqq.

[709] As early as 1423, dissenters with the name of Hussites appeared

in Northern Germany and Holland, Fredericq, Corpus Inq., III. 65, 142,

etc.

[710] Sine fraude et quolibet dolo, occulte vel manifeste, etc. Mansi,

XXIX. 27.

[711] See Hefele, VII. 476 sq.

[712] See Mansi, XXXI. 273 sqq.

[713] Haller, Concil. Basil., I. 291 sqq.

[714] Pius had received at Mt. Tabor hospitable treatment from the

Hussites, whom he was afterwards to treat with wonted papal arrogance.

Travelling through Bohemia on a mission from Frederick III., and

benighted, he preferred to trust himself to the Taborites rather than

to their enemies. Although he had found refuge with them, he used

ridicule in describing their poverty and peasant condition. Some he

found almost naked, some wore only a sheepskin over their bodies, some

had no saddle, some no reins for their horses. And yet he was obliged

to say that, though they were bound by no compulsory system of tithes,

they filled their priests' houses with corn, wood, vegetables and meat.

See Lea, II. 561.

[715] The Utraquists came into contact with Luther as early as 1519. At

the time of the Leipzig Colloquy, two of their preachers in Prag, John

Poduschka and Wenzel Rosdalowsky, wrote him letters. The first also

sent Luther a gift of knives, and the second, Huss' work On the Church,

which was reprinted in Wittenberg, 1620. Luther replied by sending them

some of his smaller writings. K�stlin, M. Luther, I. 290.

[716] The old Moravian school for girls near Lancaster, Pa., gets its

name from this colony. The wife of President Benjamin Harrison studied

there.

[717] For the earlier history of the Austrian Waldensians, see vol. V.,

part I., p. 500 sq.

[718] Goll, Untersuchungen, is a strong advocate of the dependence of

the Bohemian Brethren upon the Waldenses for their peculiar views,

although he denies that the two sects had any organic connection. Karl

M�ller, Herzog Enc., III. 448, comes to the same conclusion. He is,

however in doubt whether Chelcicky was associated with the Waldenses.

Goll is of the opinion that he was strongly influenced by them. Preger,

Ueber d. Verh�ltniss der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern des 14ten Jahrh.,

Munich, 1887, occupies an isolated position when he represents the

Taborites as a continuation of the Bohemian Waldenses, with some

modification. These two bodies were separate when the Bohemian Brethren

began to appear on the scene.

[719] So Lucas of Prag. See his writings in Goll, pp. 107, 112. De

Schweinitz, Hist. of the Un. Fratrum, p. 141 sqq., accepts the

ordination of Stephen as regular. M�ller questions it, Herzog, III.

452.

[720] See Goll, p. 87, and the letter to Rokyzana, whose nephew Gregory

belonged to the Lititz colony, p. 92. Of the consecration of Michael by

Stephen there is no doubt. There is some uncertainty about the details.

[721] See M�ller's art. on Bohemian Hymnody in Julian's Dicty.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE LAST POPES OF THE MIDDLE AGES. 1447-1521

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citt� di Roma, ed. by O. Tommasini, Rome, 1890. Extends to 1494, and is

the journal of an eye-witness. Also in Muratori.--Joh. Burchard:

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3 vols., Paris, 1883-1885. Also in Muratori.--B. Platina, b. 1421 in

Cremona, d. as superintendent of the Vatican libr., 1481: Lives of the

Popes to the Death of Paul II., 1st Lat. ed., Venice, 1479, Engl.

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of London: Hist. of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation,

II. 235-IV., London, 1887.--\*Gregorovius: Hist. of the City of Rome,

Engl. trans., VII., VIII.--\*L. Pastor, R. Cath. Prof. at Innsbruck:

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1886-1906, 4th ed., 1901-1906, Engl. trans. F. I. Ambrosius, etc., 8

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1876, pp. 284-300.--Hefele-Hergenr�ther: Conciliengeschichte, VIII.

Hergenr�ther's continuation of Hefele's work falls far below the

previous vols. by Hefele's own hand as rev. by Kn�pfler.--The Ch.

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The Holy Year of Jubilee. An Account of the Hist. and Ceremonial of the

Rom. Jubilee, London, 1900.--Pertinent artt. in Wetzer-Welte and

Herzog. The Histt. of the Renaissance of Burckhardt and Symonds.--For

fuller lit., see the extensive lists prefixed to Pastor's first three

vols. and for a judicious estimate of the contemporary writers, see

Creighton at the close of his vols.

Note. - The works of Creighton, Gregorovius and Pastor are very full.

It is doubtful whether any period of history has been treated so

thoroughly and satisfactorily by three contemporary historians. Pastor

and Gregorovius have used new documents discovered by themselves in the

archives of Mantua, Milan, Modena, Florence, the Vatican, etc. Pastor's

notes are vols. of erudite investigation. Creighton is judicial but

inclined to be too moderate in his estimate of the vices of the popes,

and in details not always reliable. Gregorovius' narration is searching

and brilliant. He is unsparing in his reprobation of the dissoluteness

of Roman society and backs his statements with authorities. Pastor's

masterly and graphic treatment is the most extensive work on the

period. Although written with ultramontane prepossessions, it is often

unsparing when it deals with the corruption of popes and cardinals,

especially Alexander VI., who has never been set forth in darker colors

since the 16th century than on its pages.

� 49. Nicholas V.--Lives by Platina and in Muratori, especially

Manetti.--Infessura: pp. 46-59.--Gibbon: Hist. of Rome, ch. LXVIII. For

the Fall of Constantinople.--Gregorovius: VII. 101-160.--Creighton: II.

273-365.--Pastor: I. 351-774.--Geo. Findlay: Hist. of Greece to 1864, 7

vols., Oxford, 1877, vols. IV., V.--Edw. Pears: The Destruction of the

German Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the

Turks, London, 1903, pp. 476.

� 50. Pius II.--Opera omnia, Basel, 1551, 1571, 1589.--Opera inedita,

by I. Cugnoni, Rome, 1883.--His Commentaries, Pii pontif. max.

commentarii rerum memorabilium quae temporibus suis contigerunt, with

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1894.--Epistolae, Cologne, 1478, and often. Also in opera, Basel, 1551.

A. Weiss: Aeneas Sylvius als Papst Pius II. Rede mit 149 bisher

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zu Basel, ed. J. Haller in Quellen u. Forschungen aus ital. Archiven,

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Vienna, 1762, Germ. trans. by Ilgen, 2 vols., in Geschichtschreiber der

deutschen Vorzeit., Leipzig, 1889 sq.--Addresses at the Congress of

Mantua and the bulls Execrabilis and In minoribus in Mansi: Concil.,

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1484-1492; Alexander VI., 1492-1503; Pius III., 1503; Julius II.,

1503-1513; Leo X., 1513-1521.

The period of the Reformatory councils, closing with the Basel-Ferrara

synod, was followed by a period notable in the history of the papacy,

the period of the Renaissance popes. These pontiffs of the last years

of the Middle Ages were men famous alike for their intellectual

endowments, the prostitution of their office to personal aggrandizement

and pleasure and the lustre they gave to Rome by their patronage of

letters and the fine arts. The decree of the Council of Constance,

asserting the supreme authority of oecumenical councils, treated as a

dead letter by Eugenius IV., was definitely set aside by Pius II. in a

bull forbidding appeals from papal decisions and affirming finality for

the pope's authority. For 70 years no general assembly of the Church

was called.

The ten pontiffs who sat on the pontifical throne, 1450-1517,

represented in their origin the extremes of fortune, from the

occupation of the fisherman, as in the case of Sixtus IV., to the

refinement of the most splendid aristocracy of the age, as in the case

of Leo X. of the family of the Medici. In proportion as they

embellished Rome and the Vatican with the treasures of art, did they

seem to withhold themselves from that sincere religious devotion which

would naturally be regarded as a prime characteristic of one claiming

to be the chief pastor of the Christian Church on earth. No great

principle of administration occupied their minds. No conspicuous

movement of pious activity received their sanction, unless the proposed

crusade to reconquer Constantinople be accounted such, but into that

purpose papal ambition entered more freely than devotion to the

interests of religion.

This period was the flourishing age of nepotism in the Vatican. The

bestowment of papal favors by the pontiffs upon their nephews and other

relatives dates as a recognized practice from Boniface VIII. In vain

did papal conclaves, following the decree of Constance, adopt

protocols, making the age of 30 the lowest limit for appointment to the

sacred college, and putting a check on papal favoritism. Ignoring the

instincts of modesty and the impulse of religion, the popes bestowed

the red hat upon their young nephews and grandnephews and upon the sons

of princes, in spite of their utter disqualification both on the ground

of intelligence and of morals. The Vatican was beset by relatives of

the pontiffs, hungry for the honors and the emoluments of office. Here

are some of those who were made cardinals before they were 30: Calixtus

III. appointed his nephews, Juan and Rodrigo Borgia (Alexander VI.),

the latter 25, and the little son of the king of Portugal; Pius II.,

his nephew at 23, and Francis Gonzaga at 17; Sixtus IV., John of Aragon

at 14, his nephews, Peter and Julian Rovere, at 25 and 28, and his

grandnephew, Rafaelle Riario, at 17; Innocent VIII., John Sclafenatus

at 23, Giovanni de' Medici at 13; Alexander VI., in 1493, Hippolito of

Este at 15, whom Sixtus had made archbishop of Strigonia at 8, his son,

Caesar Borgia, at 18, Alexander Farnese (Paul III.), brother of the

pope's mistress, at 25, and Frederick Casimir, son of the king of

Poland, at 19; Leo X., in 1513, his nephew, Innocent Cibo, at 21, and

his cousin, the illegitimate Julius de' Medici, afterwards Clement

VII., and in 1517 three more nephews, one of them the bastard son of

his brother, also Alfonzo of Portugal at 7, and John of Loraine, son of

the duke of Sicily, at 20. This is an imperfect list. [722] Bishoprics,

abbacies and other ecclesiastical appointments were heaped upon the

papal children, nephews and other favorites. The cases in which the red

hat was conferred for piety or learning were rare, while the houses of

Mantua, Ferrara and Modena, the Medici of Florence, the Sforza of

Milan, the Colonna and the Orsini had easy access to the Apostolic

camera.

The cardinals vied with kings in wealth and luxury, and their palaces

were enriched with the most gorgeous furnishings and precious plate,

and filled with servants. They set an example of profligacy which they

carried into the Vatican itself. The illegitimate offspring of pontiffs

were acknowledged without a blush, and the sons and daughters of the

highest houses in Italy, France and Spain were sought in marriage for

them by their indulgent fathers. The Vatican was given up to nuptial

and other entertainments, even women of ill-repute being invited to

banquets and obscene comedies performed in its chambers.

The prodigal expenditures of the papal household were maintained in

part by the great sums, running into tens of thousands of ducats, which

rich men were willing to pay for the cardinalate. When the funds of the

Vatican ran low, loans were secured from the Fuggers and other banking

houses and the sacred things of the Vatican put in pawn, even to the

tiara itself. The amounts required by Alexander VI. for marriage

dowries for his children, and by Leo X. for nephews, were enormous.

Popes, like Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI., had no scruple about

involving Italy in internecine wars in order to compass the papal

schemes either in the enlargement of papal domain or the enrichment of

papal sons and nephews. Julius II. was a warrior and went to the

battle-field in armor. No sovereign of his age was more unscrupulous in

resorting to double dealing in his diplomacy than was Leo X. To reach

the objects of its ambition, the holy see was ready even to form

alliances with the sultan. The popes, so D�llinger says, from Paul II.

to Leo X., did the most it was possible to do to cover the papacy with

shame and disgrace and to involve Italy in the horrors of endless wars.

[723] The Judas-like betrayal of Christ in the highest seat of

Christendom, the gayeties, scandals and crimes of popes as they pass

before the reader in the diaries of Infessura, Burchard and de Grassis

and the despatches of the ambassadors of Venice, Mantua and other

Italian states, and as repeated by Creighton, Pastor and Gregorovius,

make this period one of the most dramatic in human annals. The personal

element furnished scene after scene of consuming interest. It seems to

the student as if history were approaching some great climax.

Three events of permanent importance for the general history of mankind

also occurred in this age, the overthrow of the Byzantine empire, 1453,

the discovery of the Western world, 1492, and the invention of

printing. It closed with a general council, the Fifth Lateran, which

adjourned only a few months before the Reformer in the North shook the

papal fabric to its base and opened the door of the modern age.

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[722] Among other youthful appointments to the dignity of cardinal are

Jacinto Bobo, afterwards Coelestine III., at 18, by Honorius III.,

1126; Peter Roger, afterwards Gregory XI., at 17, Hercules Gonzaga, by

Clement VII., at 22; Alexander Farnese, by his uncle, Paul III., at 14,

who also appointed his grandsons, Guida Sforza at 16 and Ranucio

Farnese at 15; two nephews, at the ages of 14 and 21, by Julius III.,

d. 1555, and also Innocent del Monte at 17; Ferdinand del Medici at 14,

by Pius IV., d. 1565; Andrew and Albert of Austria, sons of Maximilian

II., at 18, by Gregory XIII., and Charles of Loraine at 16; Alexander

Peretti at 14, by his uncle, Sixtus V., d. 1590; two nephews at 18, by

Innocent IX., d. 1591; Maurice of Savoy at 14, and Ferdinand, son of

the king of Spain, at 10, by Paul V., d. 1621; a nephew at 17, by

Innocent X., d. 1655; a son of the king of Spain, by Clement XII., d.

1740.

[723] Papstthum, p. 192.

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� 49. Nicolas V. 1447-1455.

Nicolas V., 1447-1455, the successor of Bugenius IV., was ruled by the

spirit of the new literary culture, the Renaissance, and was the first

Maecenas in a line of popes like-minded. Following his example, his

successors were for a century among the foremost patrons of art and

letters in Europe. What Gregory VII. was to the system of the papal

theocracy, that Nicolas was to the artistic revival in Rome. Under his

rule, the eternal city witnessed the substantial beginnings of that

transformation, in which it passed from a spectacle of ruins and

desertion to a capital adorned with works of art and architectural

construction. He himself repaired and beautified the Vatican and St.

Peter's, laid the foundation of the Vatican library and called scholars

and artists to his court. [724]

Thomas Parentucelli, born 1397, the son of a physician of Sarzana, owed

nothing of his distinction to the position of his family. His father

was poor, and the son was little of stature, with disproportionately

short legs. What he lacked, however, in bodily parts, he made up in

intellectual endowments, tact and courtesies of manner. His education

at Bologna being completed, his ecclesiastical preferment was rapid. In

1444, he was made archbishop of Bologna and, on his return from Germany

as papal legate, 1446, he was honored with the red hat. Four months

later he was elevated to the papal throne, and according to Aeneas

Sylvius, whose words about the eminent men of his day always have a

diplomatic flavor, Thomas was so popular that there was no one who did

not approve his election.

To Nicolas was given the notable distinction of witnessing the complete

reunion of Western Christendom. By the abdication of Felix V., whom he

treated with discreet and liberal generosity, and by Germany's

abandonment of its attitude of neutrality, he could look back upon

papal schism and divided obediences as matters of the past.

The Jubilee Year, celebrated in 1450, was adapted to bind the European

nations closely to Rome, and to stir up anew the fires of devotion

which had languished during the ecclesiastical disputes of nearly a

century. [725] So vast were the throngs of pilgrims that the

contemporary, Platina, felt justified in asserting that such multitudes

had never been seen in the holy city before. According to Aeneas,

40,000 went daily from church to church. The handkerchief of St.

Veronica,--lo sudario,--bearing the outline of the Lord's face, was

exhibited every Sabbath, and the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul every

Saturday. The large sums of money which the pilgrims left, Nicolas knew

well how to use in carrying out his plans for beautifying the churches

and streets of the city.

The calamity, which occurred on the bridge of St. Angelo, and cast a

temporary gloom over the festivities of the holy year, is noticed by

all the contemporary writers. The mule belonging to Peter Barbus,

cardinal of St. Mark's, was crushed to death, so dense were the crowds,

and in the excitement two hundred persons or more were trodden down or

drowned by being pushed or throwing themselves into the Tiber. To

prevent a repetition of the disaster, the pope had several buildings

obstructing the passage to the bridge pulled down. [726]

In the administration of the properties of the holy see, Nicolas was

discreet and successful. He confirmed the papal rule over the State of

the Church, regained Bolsena and the castle of Spoleto, and secured the

submission of Bologna, to which he sent Bessarion as papal legate. The

conspiracy of Stephen Porcaro, who emulated the ambitions of Rienzo,

was put down in 1453 and left the pope undisputed master of Rome. In

his selection of cardinals he was wise, Nicolas of Cusa being included

in the number. The appointment of his younger brother, Philip

Calandrini, to the sacred college, aroused no unfavorable criticism.

Nicolas' reign witnessed, in 1452, the last coronation in Rome of a

German emperor, Frederick III. This monarch, who found in his

councillor, Aeneas Sylvius, an enthusiastic biographer, but who, by the

testimony of others, was weak and destitute of martial spirit and

generous qualities, was the first of the Hapsburgs to receive the crown

in the holy city, and held the imperial office longer than any other of

the emperors before or after him. With his coronation the emperor

combined the celebration of his nuptials to Leonora of Portugal.

Frederick's journey to Italy and his sojourn in Rome offered to the pen

of Aeneas a rare opportunity for graphic description, of which he was a

consummate master. The meeting with the future empress, the welcome

extended to his majesty, the festivities of the marriage and the

coronation, the trappings of the soldiery, the blowing of the horns,

the elegance of the vestments worn by the emperor and his visit to the

artistic wonders of St. Peter's,--these and other scenes the shrewd and

facile Aeneas depicted. The Portuguese princess, whose journey from

Lisbon occupied 104 days, disembarked at Leghorn, February, 1452, where

she was met by Frederick, attended by a brilliant company of knights.

After joining in gay entertainments at Siena, lasting four days, the

party proceeded to Rome. Leonora, who was only sixteen, was praised by

those who saw her for her rare beauty and charms of person. She was to

become the mother of Maximilian and the ancestress of Charles V. [727]

On reaching the gates of the papal capital, Frederick was met by the

cardinals, who offered him the felicitations of the head of

Christendom, but also demanded from him the oath of allegiance, which

was reluctantly promised. The ceremonies, which followed the emperor's

arrival, were such as to flatter his pride and at the same time to

confirm the papal tenure of power in the city. Frederick was received

by Nicolas on the steps of St. Peter's, seated in an ivory chair, and

surrounded by his cardinals, standing. The imperial visitor knelt and

kissed the pontiff's foot. On March 16, Nicolas crowned him with the

iron crown of Lombardy and united the imperial pair in marriage.

Leonora then went to her own palace, and Frederick to the Vatican as

its guest. The reason for his lodging near the pope was that Nicolas

might have opportunity for frequent communication with him or, as rumor

went, to prevent the Romans approaching him under cover of darkness

with petitions for the restoration of their liberties. [728] Three days

later, March 19, the crown of the empire was placed upon Frederick's

head. [729] With his consort he then received the elements from the

pope's hand. The following week Frederick proceeded to Naples. [730]

Scarcely in any pontificate has so notable and long-forecasted an event

occurred as the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Turks,

which took place May 29, 1453. The last of the Constantines perished in

the siege, fighting bravely at the gate of St. Romanos. The church of

Justinian, St. Sophia, was turned into a mosque, and a cross,

surmounted with a janissary's cap, was carried through the streets,

while the soldiers shouted, "This is the Christian's God." This

historic catastrophe would have been regarded in Western Europe as

appalling, if it had not been expected. The steady advance of the Turks

and their unspeakable atrocities had kept the Greek empire in alarm for

centuries. Three hundred years before, Latin Christendom had been

taught to expect defeats at the hands of the Mohammedans in the taking

of Edessa, 1145, and the fatal battle of Hattin and the loss of

Jerusalem, 1187.

In answer to the appeals of the Greeks, Nicolas despatched Isidore as

legate to Constantinople with a guard of 200 troops, but, as a

condition of helping the Eastern emperor, he insisted that the Ferrara

articles of union be ratified in Constantinople. In a long

communication, dated Oct. 11, 1451, the Roman pontiff declared that

schisms had always been punished more severely than other evils. Korah,

Dathan and Abiram, who attempted to divide the people of God, received

a more bitter punishment than those who introduced idolatry. There

could not be two heads to an empire or the Church. There is no

salvation outside of the one Church. He was lost in the flood who was

not housed in Noah's ark. Whatever opinion it may have entertained of

these claims, the Byzantine court was in too imminent danger to reject

the papal condition, and in December, 1452, Isidore, surrounded by 300

priests, announced, in the church of St. Sophia, the union of the Greek

and Latin communions. But even now the Greek people violently resented

the union, and the most powerful man of the empire, Lucas Notaras,

announced his preference for the turban to the tiara. The aid offered

by Nicolas was at best small. The last week of April, 1453, ten papal

galleys set sail with some ships from Naples, Venice and Genoa, but

they were too late to render any assistance. [731]

The termination of the venerable and once imposing fabric on the

Bosphorus by the Asiatic invader was the only fate possible for an

empire whose rulers, boasting themselves the successors of Constantine,

Theodosius and Justinian, Christian in name and most Christian by the

standard of orthodox professions, had heaped their palaces full of

pagan luxury and excess. The government, planted in the most imperial

spot on the earth, had forfeited the right to exist by an insipid and

nerveless reliance upon the traditions of the past. No elements of

revival manifested themselves from within. Religious formulas had been

substituted for devotion. Much as the Christian student may regret the

loss of this last bulwark of Christianity in the East, he will be

inclined to find in the disaster the judgment realized with which the

seven churches of the Apocalypse were threatened which were not worthy.

The problem which was forced upon Europe by the arrival of the Grand

Turk, as contemporaries called Mohammed II., still awaits solution from

wise diplomacy or force of arms or through the slow and silent movement

of modern ideas of government and popular rights.

The disaster which overtook the Eastern empire, Nicolas V. felt would

be regarded by after generations as a blot upon his pontificate, and

others, like Aeneas Sylvius, shared this view. [732]

He issued a bull summoning the Christian nations to a crusade for the

recovery of Constantinople, and stigmatized Mohammed II. as the dragon

described in the Book of Revelation. Absolution was offered to those

who would spend six months in the holy enterprise or maintain a

representative for that length of time. Christendom was called upon to

contribute a tenth. The cardinals were enjoined to do the same, and all

the papal revenues accruing from larger and smaller benefices, from

bishoprics, archbishoprics and convents, were promised for the

undertaking.

Feeble was the response which Europe gave. The time of crusading

enthusiasm was passed. The Turk was daring and to be dreaded. An

assembly called by Frederick III., at Regensburg in the Spring of 1454,

at which the emperor himself did not put in an appearance, listened to

an eloquent appeal by Aeneas, but adjourned the subject to the diet to

meet in Frankfurt in October. Again the emperor was not present, and

the diet did nothing. Down to the era of the Reformation the crusade

against the Turk remained one of the chief official concerns of the

papacy.

If Nicolas died disappointed over his failure to influence the princes

to undertake a campaign against the Turks, his fame abides as the

intelligent and genial patron of letters and the arts. In this r�le he

laid after generations under obligation to him as Innocent III., by his

crusading armies, did not. He lies buried in St. Peter's at the side of

his predecessor, Eugenius IV. [733]

The next pontiff, the Spaniard, Calixtus III., 1455-1458, had two chief

concerns, the dislodgment of the Turks from Constantinople and the

advancement of the fortunes of the Borgia family, to which he belonged.

Made cardinal by Eugenius IV., he was 77 years old when he was elected

pope. From his day, the Borgias played a prominent part in Rome, their

career culminating in the ambitions and scandals of Rodrigo Borgia, for

30 years cardinal and then pope under the name of Alexander VI.

Calixtus opened his pontificate by vowing "to Almighty God and the Holy

Trinity, by wars, maledictions, interdicts, excommunications and in all

other ways to punish the Turks." [734] Legates were despatched to

kindle the zeal of princes throughout Europe. Papal jewels were sold,

and gold and silver clasps were torn from the books of the Vatican and

turned into money. At a given hour daily the bells were rung in Rome

that all might give themselves to prayer for the sacred war. But to the

indifference of most of the princes was added active resistance on the

part of France. Venice, always looking out for her own interests, made

a treaty with the Turks. Frederick III. was incompetent. The weak fleet

the pope was able to muster sailed forth from Ostia under Cardinal

Serampo to empty victories. The gallant Hungarian, Hunyady, brought

some hope by his brilliant feat in relieving Belgrade, July 14, 1456,

but the rejoicing was reduced by the news of the gallant leader's

death. Scanderbeg, the Albanian, who a year later was appointed papal

captain-general, was indeed a brave hero, but, unsupported by Western

Europe, he was next to powerless.

Calixtus' unblushing nepotism surpassed anything of the kind which had

been known in the papal household before. Catalan adventurers pressed

into Rome and stormed their papal fellow-countrymen with demands for

office. Upon the three sons of two of his sisters, Juan of Milan, son

of Catherine Borgia, and Pedro Luis and Rodrigo, sons of Isabella, he

heaped favor after favor. Adopted by their uncle, Pedro and Rodrigo

were the objects of his sleepless solicitude. Gregorovius has compared

the members of the Borgia family to the Roman Claudii. By the endowment

of nature they were vigorous and handsome, and by nature and practice,

sensual, ambitious, and high-handed,--their coat of arms a bull. Under

protest from the curia, Rodrigo and Juan of Milan were made cardinals,

1457, both the young men still in their twenties.

Their unsavory habits were already a byword in Rome. Rodrigo was soon

promoted over the heads of the other members of the sacred college to

the place of vice-chancellor, the most lucrative position within the

papal gift. At the same time, the little son--figliolo -- of the king

of Portugal, as Infessura calls him, was given the red hat.

With astounding rapidity Pedro Luis, who remained a layman, was

advanced to the highest positions in the state, and made governor of

St. Angelo and duke of Spoleto, and put in possession of Terni, Narni,

Todi and other papal fiefs. [735] It was supposed that it was the fond

uncle's intention, at the death of Alfonso of Naples, to invest this

nephew with the Neapolitan crown by setting aside Alfonso's

illegitimate son, Don Ferrante.

Calixtus' death was the signal for the flight of the Spanish lobbyists,

whose houses were looted by the indignant Romans. Discerning the coming

storm, Pedro made the best bargain he could by selling S. Angelo to the

cardinals for 20,000 ducats, and then took a hasty departure.

Like Honorius III., Calixtus might have died of a broken heart over his

failure to arouse Europe to the effort of a crusade, if it had not been

for this consuming concern for the fortunes and schemes of his

relatives. From this time on, for more than half a century, the gift of

dignities and revenues under papal control for personal considerations

and to unworthy persons for money was an outstanding feature in the

history of the popes.

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[724] Pastor heads his chapter on Nicolas with the caption Nicolas V.,

der Begr�nder des p�pstlichen Maecenats

[725] Pastor, I 417 sq., emphasizes these consequences of the Jubilee

Year.

[726] Infessura, p. 48; Platina, II. 242; Aeneas: Hist. Frid. 172;

Ilgen's trans., I. 214.

[727] Infessura, p. 52, says that language could not exaggerate

Leonora's beauty, bella quanto si potesse dire. Aeneas, Hist. Frid.,

265, speaks of her dark complexion, jet-black and lustrous eyes, her

soft red cheeks, her intelligent expression, and her snow-white neck,

"in every particular a charming person."

[728] Hist. Frid., 294; Ilgen, II. 84 sq. Aeneas gives the alternate

reason for the hospitality shown to his master.

[729] The crown used on the occasion was reputed to be the one used by

Charlemagne which Sigismund had removed to N�rnberg. Aeneas, with his

usual journalistic love of detail, noticed the Bohemian lion of Charles

IV. engraven on the sword, which also was brought from N�rnberg.

[730] Aeneas, p. 303, who is scrupulous in stating from time to time

that Frederick and Leonora lodged in different palaces or tents, now

gives a detailed account of the circumstances attending their first

lodging together as man and wife in Naples. The account is such as we

might expect from Boccaccio and not from a prelate of the Church, but

Aeneas' own record fitted him for entering with pruriency into

realistic details. They are characteristic of the times and of Spanish

customs.

[731] Pastor, I. 588 sqq., devotes much space to an attempt to show

that Nicolas made an effort to help the Greeks. Infessura blames him

for making none.

[732] Aeneas wrote, July 12, 1453, to the pope: "Historians of the

Roman pontiffs, when they reach your time, will write, 'Nicolas V., a

Tuscan, was pope for so many years. He recovered the patrimony of the

Church from the hands of tyrants, he gave union to the divided Church,

he canonized Bernardino, he built the Vatican and splendidly restored

St. Peter's, he celebrated the Jubilee and crowned Frederick III.' All

this will be obscured by the doleful addition, 'In his time

Constantinople was taken and plundered by the Turks.' Your holiness did

what you could. No blame can be justly attached to you. But the

ignorance of posterity will blame you when it hears that in your time

Constantinople was lost." Gibbon makes the observation that "The

pontificate of Nicolas V., however powerful and prosperous, was

dishonored by the fall of the Eastern Empire," ch. LXVIII. It was not

within Nicolas' power to avert the disaster.

[733] His epitaph is given by Mirbt, p. 169.

[734] Mansi, XXXII. 159 sq.

[735] Pastor, I. 747, says ein solches Verfahren war unerh�rt, it was

an unheard-of procedure.

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� 50. Aeneas Sylvius de' Piccolomini, Pius II.

The next pontiff, Pius II., has a place among the successful men of

history. Lacking high enthusiasms and lofty aims, he was constantly

seeking his own interests and, through diplomatic shrewdness, came to

be the most conspicuous figure of his time. He was ruled by expediency

rather than principle. He never swam against the stream. [736] When he

found himself on the losing side, he was prompt in changing to the

other.

Aeneas Sylvius de' Piccolomini was born in 1405 at Corsignano, a

village located on a bold spur of the hills near Siena. He was one of

18 children, and his family, which had been banished from Siena, was

poor but of noble rank. At 18, the son began studying in the

neighboring city, where he heard Bernardino preach. Later he learned

Greek in Florence. It was a great opportunity when Cardinal Capranica

took this young man with him as his secretary to Basel, 1431.

Gregorovius has remarked that it was the golden age of secretaries,

most of the Humanists serving in that capacity. Later, Aeneas went into

the service of the bishop of Novaro, whom he accompanied to Rome. The

bishop was imprisoned for the part he had taken in a conspiracy against

Eugenius IV. The secretary escaped a like treatment by flight. He then

served Cardinal Albergati, with whom he travelled to France. He also

visited England and Scotland. [737]

Returning to Basel, Aeneas became one of the conspicuous personages in

the council, was a member, and often acted as chairman of one of the

four committees, the committee on faith, and was sent again and again

on embassies to Strassburg, Frankfurt, Trent and other cities. The

council also appointed him its chief abbreviator. In 1440 he decided in

favor of the rump-synod, which continued to meet in Basel, and espoused

the cause of Felix V., who made him his secretary. The same year he

wrote the tract on general councils. [738] Finding the cause of the

anti-pope waning, he secured a place under Frederick III., and

succeeded to the full in ingratiating himself in that monarch's favor.

His Latin epigrams and verses won for him the appointment of

poet-laureate, and his diplomatic cleverness and versatility the

highest place in the royal council. At first he joined with Schlick,

the chancellor, in holding Frederick to a neutral attitude between

Eugenius and the anti-pope, but then, turning apostate to the cause of

neutrality, gracefully and unreservedly gave in his submission to the

Roman pontiff. While on an embassy to Rome, 1445, he excused himself

before Eugenius for his errors at Basel on the plea of lack of

experience. He at once became useful to the pope, and a year later

received the appointment of papal secretary. By his persuasion,

Frederick transferred his obedience to Eugenius, which Aeneas was able

to announce in person to the pope a few days before his death. From

Nicolas V. he received the sees of Trieste, 1447, and Siena, 1450, and

in 1456 promotion to the college of cardinals.

At the time of his election as pope, Aeneas was 53 years old. He had

risen by tact and an accurate knowledge of men and European affairs. He

was a thorough man of the world, and capable of grasping a situation in

a glance. He had been profligate, and his love affairs were many. A son

was born to him in Scotland, and another, by an Englishwoman, in

Strassburg. In a letter to his father, asking him to adopt the second

child, he described, without concealment and apparently without shame,

the measures he took to seduce the mother. He spoke of wantonness as an

old vice. He himself was no eunuch nor without passion. He could not

claim to be wiser than Solomon nor holier than David. Aeneas also used

his pen in writing tales of love adventures. His History of Frederick

III. contains prurient details that would not be tolerated in a

respectable author to-day. He was even ready to instruct youth in

methods of self-indulgence, and wrote to Sigismund, the young duke of

the Tyrol, neither to neglect literature nor to deny himself the

blandishments of Venus. [739] This advice was recalled to his face by

the canonist George von Heimburg at the Congress of Mantua. The famous

remark belongs to Aeneas that the celibacy of the clergy was at one

time with good reason made subject of positive legislation, but the

time had come when there was better reason for allowing priests to

marry. He himself did not join the clerical order till 1446, when he

was consecrated subdeacon. Before Pius' election, [740] the conclave

bound the coming pope to prosecute the war against the Turk, to observe

the rules of the Council of Constance about the sacred college and to

consult its members before making new appointments to bishoprics and

the greater abbeys. Nominations of cardinals were to be made to the

camera, and their ratification to depend upon a majority of its votes.

Each cardinal whose income did not amount to 4,000 florins was to

receive 100 florins a month till the sum of 4,000 was reached. This

solemn compact formed a precedent which the cardinals for more than

half a century followed.

Aeneas' constitution was already shattered. He was a great sufferer

from the stone, the gout and a cough, and spent many months of his

pontificate at Viterbo and other baths. His rule was not distinguished

by any enduring measures. He conducted himself well, had the respect of

the Romans, received the praise of contemporary biographers, and did

all he could to further the measures for the expulsion of the Turks

from Europe. He appointed the son of his sister, Laodamia, cardinal at

the age of 23, and in 1461 he bestowed the same dignity on Francis

Gonzaga, a youth of only 17. These appointments seem to have awakened

no resentment.

To advance the interest of the crusade against the Turks, Pius called a

congress of princes to meet in Mantua, 1460. On his way thither,

accompanied by Bessarion, Borgia and other cardinals, he visited his

birthplace, Corsignana, and raised it to a bishopric, changing its name

to Pienza. He also began the construction of a palace and cathedral

which still endure. Siena he honored by conferring the Golden Rose on

its signiory, and promoting the city to the dignity of a metropolitan

see. He also enriched it with one of John the Baptist's arms. Florence

arranged for the pope's welcome brilliant amusements,--theatrical

plays, contests of wild beasts, races between lions and horses, and

dances,--worldly rather than religious spectacles, as Pastor remarks.

The princes were slow in arriving in Mantua, and the attendance was not

such as to justify the opening of the congress till Sept. 26. Envoys

from Thomas Palaeologus of the Morea, brother of the last Byzantine

emperor, from Lesbos, Cyprus, Rhodes and other parts of the East were

on hand to pour out their laments. In his opening address, lasting

three hours, Pius called upon the princes to emulate Stephen, Peter,

Andrew, Sebastian, St. Lawrence and other martyrs in readiness to lay

down their lives in the holy war. The aggression of the Turks had

robbed Christendom of some of its fairest seats,--Antioch, where the

followers of Christ for the first time received the name Christians,

Solomon's temple, where Christ so often preached, Bethlehem, where he

was born, the Jordan, in which he was baptized, Tabor, on which he was

transfigured, Calvary, where he was crucified. If they wanted to retain

their own possessions, their wives, their children, their liberty, the

very faith in which they were baptized, they must believe in war and

carry on war. Joshua continued to have victory over his enemies till

the sun went down; Gideon, with 300, scattered the Midianites;

Jephthah, with a small army, put to flight the swarms of the Ammonites;

Samson had brought the proud Philistines to shame; Godfrey, with a

handful of men, had destroyed an innumerable number of the enemy and

slaughtered the Turks like cattle. Passionately the papal orator

exclaimed, O! that Godfrey were once more present, and Baldwin and

Eustache and Bohemund and Tancred, and the other mighty men who broke

through the ranks of the Turks and regained Jerusalem by their arms.

[741]

The assembly was stirred to a great heat, but, so a contemporary says,

the ardor soon cooled. Cardinal Bessarion followed Pius with an address

which also lasted three hours. Of eloquence there was enough, but the

crusading age was over. The conquerors of Jerusalem had been asleep for

nearly 400 years. Splendid orations could not revive that famous

outburst of enthusiasm which followed Urban's address at Clermont. In

this case the element of romance was wanting which the conquest of the

Holy Sepulchre had furnished. The prowess of the conquering Turks was a

hard fact.

During the Congress of Mantua the controversy broke out between the

German lawyer, Gregor of Heimburg, and Pius. They had met before at

Basel. Heimburg, representing the duke of the Tyrol, who had imprisoned

Nicolas of Cusa spoke against the proposed crusade. He openly insulted

the pope by keeping on his hat in his presence, an indignity he

jokingly explained as a precaution against the catarrh. From the

sentence of excommunication, pronounced against his ducal master, he

appealed to a general council, August 13, 1460. He himself was punished

with excommunication, and Pius called upon the city of N�rnberg to

expel him as the child of the devil and born of the artifice of lies.

Heimburg became a wanderer until the removal of the ban, 1472. He was

the strongest literary advocate in Germany of the Basel decrees and the

superiority of councils, and has been called a predecessor of Luther

and precursor of the Reformation. [742] Diether, archbishop of Mainz,

another advocate of the conciliar system, who entered into compacts

with the German princes to uphold the Basel decrees and to work for a

general council on German soil, was deposed, 1461, as Hermann,

archbishop of Cologne, was deposed a hundred years later for

undertaking measures of reform in his diocese.

Pius left Mantua the last of January, 1461, stopping on the return

journey a second time at his beloved Siena, and canonizing its

distinguished daughter, Catherine. [743] Here Rodrigo Borgia's gayeties

were so notorious as to call forth papal rebuke. The cardinal gave

banquets to which women were invited without their husbands. In a

severe letter to the future supreme pontiff, Pius spoke of the dancing

at the entertainments as being performed, so he understood, with "all

licentiousness."

The ease with which Pius, when it was to his interest, renounced

theories which he once advocated is shown in two bulls. The first, the

famous bull, Execrabilis, declared it an accursed and unheard-of abuse

to make appeal to a council from the decisions of the Roman pontiff,

Christ's vicar, to whom it was given to feed his sheep and to bind and

loose on earth and in heaven. To rid the Church of this pestiferous

venom,--pestiferum virus,--it announced the papal purpose to damn such

appeals and to lay upon the appellants a curse from which there could

be no absolution except by the Roman pontiff himself and in the article

of death. [744] Thus the solemn principle which had bloomed so

promisingly in the fair days of the councils of Constance and Basel,

and for which Gerson and D'Ailly had so zealously contended, was set

aside by one stroke of the pen. Thenceforward, the decree announced,

papal decisions were to be treated as final.

Three years later, April 26, 1463, the theory of the supremacy of

general councils was set aside in still more precise language. [745] In

an elaborate letter addressed to the rector and scholars of the

University of Cologne, Pius pronounced for the monarchical form of

government in the church--monarchicum regimen -- as being of divine

origin, and the one given to Peter. As storks follow one leader, and as

the bees have one king, so the militant church has in the vicar of

Christ one who is moderator and arbiter of all. He receives his

authority directly from Christ without mediation. He is the

prince--praesul -- of all the bishops, the heir of the Apostles, of the

line of Abel and Melchisedek. As for the Council Of Constance, Pius

expressed his regard for its decrees so far as they were approved by

his predecessors, but the definitions of general councils, he affirmed,

are subject to the sanction of the supreme pontiff, Peter's successor.

With reference to his former utterances at Basel, he expressly revoked

anything he had said in conflict with the positions taken in the bull,

and ascribed those statements to immaturity of mind, the imprudence of

youth and the circumstances of his early training. Quis non errat

mortalis--what mortal does not make mistakes, he exclaimed. Reject

Aeneas and follow Pius--Aeneam rejicite, Pium recipite -- he said. The

first was a Gentile name given by parents at the birth of their son;

the second, the name he had adopted on his elevation to the Apostolic

see. [746]

It would not be ingenuous to deny to Pius II., in making retractation,

the virtue of sincerity. A strain of deep feeling runs through its long

paragraphs which read like the last testament of a man speaking from

the heart. Inspired by the dignity of his office, the pope wanted to be

in accord with the long line of his predecessors, some of whom he

mentioned by name, from Peter and Clement to the Innocents and

Boniface. In issuing the decree of papal infallibility four centuries

later, Pius IX. did not excel his predecessor in the art of

composition; but he had this advantage over him that his announcement

was stamped with the previous ratification of a general council. The

two documents of the two popes of the name Pius reach the summit of

papal assumption and consigned to burial the theories of the final

authority of general councils and the infallibility of their decrees.

Scarcely could any two things be thought of more incongruous than Pius

II.'s culture and the glorious reception he gave in 1462 to the reputed

head of the Apostle Andrew. This highly prized treasure was brought to

Italy by Thomas Palaeologus, who, in recognition of his pious

benevolence toward the holy see, was given the Golden Rose, a palace in

Rome and an annual allowance of 6,000 ducats. The relic was received

with ostentatious signs of devotion. Bessarion and two other members of

the sacred college received it at Narni and conveyed it to Rome. The

pope, accompanied by the remaining cardinals and the Roman clergy, went

out to the Ponte Molle to give it welcome. After falling prostrate

before the Apostle's skull, Pius delivered an appropriate address in

which he congratulated the dumb fragment upon coming safely out of the

hands of the Turks to find at last, as a fugitive, a place beside the

remains of its brother Apostles. The address being concluded, the

procession reformed and, with Pius borne in the Golden Chair, conducted

the skull to its last resting-place. The streets were decked in holiday

attire, and no one showed greater zeal in draping his palace than

Rodrigo Borgia. The skull was deposited in St. Peter's, after, as

Platina says, "the sepulchres of some of the popes and cardinals, which

took up too much room, had been removed." The ceremonies were closed by

Bessarion in an address in which he expressed the conviction that St.

Andrew would join with the other Apostles as a protector of Rome and in

inducing the princes to combine for the expulsion of the Turks. [747]

In his closing days, Pius II. continued to be occupied with the

crusade. He had written a memorable letter to Mohammed II. urging him

to follow his mother's religion and turn Christian, and assuring him

that, as Clovis and Charlemagne had been renowned Christian sovereigns,

so he might become Christian emperor over the Bosphorus, Greece and

Western Asia. No reply is extant. In 1458, the year before the Mantuan

congress assembled, the crescent had been planted on the Acropolis of

Athens. All Southern Greece suffered the indignity and horrors of

Turkish oppression. Servia fell into the hands of the invaders, 1459,

and Bosnia followed, 1462.

Pius' bull of 1463, summoning to a crusade, was put aside by the

princes, but the pontiff, although he was afflicted with serious bodily

infirmities, the stone and the gout, was determined to set an example

in the right direction. Like Moses, he wanted, at least, to watch from

some promontory or ship the battle against the enemies of the cross.

Financial aid was furnished by the discovery of the alum mines of

Tolfa, near Civita Vecchia, in 1462, the revenue from which passed into

the papal treasury and was specially devoted by the conclave of 1464 to

the crusade. But it availed little. Pius proceeded to Ancona on a

litter, stopping on the way at Loreto to dedicate a golden cup to the

Virgin. Philip of Burgundy, upon whom he had placed chief reliance,

failed to appear. From Frederick III. nothing was to be expected.

Venice and Hungary alone promised substantial help. The supreme pontiff

lodged on the promontory in the bishop's palace. But only two vessels

lay at anchor in the harbor, ready for the expedition. To these were

added in a few days 14 galleys sent by the doge. Pius saw them as they

appeared in sight. The display of further heroism was denied him by his

death two days later. A comparison has been drawn by the historian

between the pope, with his eye fixed upon the East, and another, a born

navigator, who perhaps was even then turning his eyes towards the West,

and before many years was to set sail in equally frail vessels to make

his momentous discovery.

On his death-bed, Pius had an argument whether extreme unction, which

had been administered to him at Basel during an outbreak of the plague,

might be administered a second time. Among his last words, spoken to

Cardinal Ammanati, whom he had adopted, were, "pray for me, my son, for

I am a sinner. Bid my brethren continue this holy expedition." The body

was carried to Rome and laid away in St. Peter's.

The disappointment of this restless and remarkable man, in the closing

undertaking of his busy career, cannot fail to awaken human sympathy.

Pius, whose aims and methods had been the most practical, was carried

away at last by a romantic idea, without having the ability to marshal

the forces for its realization. He misjudged the times. His purpose was

the purpose of a man whose career had taught him never to tolerate the

thought of failure. In forming a general estimate, we cannot withhold

the judgment that, if he had made culture and literary effort prominent

in the Vatican, his pontificate would have stood out in the history of

the papacy with singular lustre. It will always seem strange that he

did not surround himself with literati, as did Nicolas V., and that his

interest in the improvement of Rome showed itself only in a few minor

constructions. His biographer, Campanus, declares that he incurred

great odium by his neglect of the Humanists, and Filelfo, his former

teacher of Greek, launched against his memory a biting philippic for

this neglect. The great literary pope proved to be but a poor patron.

[748] Platina's praise must not be forgotten, when he says, "The pope's

delight, when he had leisure, was in writing and reading, because he

valued books more than precious stones, for in them there were plenty

of gems." What he delighted in as a pastime himself, he seems not to

have been concerned to use his high position to promote in others. He

was satisfied with the diplomatic mission of the papacy and deceived by

the ignis fatuus of a crusade to deliver Constantinople.

Platina describes Pius at the opening of his pontificate as short,

gray-haired and wrinkled of face. He rose at daybreak, and was

temperate at table. His industry was noteworthy. His manner made him

accessible to all, and he struck the Romans of his age as a man without

hypocrisy. Looked at as a man of culture, Aeneas was grammarian,

geographer, historian, novelist and orator. Everywhere he was the keen

observer of men and events. The plan of his cosmography was laid out on

a large scale, but was left unfinished. [749] His Commentaries,

extending from his birth to the time of his death, are a racy example

of autobiographic literature. His strong hold upon the ecclesiastics

who surrounded him can only be explained by his unassumed intellectual

superiority and a certain moral ingenuousness. He is one of the most

interesting figures of his century. [750]

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[736] Enea ist seiner Tage nie gegen den Strom geschwommen. Haller In

Quellen, etc., IV. 83.

[737] London he found the most populous and wealthy city he had seen.

Scotland he described as a cold, barren, and treeless country.

[738] Libellus dialogorum de generalis concilii auctoritate.

[739] Aeneas aided Chancellor Schlick in some of his love adventures,

and described one of them in the much-read novel, Eurialus et Lucretia.

His letters from 1444 on, show a desire to give up the world. He

declared he had had enough of Venus, but he also wrote that Venus

evaded him more than he shrank from her. He seems to have passed into a

condition of physical infirmity, and to have been forced to abandon his

immoral courses. He, however, also indicates he had begun to be

actuated by feelings of penitence, whether from motives of policy or

religion cannot be made out. Gregorovius, VII. 165, combines the

inconsistent passages from Pius, letters when he says that, after long

striving to renounce the pleasures of the world, exhaustion and

incipient disease facilitated the task.

[740] The election was by the accessus, that is, after the written

ballot was found to be indecisive, the cardinals changed their votes by

word of mouth. See Hergenr�ther, Kath. Kirchenrecht, p. 273.

[741] Mansi, XXXII. 207-222.

[742] Gregorovius, VII. 184. His tract Admonitio de injustis

usurpationibus paparum rom. ad imperatorem ... sive confutatio primatus

papae, and other tracts by Heimburg, are given in Goldast, Monarchia.

See art. Gregor v. Heimburg, by Tschackert in Herzog, VII. 133-135, and

for quotations, Gieseler.

[743] A full translation of the letter is given by Gregorovius in

Lucrez. Borgia, p. 7 sq.

[744] Mansi, XXXII. 259 sq.; Mirbt, p. 169 sq.

[745] Mansi, XXXII. 195-203. Gieseler quotes at length. Aeneas had

written a letter to the rector of the Univ. of Cologne with the same

import, Oct. 13, 1447.

[746] The same time that Pius issued his bull of retractation, Gabriel

Biel, called the last of the Schoolmen, issued his tract on Obedience

to the Apostolic see, taking the same ground that Pius took.

[747] Pastor, II. 233-236, and Creighton, II. 436-438, give elaborate

accounts of this curious piece of superstition.

[748] Creighton, II. 491. Pastor, II. 28-31, makes a belabored effort

to remove in part this stigma, and excuses Pius II. by the lack of

funds from which he suffered and his engrossment in the affairs of the

papacy. Pius chartered the universities of Nantes, Ingolstadt and

Basel.

[749] Hist. rerum ubique gestarum cum locorum descriptione non finita,

Venice, 1477, in the Opera, Basel, 1551, etc.

[750] Voigt and Benrath are severe upon Pius II., and regard the

religious attitude of his later years as insincere and the crusade as

dictated by a love of fame. Gregorovius' characterization is one of the

least satisfactory of that impartial historian's pen. He says, "There

was nothing great in him. Endowed with fascinating gifts, this man of

brilliant parts possessed no enthusiasms," etc., VII. 164. Pastor

passes by the failings of Aeneas' earlier life with a single sentence,

but gives, upon the whole, the most discriminating estimate. He sees

only moral force in his advocacy of the crusade, and pronounces him,

with Nicolas V., the most notable of the popes of the 15th century.

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� 51. Paul II. 1464-1471.

The next occupant of the papal throne possessed none of the

intellectual attractiveness of his predecessor, and displayed no

interest in promoting the war against the Turks. He was as difficult to

reach as Pius had been accessible, and was slow in attending to

official business. The night he turned into day, holding his audiences

after dark, and legates were often obliged to wait far into the night

or even as late as three in the morning before getting a hearing.

Pietro Barbo, the son of a sister of Eugenius IV., was born in Venice,

1418. He was about to set sail for the East on a mercantile project,

when the news reached Venice of his uncle's election to the papacy.

Following his elder brother's advice, he gave up the quest of worldly

gain and devoted himself to the Church. Eugenius' favor assured him

rapid promotion, and he was successively appointed archdeacon of

Bologna, bishop of Cervia, bishop of Vicenza, papal pronotary and

cardinal. On being elected to the papal chair, the Venetian chose the

name of Formosus and then Mark, but, at the advice of the conclave,

both were given up, as the former seemed to carry with it a reference

to the pontiff's fine presence, and the latter was the battle-cry of

Venice, and might give political offence. So he took the name, Paul.

Before entering upon the election, the conclave again adopted a pact

which required the prosecution of the crusade and the assembling of a

general council within three years. The number of cardinals was not to

exceed 24, the age of appointment being not less than 30 years, and the

introduction of more than one of the pope's relatives to that body was

forbidden. [751]

This solemn agreement, Paul proceeded at once summarily to set aside.

The cardinals were obliged to attach their names to another document,

whose contents the pope kept concealed by holding his hand over the

paper as they wrote. The veteran Carvajal was the only member of the

curia who refused to sign. From the standpoint of papal absolutism,

Paul was fully justified. What right has any conclave to dictate to the

supreme pontiff of Christendom, the successor of St. Peter! The pact

was treason to the high papal theory, and meant nothing less than the

substitution of an oligarchy for the papal monarchy. Paul called no

council, not even a congress, to discuss the crusade against the Turks,

and appointed three of his nephews cardinals, Marco Barbo, his

brother's son, and Battista Zeno and Giovanni Mich�el, sons of two

sisters. [752] His ordinances for the city included sumptuary

regulations, limiting the prices to be paid for wearing apparel,

banquets and entertainments at weddings and funerals, and restricting

the dowries of daughters to 800 gold florins.

A noteworthy occurrence of Paul's pontificate was the storm raised in

Rome, 1466, by his dismissal of the 70 abbreviators, the number to

which Pius II. had limited the members of that body. This was one of

those incidents which give variety to the history of the papal court

and help to make it, upon the whole, the most interesting of all

histories. The scribes of the papal household were roughly divided into

two classes, the secretaries and the abbreviators. The business of the

former was to take charge of the papal correspondence of a more private

nature, while the latter prepared briefs of bulls and other more solemn

public documents. [753] The dismissal of the abbreviators got permanent

notoriety by the complaints of one of their number, Platina, and the

sufferings he was called upon to endure. This invaluable biographer of

the popes states that the dispossessed officials, on the plea that

their appointment had been for life, besieged the Vatican 20 nights

before getting a hearing. Then Platina, as their spokesman, threatened

to appeal to the princes of Europe to have a general council called and

see that justice was done. The pope's curt answer was that he would

rescind or ratify the acts of his predecessors as he pleased.

The unfortunate abbreviator, who was more of a scholar than a

politician, was thrown into prison and held there during the four

months of Winter without fire and bound in chains. Unhappily for him,

he was imprisoned a second time, accused of conspiracy and heretical

doctrine. In these charges the Roman Academy was also involved, an

institution which cultivated Greek thought and was charged with having

engaged in a propaganda of Paganism. There was some ground for the

charge, for its leader, Pomponius Laeto, who combined the care of his

vineyard with ramblings through the old Roman ruins and the perusal of

the ancient classics, had deblaterated against the clergy. This

antiquary was also thrown into prison. Platina relates how he and a

number of others were put to the torture, while Vienesius, his

Holiness' vice-chancellor, looked on for several days as the ordeal was

proceeding, "sitting like another Minos upon a tapestried seat as if he

had been at a wedding, a man in holy orders whom the canons of the

Church forbade to put torture upon laymen, lest death should follow, as

it sometimes does." On his release he received a promise from Paul of

reappointment to office, but waited in vain till the accession of

Sixtus IV., who put him in charge of the Vatican library. [754]

Paul pursued an energetic policy against Podiebrad and the Utraquists

of Bohemia and, after ordering all the compacts with the king ignored,

deposed him and called upon Matthias of Hungary to take his throne.

Paul had rejected Podiebrad's offer to dispossess the Turk on condition

of being recognized as Byzantine emperor. [755]

In 1468, Frederick, III. repeated his visit to Rome, accompanied by 600

knights, but the occasion aroused none of the high expectation of the

former visit, when the emperor brought with him the Portuguese infanta.

There was no glittering pageant, no august papal reception. On

receiving the communion in the basilica of St. Peter's, he received

from the pontiff's hand the bread, but not the "holy blood," which, as

the contemporary relates, Paul reserved to himself as an object-lesson

against the Bohemians, though it was customary on such occasions to

give both the elements. The successor of Charlemagne and Barbarossa was

then given a seat at the pope's side, which was no higher than the

pope's feet. [756] Patritius, who describes the scene, remarks that,

while the respect paid to the papal dignity had increased, the imperium

of the Roman empire had fallen into such decadence that nothing

remained of it but its name. Without manifesting any reluctance, the

Hapsburg held the pope's stirrup.

Paul was not without artistic tastes, although he condemned the study

of the classics in the Roman schools, [757] and was pronounced by

Platina a great enemy and despiser of learning. He was an ardent

collector of precious stones, coins, vases and other curios, and took

delight in showing his jewels to Frederick III. Sixtus IV. is said to

have found 54 silver chests filled with pearls collected by this

pontiff, estimated to be worth 300,000 ducats. The two tiaras, made at

his order, contained gems said to have been worth a like amount. At a

later time, Cardinal Barbo found in a secret drawer of one of Paul's

chests sapphires valued at 12,000 ducats. [758] Platina was probably

repeating only a common rumor, when he reports that in the daytime Paul

slept and at night kept awake, looking over his jewels.

To this diversion the pontiff added sensual pleasures and public

amusements. [759] He humored the popular taste by restoring heathen

elements to the carnival, figures of Bacchus and the fauna, Diana and

her nymphs. In the long list of the gayeties of carnival week are

mentioned races for young men, for old men and for Jews, as well as

races between horses, donkeys and buffaloes. Paul looked down from St.

Mark's and delighted the crowds by furnishing a feast in the square

below and throwing down amongst them handfuls of coins. In things of

this kind, says Infessura, the pope had his delight. [760] He was

elaborate in his vestments and, when he appeared in public, was

accustomed to paint his face.

The pope's death was ascribed to his indiscretion in eating two large

melons. Asked by a cardinal why, in spite of the honors of the papacy,

he was not contented, Paul replied that a little wormwood can pollute a

whole hive of honey. The words belong in the same category as the words

spoken 300 years before by the English pope, Adrian, when he announced

the failure of the highest office in Christendom to satisfy all the

ambitions of man.

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[751] The document Is given by Raynaldus and Gieseler.

[752] Pastor, II. 307, fully justifies Paul for setting aside the pact

on the ground that every pope gets plenary authority directly from God.

[753] Hergenr�ther: Kath. Kirchenrecht, p. 299

[754] Jacob Volaterra in Muratori, new ed., XXIII. 3, p. 98.

[755] Pastor, II. 358 sqq., makes a heroic effort to exempt Paul from

the guilt of neglecting the crusade against the Turks. In a letter

written by Cardinal Gonzaga, which he prints for the first time (II.

773), the statement is made that Paul was quietly laying aside

one-fourth of his income to be used against the Turks. There is no

mention of any sum of this kind among the pope's assets.

[756] Patritius in Muratori, XXIII. 205-215.

[757] Pastor, II. 347, tries to show that Paul had some mind for

humanistic studies. During his pontificate, 1467, the German printers,

Schweinheim and Pannarts, set up the first printing-presses in Rome,

but not under Paul's patronage.

[758] Infessura, p. 167.

[759] A quotation given by Gregorovius, VII. 226, probably exaggerates

when it states he filled his house with concubines--ex concubina domum

replevit.

[760] Et di queste cose lui-si pigliava piacere, p. 69.

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� 52. Sixtus IV. 1471-1484.

The last three popes of the 15th century, Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII.

and Alexander VI., completely subordinated the interests of the papacy

to the advancement of their own pleasure and the enrichment and

promotion of their kindred. [761] The avenues of the Vatican were

filled with upstarts whose only claim to recognition was that they were

the children or the nephews of its occupant, the supreme pontiff.

The chief features of the reign of Sixtus IV., a man of great decision

and ability, were the insolent rule of his numerous nephews and the

wars with the states of Italy in which their intrigues and ambitions

involved their uncle. At the time of his election, Francesco Rovere was

general of the order of the Franciscans. Born 1414, he had risen from

the lowest obscurity, his father being a fisherman near Savona. He took

the doctor's degree in theology at Padua, and taught successively in

Bologna, Pavia, Siena, Florence and Perugia. Paul II. appointed him

cardinal. In the conclave strong support is said to have come to him

through his notorious nephew, Peter Riario, who was active in

conducting his canvas and making substantial promises for votes.

The effort to interest the princes in the Turkish crusade was renewed,

but soon abandoned. Cardinals were despatched to the various courts of

Europe, Bessarion to France, Marco Barbo to Germany, and Borgia to

Spain, but only to find these governments preoccupied with other

concerns or ill-disposed to the enterprise. In 1472, a papal fleet of

18 galleys actually set sail, with banners blessed by the pope in St.

Peter's, and under the command of Cardinal Caraffa. It was met at

Rhodes by 30 ships from Naples and 36 from Venice and, after some

plundering exploits, returned with 25 Turkish prisoners of war and 12

camels,--trophies enough to arouse the curiosity of the Romans. Moneys

realized from some of Paul II.'s gems had been employed to meet the

expenditure.

Sixtus' relatives became the leading figures in Rome, and in wealth and

pomp they soon rivalled or eclipsed the old Roman families and the

older members of the sacred college. Sixtus was blessed or burdened

with 16 nephews and grandnephews. All that was in his power to do, he

did, to give them a good time and to establish them in affluence and

honor all their days. The Sienese had their day under Pius II., and now

it was the turn of the Ligurians. The pontiff's two brothers and three,

if not four, sisters, as well as all their progeny, had to be taken

care of. The excuse made for Calixtus III. cannot be made for this

indulgent uncle, that he was approaching his dotage. Sixtus was only 56

when he reached the tiara. And desperate is the suggestion that the

unfitness or unwillingness of the Roman nobility to give the pope

proper support made it necessary for him to raise up another and a

complacent aristocracy. [762]

Sixtus deemed no less than five of his nephews and a grandnephew

deserving of the red hat, and sooner or later eight of them were

introduced into the college of cardinals. Two nephews in succession

were appointed prefects of Rome. The nephews who achieved the rank of

cardinals were Pietro Riario at 25, and Julian della Rovere at 28, in

1471, both Franciscan monks; Jerome Basso and Christopher Rovere, in

1477; Dominico Rovere, Christopher's brother, in 1478; and the pope's

grandnephew, Raphael Sansoni, at the age of 17, in 1477. The two

nephews made prefects of Rome were Julian's brother Lionardo, who died

in 1475, and his brother Giovanni, d. 1501. Lionardo was married by his

uncle to the illegitimate daughter of Ferrante, king of Naples. [763]

Upon Peter Riario and Julian Rovere he heaped benefice after benefice.

Julian, a man of rare ability, afterwards made pope under the name of

Julius II., was appointed archbishop of Avignon and then of Bologna,

bishop of Lausanne, Constance, Viviers, Ostia and Velletri, and placed

at the head of several abbeys. Riario, who, according to popular

hearsay, was the pope's own child, was bishop of Spoleto, Seville and

Valencia, Patriarch of Constantinople, and recipient of other rich

places, until his income amounted to 60,000 florins or about 2,500,000

francs. He went about with a retinue of 100 horsemen. His expenditures

were lavish and his estate royal. His mistresses, whom he did not

attempt to conceal, were dressed in elegant fabrics, and one of them

wore slippers embroidered with pearls. Dominico received one after the

other the bishoprics of Corneto, Tarentaise, Geneva and Turin.

The visit of Leonora, the daughter of Ferrante, in Rome in 1473, while

on her way to Ferrara to meet her husband, Hercules of Este, was

perhaps the most splendid occasion the city had witnessed since the

first visit of Frederick III. It furnished Riario an opportunity for

the display of a magnificent hospitality. On Whitsunday, the Neapolitan

princess was conducted by two cardinals to St. Peter's, where she heard

mass said by the pope and then at high-noon witnessed the miracle play

of Susanna and the Elders, acted by Florentine players. The next

evening she sat down to a banquet which lasted 3 hours and combined all

the skill which decorators and cooks could apply. The soft divans and

costly curtainings, the silk costumes of the servants and the rich

courses are described in detail by contemporary writers. In

anticipation of modern electrical fans, 3 bellows were used to cool and

freshen the atmosphere. In such things, remarks Infessura, the

treasures of the Church were squandered. [764]

In 1474, on the death of Peter Riario, a victim of his excesses and

aged only 28, [765] his brother Jerome, a layman, came into supreme

favor. Sixtus was ready to put all the possessions of the papal see at

his disposal and, on his account, he became involved in feuds with

Florence and Venice. He purchased for this favorite Imola, at a cost of

40,000 ducats, and married him to the illegitimate daughter of the duke

of Milan, Catherine Sforza. The purchase of Imola was resented by

Florence, but Sixtus did not hesitate to further antagonize the

republic and the Medici. The Medici had established a branch

banking-house in Rome and become the papal bankers. Sixtus chose to

affront the family by patronizing the Pazzi, a rival banking-firm. At

the death of Philip de'Medici, archbishop of Pisa, in 1474, Salviati

was appointed his successor against the protest of the Medici. Finally,

Julian de' Medici was denied the cardinalship. These events marked the

stages in the progress of the rupture between the papacy and Florence.

Lorenzo, called the Magnificent, and his brother Julian represented the

family which the fiscal talents of Cosmo de'Medici had founded. In his

readiness to support the ambitions of his nephew, Jerome Riario, the

pope seemed willing to go to any length of violence. A conspiracy was

directed against Lorenzo's life, in which Jerome was the chief

actor,--one of the most cold-blooded conspiracies of history. The pope

was conversant with the plot and talked it over with its chief agent,

Montesecco and, though he may not have consented to murder, which

Jerome and the Pazzi had included in their plan, he fully approved of

the plot to seize Lorenzo's person and overthrow the republic. [766]

The terrible tragedy was enacted in the cathedral of Florence. When

Montesecco, a captain of the papal mercenaries, hired to carry out the

plot, shrank from committing sacrilege by shedding blood in the church

of God, its execution was intrusted to two priests, Antonio Maffei da

Volterra and Stefano of Bagnorea, the former a papal secretary. While

the host was being elevated, Julian de'Medici, who was inside the

choir, was struck with one dagger after another and fell dead. Lorenzo

barely escaped. As he was entering the sanctuary, he was struck by

Maffei and slightly wounded, and made a shield of his arm by winding

his mantle around it, and escaped with friends to the sacristy, which

was barred against the assassins. The bloody deed took place April 26,

1478.

The city proved true to the family which had shed so much lustre upon

it, and quick revenge was taken upon the agents of the conspiracy.

Archbishop Salviati, his brother, Francesco de' Pazzi and others were

hung from the signoria windows. [767] The two priests were executed

after having their ears and noses cut off. Montesecco was beheaded.

Among those who witnessed the scene in the cathedral was the young

cardinal, Raphael, the pope's grandnephew, and without having any

previous knowledge of the plot. His face, it was said, turned to an

ashen pallor, which in after years he never completely threw off.

With intrepid resolution, Sixtus resented the death of his archbishop

and the indignity done a cardinal in the imprisonment of Raphael as an

accomplice. He hurled the interdict at the city, branding Lorenzo as

the son of iniquity and the ward of perdition,--iniquitatis filius et

perditionis alumnus,--and entered into an alliance with Naples against

it. Louis XI. of France and Venice and other Italian states espoused

the cause of Florence. Pushed to desperation, Lorenzo went to Naples

and made such an impression on Ferrante that he changed his attitude

and joined an alliance with Florence. The pope was checkmated. The

seizure of Otranto on Italian soil by the Turks, in 1480, called

attention away from the feud to the imminent danger threatening all

Italy. In December of that year, Sixtus absolved Florence, and the

legates of the city were received in front of St. Peter's and touched

with the rod in token of forgiveness. Six months later, May 26, 1481,

Rome received the news of the death of Mohammed II., which Sixtus

celebrated by special services in the church, Maria del Popolo, [768]

and the Turks abandoned the Italian coast.

Again, in the interest of his nephew, Jerome, Sixtus took Forli,

thereby giving offence to Ferrara. He joined Venice in a war against

that city, and all Italy became involved. Later, the warlike pontiff

again saw his league broken up and Venice and Ferrara making peace,

irrespective of his counsels. He vented his mortification by putting

the queen of the Adriatic under the interdict.

In Rome, the bloody pope fanned the feud between the Colonna and the

Orsini, and almost succeeded in blotting out the name of the Colonna by

assassination and judicial murder.

Sixtus has the distinction of having extended the efficacy of

indulgences to souls in purgatory. He was most zealous in distributing

briefs of indulgence. [769] The Spanish Inquisition received his solemn

sanction in 1478. Himself a Franciscan, he augmented the privileges of

the Franciscan order in a bull which that order calls its great

ocean--mare magnum. He canonized the official biographer of Francis

d'Assisi, Bonaventura.

He issued two bulls with reference to the worship of Mary and the

doctrine of the immaculate conception, but he declared her sinlessness

from the instant of conception a matter undecided by the Roman Church

and the Apostolic see--nondum ab ecclesia romana et apostolica sede

decisum. [770] In all matters of ritual and outward religion, he was of

all men most punctilious. The chronicler, Volterra, abounds in notices

of his acts of devotion. Asa patron of art, his name has a high place.

He supported Platina with four assistants in cataloguing the archives

of the Vatican in three volumes.

Such was Sixtus IV., the unblushing promoter of the interests of his

relatives, many of them as worthless as they were insolent, the

disturber of the peace of Italy, revengeful, and yet the liberal patron

of the arts. The enlightened diarist of Rome, Infessura, [771] calls

the day of the pontiff's decease that most happy day, the day on which

God liberated Christendom from the hand of an impious and iniquitous

ruler, who had before him no fear of God nor love of the Christian

world nor any charity whatsoever, but was actuated by avarice, the love

of vain show and pomp, most cruel and given to sodomy. [772]

During his reign, were born in obscure places in Saxony and Switzerland

two men who were to strike a mighty blow at the papal rule, themselves

also of peasant lineage and the coming leaders of the new spiritual

movement.

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[761] Den n�chst-folgenden Tr�gern der Tiara schien dieselbe in erster

Linie ein Mittel zur Bereicherung und Erh�hung ihrer Familien zu sein.

Diesem Zwecke wurde die ganze p�pstliche Macht in r�cksichtslosester

Weise dienstbar gemacht, Hefele-Kn�pfler, Kirchengesch., p. 483.

[762] Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, II. 979. These most reputable Catholic

historians intimate rather than emphasize this consideration.

[763] A useful genealogical tree of the Rovere is given by Creighton,

III. 100. Pastor takes no pains to hide his righteous indignation at

Sixtus' exhaustive provision for his relatives,--seine zahlreiche und

unw�rdige Verwandten, as he calls them.

[764] Diario, p. 77. At the chief banquet, the menu comprised wild

boars roasted whole, bucks, goats, hares, pheasants, fish, peacocks

with their feathers, storks, cranes, and countless fruits and

sweetmeats. An artificial mountain of sugar was brought into the

dining-chamber, from which a man stepped forth with gestures of

surprise at finding himself amid such gorgeous surroundings.

[765] Sixtus reared to him a splendid monument in the Church of the

Apostles. Peter and his brother Jerome are represented as kneeling and

praying to the Madonna. See Pastor, II. 294 sq.

[766] So Pastor, II. 535, Gregorovius, VII. 239, Karl M�ller, II. 130

and Creighton, III. 75. They all agree that Sixtus knew the details of

the plot, and approved them, except in the matter of the murder, which,

however, he did not peremptorily forbid.

[767] See the account of the legate of Milan, publ. by Pastor, II. 785

sq. Of Sixtus' connivance at the plot against the Medici, Pastor, II.

541, says, "It calls for deep lament that a pope should play a part in

the history of this conspiracy."

[768] Infessura, p. 86.

[769] Pastor, II. 610 sqq., is very cautious in his remarks on the

subject of Sixtus' indulgences, almost to reticence.

[770] Mansi, XXXII. 374 sqq., gives the bull on the immaculate

conception dated Sept. 5, 1483; also Mirbt, p. 170.

[771] In quo felicissimo die, etc., pp. 155-158.

[772] This charge, which Infessura elaborates, Creighton, III. 115,

285, dismisses as unproved; Pastor, II. 640, also, but less

confidently. Infessura was a friend of the Colonna, to whom Sixtus was

bitterly hostile. Burchard, I. 10 sqq., gives a very detailed account

of Sixtus' obsequies. He spoke from observation as one of the masters

of ceremonies. Pastor makes a bold effort to rescue Sixtus from most of

the charges made against his character by Infessura.

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� 53. Innocent VIII. 1484-1492.

Under Innocent VIII. matters in Rome were, if anything, worse than

under his predecessor, Sixtus IV. Innocent was an easy-going man

without ideals, incapable of conceiving or carrying out high plans. He

was chiefly notable for his open avowal of an illegitimate family and

his bull against witchcraft.

At Sixtus' death, wild confusion reigned in Rome. Nobles and cardinals

barricaded their residences. Houses were pillaged. The mob held

carnival on the streets. The palace of Jerome Riario was sacked. Relief

was had by an agreement between the rival families of the Orsini and

Colonna to withdraw from the city for a month and Jerome's renunciation

of the castle of S. Angelo, which his wife had defended, for 4,000

ducats. Not till then did the cardinals feel themselves justified in

meeting for the election of a new pontiff.

The conclaves of 1484 and 1492 have been pronounced by high catholic

authority among the "saddest in the history of the papacy." [773] Into

the conclave of 1484, 25 cardinals entered, 21 of them Italians. Our

chief account is from the hand of the diarist, Burchard, who was

present as one of the officials.

His description goes into the smallest details. A protocol was again

adopted, which every cardinal promised in a solemn formula to observe,

if elected pope. Its first stipulation was that 100 ducats should be

paid monthly to members of the sacred college, whose yearly income from

benefices might not reach the sum of 4,000 ducats (about 200,000 francs

in our present money). Then followed provisions for the continuance of

the crusade against the Turks, the reform of the Roman curia in head

and members, the appointment of no cardinal under 30 for any cause

whatever, the advancement of not more than a single relative of the

reigning pontiff to the sacred college and the restriction of its

membership to 24. [774]

Rodrigo Borgia fully counted upon being elected and, in expectation of

that event, had barricaded his palace against being looted. Large

bribes, even to the gift of his palace, were offered by him for the

coveted prize of the papacy. Cardinal Barbo had 10 votes and, when it

seemed likely that he would be the successful candidate, Julian Rovere

and Borgia, renouncing their aspirations, combined their forces, and

during the night, went from cell to cell, securing by promises of

benefices and money the votes of all but six of the cardinals.

According to Burchard, the pope about to be elected sat up all night

signing promises. The next morning the two cardinals aroused the six

whom they had not disturbed, exclaiming, "Come, let us make a pope."

"Who?" they said. "Cardinal Cibo." "How is that?" they asked. "While

you were drowsy with sleep, we gathered all the votes except yours,"

was the reply.

The new pope, Lorenzo Cibo, born in Genoa, 1432, had been made cardinal

by Sixtus IV., 1473. During his rule, peace was maintained with the

courts of Italy, but in Rome clerical dissipation, curial venality and

general lawlessness were rampant. "In darkness Innocent was elected, in

darkness he lives, and in darkness he will die," said the general of

the Augustinians. [775] Women were carried off in the night. The

murdered were found in the streets in the morning. Crimes, before their

commission, were compounded for money. Even the churches were pilfered.

A piece of the true cross was stolen from S. Maria in Trastavere. The

wood was reported found in a vineyard, but without its silver frame.

When the vice-chancellor, Borgia, was asked why the laws were not

enforced, he replied, "God desires not the death of a sinner, but

rather that he should pay and live." [776] The favorite of Sixtus IV.,

Jerome Riario, was murdered in 1488. His widow, the brave and masculine

Catherine Sforza, who was pregnant at the time, defended his castle at

Forli and defied the papal forces besieging it, declaring that, if they

put her children to death who were with her, she yet had one left at

Imola and the unborn child in her womb. The duke of Milan, her

relative, rescued her and put the besiegers to flight.

All ecclesiastical offices were set for sale. How could it be

otherwise, when the papal tiara itself was within the reach of the

highest bidder? [777] The appointment of 18 new papal secretaries

brought 62,400 ducats into the papal treasury. The bulls creating the

offices expressly declared the aim to be to secure funds. 52 persons

were appointed to seal the papal bulls, called plumbatores, from the

leaden ball or seal they used, and the price of the position was fixed

at 2,500 ducats. Even the office of librarian in the Vatican was sold,

and the papal tiara was put in pawn. In a time of universal traffic in

ecclesiastical offices, it is not surprising that the fabrication of

papal documents was turned into a business. Two papal notaries

confessed to having issued 50 such documents in two years, and in spite

of the pleas of their friends were hung and burnt, 1489. [778]

Innocent's children were not persons of marked traits, or given to

ambitious intrigues. Common rumor gave their number as 16, all of them

children by married women. [779] Franceschetto and Theorina seem to

have been born before the father entered the priesthood.

Franceschetto's marriage to Maddalena, a daughter of Lorenzo the

Magnificent, was celebrated in the Vatican, Jan. 20, 1488. Ten months

later, the pope's granddaughter, Peretta, child of Theorina, was also

married in the Vatican to the marquis of Finale. The pontiff sat with

the ladies at the table, a thing contrary to all the accepted

proprieties. In 1492, another grandchild, also a daughter of Theorina,

Battistana, was married to duke Louis of Aragon. [780]

The statement of Infessura is difficult to believe, although it is made

at length, that Innocent issued a decree permitting concubinage in Rome

both to clergy and laity. The prohibition of concubinage was declared

prejudicial to the divine law and the honor of the clergy, as almost

all the clergy, from the highest to the lowest, had concubines, or

mistresses. According to the Roman diarist, there were 6,800 listed

public courtezans in Rome besides those whose names were not recorded.

[781] To say the least, the statement points to the low condition of

clerical morals in the holy city and the slight regard paid to the

legislation of Gregory VII. Infessura was in position to know what was

transpiring in Rome.

What could be expected where the morals of the supreme pontiff and the

sacred senate were so loose? The lives of many of the cardinals were

notoriously scandalous. Their palaces were furnished with princely

splendor and filled with scores of servants. Their example led the

fashions in extravagance in dress and sumptuous banquetings. They had

their stables, kennels and falcons. Cardinal Sforza, whose yearly

income is reported to have been 30,000 ducats, or 1,500,000 francs,

present money, excelled in the chase. Cardinal Julian made sport of

celibacy, and had three daughters. Cardinal Borgia, the acknowledged

leader in all gayeties, was known far and wide by his children, who

were prominent on every occasion of display and conviviality. The

passion for gaming ran high in the princely establishments. Cardinal

Raphael won 8,000 ducats at play from Cardinal Balue who, however, in

spite of such losses, left a fortune of 100,000 ducats. This

grandnephew of Sixtus IV. was a famous player, and in a single night

won from Innocent's son, Franceschetto, 14,000 ducats. The son

complained to his father, who ordered the fortunate winner to restore

the night's gains. But the gay prince of the church excused himself by

stating that the money had already been paid out upon the new palace he

was engaged in erecting.

The only relative whom Innocent promoted to the sacred college was his

illegitimate brother's son, Lorenzo Cibo. The appointment best known to

posterity was that of Giovanni de' Medici, son of Lorenzo the

Magnificent, afterwards Leo X.

Another appointment, that of D'Aubusson, was associated with the case

of the Mohammedan prince, Djem. This incident in the annals of the

papacy would seem incredible, if it were not true. A writer of romance

could hardly have invented an episode more grotesque. At the death of

Mohammed II., his son, Djem, was defeated in his struggle for the

succession by his brother Bajazet, and fled to Rhodes for protection.

The Knights of St. John were willing to hold the distinguished fugitive

as prisoner, upon the promise of 45,000 ducats a year from the sultan.

For safety's sake, Djem was removed to one of the Hospitaller houses in

France. Hungary, Naples, Venice, France and the pope,--all put in a

claim for him. Such competition to pay honor to an infidel prince had

never before been heard of in Christendom. The pope won by making

valuable ecclesiastical concessions to the French king, among them the

bestowal of the red hat on D'Aubusson.

The matter being thus amicably adjusted, Djem was conducted to Rome,

where he was received with impressive ceremonies by the cardinals and

city officials. His person was regarded as of more value than the

knowledge of the East brought by Marco Polo had been in its day, and

the reception of the Mohammedan prince created more interest than the

return of Columbus from his first journey to the West. Djem was

escorted through the streets by the pope's son, and rode a white horse

sent him by the pope. The ambassador of the sultan of Egypt, then in

Rome, had gone out to meet him, and shed tears as he kissed his feet

and the feet of his horse. The popes had not shrunk from entering into

alliances with Oriental powers to secure the overthrow of Mohammed II.

and his dynasty. Djem, or the Grand Turk, as he was called, was

welcomed by the pope surrounded by his cardinals. The proud descendant

of Eastern monarchs, however, refused to kiss the supreme pontiff's

foot, but made some concession by kissing his shoulder. He was

represented as short and stout, with an aquiline nose, and a single

good eye, given at times inordinately to drink, though a man of some

intellectual culture. He was reported to have put four men to death

with his own hand. But Djem was a dignitary who signified too much to

be cast aside for such offences. Innocent assigned him to elegantly

furnished apartments in the Vatican, and thus the strange spectacle was

afforded of the earthly head of Christendom acting as the host of one

of the chief living representatives of the faith of Islam, which had

almost crushed out the Christian churches of the East and usurped the

throne on the Bosphorus.

Bajazet was willing to pay the pope 40,000 ducats for the hospitality

extended to his rival brother, and delegations came from him to Rome to

arrange the details of the bargain. The report ran that attempts were

made by the sultan to poison both his brother and the pope by

contaminating the wells of the Vatican. When the ambassador brought

from Constantinople the delayed payment of three years, 120,000 ducats,

Djem insisted that the Turk's clothes should be removed and his skin be

rubbed down with a towel, and that he should lick the letter "on every

side," as proof that he did not also carry poison. [782] Djem survived

his first papal entertainer, Innocent VIII., three years, and figured

prominently in public functions in the reign of Alexander VI. He died

1495, still a captive.

Another curious instance was given in Innocent's reign of the hold

open-mouthed superstition had in the reception given to the holy lance.

This pretended instrument, with which Longinus pierced the Saviour's

side and which was found during the Crusades by the monk Barth�lemy at

Antioch, was already claimed by two cities, N�rnberg and Paris. The

relic made a greater draft upon the credulity of the age than St.

Andrew's head. The latter was the gift of a Christian prince, howbeit

an adherent of the schismatic Greek Church; the lance came from a Turk,

Sultan Bajazet.

Some question arose among the cardinals whether it would not be

judicious to stay the acceptance of the gift till the claims of the

lance in N�rnberg had been investigated. But the pope's piety, such as

it was, would not allow a question of that sort to interfere. An

archbishop and a bishop were despatched to Ancona to receive the iron

fragment, for only the head of the lance was extant. It was conducted

from the city gates by the cardinals to St. Peter's, and after mass the

pope gave his blessing. The day of the reception happened to be a fast,

but, at the suggestion of one of the cardinals, some of the fountains

along the streets, where the procession was appointed to go, were made

to throw out wine to slake the thirst of the populace. After a solemn

service in S. Maria del Popolo, on Ascension Day, 1492, the Turkish

present, encased in a receptacle of crystal and gold, was placed near

the handkerchief of St. Veronica in St. Peter's. [783]

The two great stains upon the pontificate of Innocent VIII., the

crusade he called to exterminate the Waldenses, 1487, and his bull

directed against the witches of Germany, 1484, which inaugurated two

horrible dramas of cruelty, have treatment in another place.

Innocent was happy in being permitted to join with Europe in rejoicings

over the expulsion of the last of the Moors from Granada, 1492. Masses

were said in Rome, and a sermon preached in the pontiff's presence in

celebration of the memorable event. [784] With characteristic national

gallantry, Cardinal Borgia showed his appreciation by instituting a

bull-fight in which five bulls were killed, the first but not the last

spectacle of the kind seen in the papal city. In his last sickness,

Innocent was fed by a woman's milk. [785] Several years before, when he

was thought to be dying, the cardinals found 1,200,000 ducats in his

drawers and chests. They now granted his request that 48,000 ducats

should be taken from his fortune and distributed among his relatives.

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[773] Pastor, III. 178.

[774] Burchard, I. 33-55

[775] Infessura, p. 177. The Augustinian was thrown into prison for

making the remark. Infessura returns again and again, pp. 237 sq., 243,

256 sq., to the reign of crime going on in the city.

[776] Infessura gives the case of a father who, after committing incest

with his two daughters, murdered them and was set free upon the payment

of 800 ducats. Gregorovius, VII. 297, says of the Italian character of

the last 30 years of the 15th century that "it displays a trait of

diabolical passion. Tyrannicide, conspiracies and deeds of treachery

are universal, and criminal selfishness reigns supreme."

[777] Funk, Kirchengesch., 373, says, In Rom. schien alles k�uflich zu

sein

[778] � For the details, see Burchard, I. 365-368.

[779] So Marullus in his epigram-- Octo nocens pueros genuit totidemque

puellas, Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem Illegitimately he begat

8 boys and girls as many. Hence Rome deservedly may call him father.

Burchard, I. 321, calls Franceschetto bastardus.

[780] Burchard, I. 323, 488. In 1883, the Berlin Museum came into

possession of a bust of Theorina bearing the inscription,"Teorina Cibo

Inn. VIII. P. M. f. singuli exempli matrona formaeque dignitate

conjuaria."

[781] Infessura, p. 259 sq. Pastor, III. 269, pronounces Infessura's

statement altogether incredible,--g�nzlich unglaubw�rdig,--and blames

Infessura's editor, Tommasini, for allowing the statement to pass in

his edition without note or comment. Pastor, in his 1st ed., III. 252,

had pronounced the statement of the Roman diarist eine ungeheuerliche

Behauptung.

[782] Totam ab omnibus ejus lateribus lingua sua lambivit. Infessura,

p. 263. For the letter of the painter Mantegna to the duke of Mantua

and its curious details, June 15, 1489, see Pastor, 1st ed., III. 218.

The picture of the Disputation of St. Catherine in the sala dei santi

in the Vatican contains a picture of Djem riding a white palfrey.

Infessura and Burchard enter with journalistic relish into the details

of Djem's appearance and treatment In Rome.

[783] Infessura p. 224, and especially Burchard, I. 482-486, and

Sigismondo, II. 25-29, 69, give extended accounts of the honors paid to

the piece of iron, the sacratissimum ferreum lanceae. The sultan's

representative, Chamisbuerch, who was also present, was reported to

have handed the pope a package containing 40,000 ducats. Sigismondo

uses the word spicula, little point, for the lance.

[784] Burchard, I. 444 sqq.

[785] The harrowing story was told that, at the suggestion of a Jewish

physician, the blood of three boys was infused into the dying pontiff's

veins. They were ten years old, and had been promised a ducat each. All

three died. The Jewish physician lied. The story is told by Infessura

and repeated by Raynaldus. It is pleasant to have Gregorovius, VII.

338, as well as Pastor, III. 275 sq., give it no credence.

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� 54. Pope Alexander VI--Borgia. 1492-1503.

The pontificate of Alexander VI., which coincides with the closing

years of the 15th century and the opening of the 16th, may be compared

with the pontificate of Boniface VIII., which witnessed the passage

from the 13th to the 14th centuries. Boniface marked the opening act in

the decline of the papal power introduced by the king of France. Under

Alexander, when the French again entered actively into the affairs of

Italy, even to seizing Rome, the papacy passed into its deepest moral

humiliation since the days of the pornocracy in the 10th century.

Alexander VI., whom we have before known as Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia,

has the notorious distinction of being the most corrupt of the popes of

the Renaissance period. Even in the judgment of Catholic historians,

his dissoluteness knew no restraint and his readiness to abase the

papacy for his own personal ends, no bounds. [786] His intellectual

force, if used aright, might have made his pontificate one of the most

brilliant in the annals of the Apostolic see. The time was ripe. The

conditions offered the opportunity if ever period did. But moral

principle was wanting. Had Dante lived again, he would have written

that Alexander VI. made a greater refusal than the hermit pope,

Coelestine V., and deserved a darker doom than the simoniac pope,

Boniface VIII.

At Innocent VIII.'s death, 23 cardinals entered into the conclave which

met in the Sistine chapel. Borgia and Julian Rovere were the leading

candidates. They were rivals, and had been candidates for the papal

chair before. Everything was to be staked on success in the pending

election. Openly and without a blush, ecclesiastical offices and money

were offered as the price of the spiritual crown of Christendom. Julian

was supported by the king of France, who deposited 200,000 ducats in a

Roman bank and 100,000 more in Genoa to secure his election. If Borgia

could not outbid him he was, at least, the more shrewd in his

manipulations. There were only five cardinals, including Julian, who

took nothing. The other members of the sacred college had their price.

Monticelli and Soriano were given to Cardinal Orsini and also the see

of Cartagena, and the legation to the March; the abbey of Subiaco and

its fortresses to Colonna; Civita Castellana and the see of Majorca to

Savelli; Nepi to Sclafetanus; the see of Porto to Mich�el; and rich

benefices to other cardinals. Four mules laden with gold were conducted

to the palace of Ascanio Sforza, who also received Rodrigo's splendid

palace and the vice-chancellorship. Even the patriarch of Venice, whose

high age--for he had reached 95--might have been expected to lift him

above the seduction of filthy lucre, accepted 5,000 ducats. Infessura

caustically remarks that Borgia distributed all his goods among the

poor. [787]

The ceremonies of coronation were on a scale which appeared to the

contemporaries unparalleled in the history of such occasions. A figure

of a bull, the emblem of the Borgias, was erected near the Palazzo di

S. Marco on the line of the procession, from whose eyes, nostrils and

mouth poured forth water, and from the forehead wine. Rodrigo was 61

years of age, had been cardinal for 37 years, having received that

dignity when he was 25. His fond uncle, Calixtus III., had made him

archbishop of Valencia, heaped upon him ecclesiastical offices,

including the vice-chancellorship, and made him the heir of his

personal possessions. His palace was noted for the splendor of its

tapestries and carpets and its vessels of gold and silver. [788] The

new pope possessed conspicuous personal attractions. He was tall and

well-formed, and his manners so taking that a contemporary, Gasparino

of Verona, speaks of his drawing women to himself more potently than

the magnet attracts iron. [789] The reproof which his gallantries of

other days called forth from Pius II. at Siena has already been

referred to.

The pre-eminent features of Alexander's career, as the supreme pontiff

of Christendom, were his dissolute habits and his extravagant passion

to exalt the worldly fortunes of his children. In these two respects he

seemed to be destitute at once of all regard for the solemnity of his

office and of common conscience. A third feature was the entry of

Charles VIII. and the French into Italy and Rome. During his

pontificate two events occurred whose world-wide significance was

independent of the occupant of the papal throne,--the one geographical,

the other religious,--the discovery of America and the execution of the

Florentine preacher, Savonarola. As in the reign of Calixtus III., so

now Spaniards flocked to Rome, and the Milanese ambassador wrote that

ten papacies would not have been able to satisfy their greed for

official recognition. In spite of a protocol adopted in the conclave, a

month did not pass before Alexander appointed his nephew, Juan of

Borgia, cardinal, and in the next years he admitted four more members

of the Borgia family to the sacred college, including his infamous son,

Caesar Borgia, at the age of 18. [790]

Alexander's household and progeny call for treatment first. It soon

became evident that the supreme passion of his pontificate was to

advance the fortunes of his children. [791] His parental relations were

not merely the subject of rumor; they are vouched for by irresistible

documentary proof.

Alexander was the acknowledged father of five children by Vanozza de

Cataneis: Pedro Luis, Juan, Caesar, Lucretia, Joffr� and, perhaps,

Pedro Ludovico. The briefs issued by Sixtus IV. legitimating Caesar and

Ludovico are still extant. [792] Two bulls were issued by Alexander

himself in 1493, bearing on Caesar's parentage. The first, declaring

him to be the son of Vanozza by a former husband, was intended to

remove the objections the sacred college naturally felt in admitting to

its number one of uncertain birth. In the second, Alexander announced

him to be his own son. [793] Tiring of Vanozza, who was 11 years his

junior, Alexander put her aside and saw that she was married

successively to three husbands, himself arranging for the first

relationship and making provision for the second and the third. [794]

In her later correspondence with Lucretia she signed herself, thy happy

and unhappy mother--la felice ed infelice matre.

These were not the only children Alexander acknowledged. His daughters

Girolama and Isabella were married 1482 and 1483. [795] Another

daughter, Laura, by Julia Farnese, born in 1492, he acknowledged as his

own child, and in 1501 the pope formally legitimated, as his own son,

Juan, by a Roman woman. In a first bull he called the boy Caesar's, but

in a second he recognized him as his own offspring. [796]

Among Alexander's mistresses, after he became pope, the most famous was

cardinal Farnese's sister, Julia Farnese, called for her beauty, La

Bella. Infessura repeatedly refers to her as Alexander's concubine. Her

legal husband was appeased by the gift of castles.

The gayeties, escapades, marriages, worldly distinctions and crimes of

these children would have furnished daily material for paragraphs of a

nature to satisfy the most sensational modern taste. Don Pedro Luis,

Alexander's eldest son, and his three older brothers began their public

careers in the service of the Spanish king, Ferdinand, who admitted

them to the ranks of the higher nobility and sold Gandia, with the

title of duke, to Don Pedro. This gallant young Borgia died in 1491 at

the age of 30, on the eve of his journey from Rome to Spain to marry

Ferdinand's cousin. His brother, Don Juan, fell heir to the estate and

title of Gandia and was married with princely splendor in Barcelona to

the princess to whom Don Pedro had been betrothed.

Alexander's son, Caesar Borgia was as bad as his ambition was insolent.

The annals of Rome and of the Vatican for more than a decade are filled

with his impiety, his intrigues and his crimes. At the age of six, he

was declared eligible for ordination. He was made protonotary and

bishop of Pampeluna by Innocent VIII. At his father's election he

hurried from Pisa, where he was studying, and on the day of his

father's coronation was appointed archbishop of Valencia. He was then

sixteen.

Don Joffr� was married, at 13, to a daughter of Alfonso of Naples and

was made prince of Squillace.

The personal fortunes of Alexander's daughter, Lucretia, constitute one

of the notorious and tragic episodes of the 15th century.

The most serious foreign issue in Alexander's reign was the invasion of

Charles VIII., king of France. The introductory act in what seemed

likely to be the complete transformation of Italy was the sale of

Cervetri and Anguillara to Virginius Orsini for 40,000 ducats by

Franceschetto, the son of Innocent VIII. This papal scion was contented

with a life of ease and retired to Florence. The transfer of these two

estates was treated by the Sforza as disturbing the balance of power in

the peninsula, and Ludovico and Ascanio Sforza pressed Alexander to

check the influence of Ferrante, king of Naples, who was the supporter

of the Orsini. Ferrante, a shrewd politician, by ministering to

Alexander's passion to advance his children's fortunes, won him from

the alliance with the Sforza. He promised to the pope's son, Joffr�,

Donna Sancia, a mere child, in marriage. Ludovico Sforza, ready to

resort to any measure likely to promote his own personal ambition,

invited Charles VIII. to enter Italy and make good his claim to the

crown of Naples on the ground of the former Angevin possession. He also

applauded the French king's announced purpose to reduce Constantinople

once more to Christian dominion.

On Ferrante's death, 1494, Alfonso II. was crowned king of Naples by

Alexander's nephew, Cardinal Juan Borgia. Charles, then only 22, was

short, deformed, with an aquiline nose and an inordinately big head. He

set out for Italy at the head of a splendid army of 40,000 men,

equipped with the latest inventions in artillery. Julian Rovere, who

had resisted Alexander's policy and fled to Avignon, joined with other

disaffected cardinals in supporting the French and accompanying the

French army. Charles' march through Northern Italy was a series of easy

and almost bloodless triumphs. Milan threw open its gates to Charles.

So did Pisa. Before entering Florence, the king was met by Savonarola,

who regarded him as the messenger appointed by God to rescue Italy from

her godless condition. Rome was helpless. Alexander's ambassadors, sent

to treat with the invader, were either denied audience or denied

satisfaction. In his desperation, the pope resorted to the Turkish

sultan, Bajazet, for aid. The correspondence that passed between the

supreme ruler of Christendom and the leading sovereign of the

Mohammedan world was rescued from oblivion by the capture of its

bearer, George Busardo. [797] 40,000 ducats were found on Busardo's

person, a payment sent by Bajazet to Alexander for Djem's safe-keeping.

Alexander had indicated to the sultan that it was Charles' aim to carry

Djem off to France and then use him as the admiral of a fleet for the

capture of Constantinople. In reply, Bajazet suggested that such an

issue would result in even greater damage to the pope than to himself.

His papal friend, whom he addressed as his Gloriosity--gloriositas,

might be pleased to lift the said prisoner, Djem, out of the troubles

of this present world and transfer his soul into another, where he

would enjoy more quiet. [798] For performing such a service, he stood

ready to give him the sum of 300,000 ducats, which, as he suggested,

the pope might use in purchasing princedoms for his children.

On the last day of 1494, the French army entered the holy city,

dragging with it 36 bronze cannon. Such military discipline and

equipment the Romans had not seen, and they looked on with awe and

admiration. To the king's demand that the castle of S. Angelo be

surrendered, Alexander sent a refusal declaring that, if the fortress

were attacked, he would take his position on the walls surrounded with

the most sacred relics in Rome. Cardinals Julian Rovere, Sforza,

Savelli and Colonna, who had ridden into the city with the French

troops, urged the king to call a council and depose Alexander for

simony. But when it came to the manipulation of men, Alexander was more

than a match for his enemies. Charles had no desire to humiliate the

pope, except so far as it might be necessary for the accomplishment of

his designs upon Naples. A pact was arranged, which included the

delivery of Djem to the French and the promise that Caesar Borgia

should accompany the French troops to Naples as papal legate. In the

meantime the French soldiery had sacked the city, even to Vanozza's

house. Henceforth the king occupied quarters in the Vatican, and the

disaffected cardinals, with the exception of Julian, were reconciled to

the pope.

On his march to Naples, which began Jan. 25, 1495, Charles took Djem

with him. That individual passed out of the gates of Rome, riding at

the side of Caesar. These two personages, the Turkish pretender and the

pontiff's son, had been on terms of familiarity, and often rode on

horseback together. Within a month after leaving Rome, and before

reaching Naples, the Oriental died. The capital of Southern Italy was

an easy prize for the invaders. Caesar had been able to make his escape

from the French camp. His son's shrewdness and good luck afforded

Alexander as much pleasure as did the opportunity of joining the king

of Spain and the cities of Northern Italy in an alliance against

Charles. In 1496, the alliance was strengthened by the accession of

Henry VII. of England. After abandoning himself for several months to

the pleasures of the Neapolitan capital, the French king retraced his

course and, after the battle of Fornuovo, July 6, 1495, evacuated

Italy. Alexander had evaded him by retiring from Rome, and sent after

the retreating king a message to return to his proper dominions on pain

of excommunication. The summons neither hastened the departure of the

French nor prevented them from returning to the peninsula again in a

few years. [799]

The misfortunes and scandals of the papal household were not

interrupted by the French invasion, and continued after it. In the

summer of 1497, occurred the mysterious murder of Alexander's son, the

duke of Gandia, then 24 years old. It was only a sample of the crimes

being perpetrated in Rome. The duke had supped with Caesar, his

brother, and Cardinal Juan Borgia at the residence of Vanozza. The

supper being over, the two brothers rode together as far as the palace

of Cardinal Sforza. There they separated, the duke going, as he said,

on some private business, and accompanied by a masked man who had been

much with him for a month past. The next day, Alexander waited for his

son in vain. In the evening, unable to bear the suspense longer, he

instituted an investigation. The man in the mask had been found

mortally wounded. A charcoal-dealer deposed that, after midnight, he

had seen several men coming to the brink of the river, one of them on a

white horse, over the back of which was thrown a dead man. They backed

the horse and pitched the body into the water. The pope was

inconsolable with grief, and remained without food from Thursday to

Sunday. He had recently made his son lord of the papal patrimony and of

Viterbo, standard-bearer of the church and duke of Benevento. In

reporting the loss to the consistory of cardinals, the father declared

that he loved Don Juan more than anything in the world, and that if he

had seven papacies he would give them all to restore his son's life.

The origin of the murder was a mystery. Different persons were picked

out as the perpetrators. It was surmised that the deed was committed by

some lover who had been abused by the gay duke. Suspicion also fastened

on Ascanio Sforza, the only cardinal who did not attend the consistory.

But gradually the conviction prevailed that the murderer was no other

than Caesar Borgia himself, and the Italian historian, Guicciardini,

three years later adopted the explanation of fratricide. Caesar, it was

rumored, was jealous of the place the duke of Gandia held in his

father's affections, and hankered after the worldly honors which had

been heaped upon him.

When the charcoal-dealer was asked why he did not at once report the

dark scene, he replied that such deeds were a common occurrence and he

had witnessed a hundred like it. [800]

In the first outburst of his grief, Alexander, moved by feelings akin

to repentance, appointed a commission of six cardinals to bring in

proposals for the reformation of the curia and the Church. His

reforming ardor was, however, soon spent, and the proposals, when

offered, were set aside as derogatory to the papal prerogative. For the

next two years, the marriages and careers of his children, Caesar and

Lucretia, were treated as if they were the chief concern of

Christendom.

Lucretia, born in 1480, had already been twice betrothed to Spaniards,

when the father was elected pope and sought for her a higher alliance.

In 1493, she was married to John Sforza, lord of Pesaro, a man of

illegitimate birth. The young princess was assigned a palace of her own

near the Vatican, where Julia Farnese ruled as her father's mistress.

It was a gay life she lived, as the centre of the young matrons of

Rome. Accompanied by a hundred of them at a time, she rode to church.

She was pronounced by the master of ceremonies of the papal chapel most

fair, of a bright disposition, and given to fun and laughter. [801] The

charges of incest with her own father and brother Caesar made against

her on the streets of the papal city, in the messages of ambassadors

and by the historian, Guicciardini, seem too shocking to be believed,

and have been set aside by Gregorovius, the most brilliant modern

authority for her life. The distinguished character of her last

marriage and the domestic peace and happiness by which it was marked

seem to be sufficient to discredit the damaging accusations.

The marriage with the lord of Pesaro was celebrated in the Vatican,

after a sermon had been preached by the bishop of Concordia. Among the

guests were 11 cardinals and 150 Roman ladies. The entertainment lasted

till 5 in the morning. There was dancing, and obscene comedies were

performed, with Alexander and the cardinals looking on. And all this,

exclaims a contemporary," to the honor and praise of Almighty God and

the Roman church!" [802]

After spending some time with her husband on his estate, Lucretia was

divorced from him on the charge of his impotency, the divorce being

passed upon by a commission of cardinals. After spending a short time

in a convent, the princess was married to Don Alfonso, duke of

Besiglia, the bastard son of Alfonso II. of Naples. The Vatican again

witnessed the nuptial ceremony, but the marriage was, before many

months, to be brought to a close by the duke's murder.

In the meantime Donna Sancia, the wife of Joffr�, had come to the city,

May, 1496, and been received at the gates by cardinals, Lucretia and

other important personages. The pope, surrounded by 11 cardinals, and

with Lucretia on his right hand, welcomed his son and daughter-in-law

in the Vatican. According to Burchard, the two princesses boldly

occupied the priests' benches in St. Peter's. Later, it was said,

Sancia's two brothers-in-law, the duke of Gandia and Caesar, quarrelled

over her and possessed her in turn. Alexander sent her back to Naples,

whether for this reason or not is not known. She was afterwards

received again in Rome.

Caesar, in spite of his yearly revenues amounting to 35,000 ducats, had

long since grown tired of an ecclesiastical career. Bishop and

cardinal-deacon though he was, he deposed before his fellow-cardinals

that from the first he had been averse to orders, and received them in

obedience to his father's wish. These words Gregorovius has pronounced

to be perhaps the only true words the prince ever spoke. Caesar's

request was granted by the unanimous voice of the sacred college.

Alexander, whose policy it now was to form a lasting bond between

France and the papacy, looked to Louis XII., successor of Charles

VIII., for a proper introduction of his son upon a worldly career.

[803] Louis was anxious to be divorced from his deformed and childless

wife, Joanna of Valois, and to be united to Charles' young widow, Anne,

who carried the dowry of Brittany with her. There were advantages to be

gained on both sides. Dispensation was given to the king, and Caesar

was made duke of Valentinois and promised a wife of royal line.

The arrangements for Caesar's departure from Rome were on a grand

scale. The richest textures were added to gold and silver vessels and

coin, so that, when the young man departed from the city, he was

preceded by a line of mules carrying goods worth 200,000 ducats on

their backs. The duke's horses were shod with silver. The contemporary

writer gives a picture of Alexander standing at the window, watching

the cortege, in which were four cardinals, as it passed towards the

West. The party went by way of Avignon. After some disappointment in

not securing the princess whom Caesar had picked out, Charlotte

d'Albret, then a young lady of sixteen, and a sister of the king of

Navarre, was chosen. When the news of the marriage, which was

celebrated in May, 1499, reached Rome, Alexander and the Spaniards

illuminated their houses and the streets in honor of the proud event.

The advancement of this abandoned man, from this time forth, engaged

Alexander VI.'s supreme energies. The career of Caesar Borgia passes,

if possible, into stages of deeper darkness, and the mind shrinks back

from the awful sensuality, treachery and cruelty for which no crime was

too revolting. Everything had to give way that stood in the hard path

of his vulgar ambition and profligate greed. And at last his father,

ready to sacrifice all that is sacred in religion and human life to

secure his son's promotion, became his slave, and in fear dared not to

offer resistance to his plans.

The duke was soon back in Italy, accompanying the French army led by

Louis XII. The reduction of Milan and Naples followed. The taking of

Milan reduced Alexander's former ally and brought captivity to Ascanio

Sforza, the cardinal, but it was welcome news in the Vatican. Alexander

was bent, with the help of Louis, upon creating a great dukedom in

central Italy for his son, with a kingly dominion over all the

peninsula as the ultimate act of the drama. The fall of Naples was due

in part to the pope's perfidy in making an alliance with Louis and

deposing the Neapolitan king, Frederick.

Endowed by his father with the proud title of duke of the Romagna and

made captain-general of the church, Caesar, with the help of 8,000

mercenaries, made good his rights to Imola, Forli, Rimini and other

towns, some of the victories being celebrated by services in St.

Peter's. At the same time, Lucretia was made regent of Nepi and

Spoleto. As a part of the family program, the indulgent father

proceeded to declare war against the Gaetani house and to despoil the

Colonna, Savelli and Orsini. No obstacle should be allowed to remain in

the ambitious path of the unscrupulous son. Upon him was also conferred

that emblem of purity of character or of high service to the Church,

the Golden Rose.

The celebration of the Jubilee in the opening year of the new century,

which was to be so eventful, brought hundreds of thousands of pilgrims

to the holy city, and the great sums which were collected were reserved

for the Turkish crusade, or employed for the advancement of the

Borgias. The bull announcing the festival offered to those visiting

Rome free indulgence for the most grievous sins. [804] On Christmas

eve, 1499, Alexander struck the Golden Gate with a silver mallet,

repeating the words of Revelation, "He openeth and no man shutteth."

In glaring contrast to the religious ends with which the Jubilee was

associated in the minds of the pilgrims, Caesar entered Rome, in

February, surrounded with all the trappings of military conquest. Among

the festivities provided to relieve the tedium of religious occupations

was a Spanish bull-fight. The square of St. Peter's was enclosed with a

railing and the spectators looked on while the pope's son, Caesar,

killed five bulls. The head of the last he severed with a single stroke

of his sword.

Another of the fearful tragedies of the Borgia family filled the

atmosphere of this holy year with its smothering fumes, the murder of

Lucretia's husband, the duke of Besiglia, to whom she had borne a son.

[805] On returning home at night he was fallen upon at the steps of St.

Peter's and stabbed. Carried to his palace, he was recovering, when

Caesar, who had visited him several times, at last had him strangled,

August 18, 1500. The pope's son openly declared his responsibility, and

gave as an explanation that he himself was in danger from the prince.

With such scenes the new century was introduced in the papal city. But

the end was not yet. The appointment of cardinals had been prostituted

into a convenient device for filling the papal coffers and advancing

the schemes of the papal family. In 1493 Alexander added 12 to the

sacred college, including Alexander Farnese, afterwards Paul III., and

brother to the pope's mistress. From these creations more than 100,000

ducats are said to have been realized. [806] In 1496 four more were

added, all Spaniards, including the pope's nephew, Giovanni Borgia, and

making 9 Spaniards in Alexander's cabinet. When 12 cardinals were

appointed, Sept. 28, 1500, Caesar reaped 120,000 ducats as his reward.

He had openly explained that he needed the money for his designs in the

Romagna. In 1503, just before his father's death, the duke received

130,000 more for 9 red hats. He raised 64,000 by the appointment of new

abbreviators. Nor were the dead to go free. At the death of Cardinal

Ferrari, 50,000 ducats were seized from his effects, and when Cardinal

Mich�el died, nephew of Paul II., 150,000 ducats were transferred to

the duke's account.

One iniquity only led to another, Cardinal Orsini, while on a visit to

the pope, was taken prisoner. His palace was dismantled, and other

members of the family seized and their castles confiscated. The

cardinal's mother, aged fourscore, secured from Alexander, upon the

payment of 2,000 ducats and a costly pearl which Orsini's mistress had

in her possession and, dressed as a man, took to Alexander, [807] the

privilege of supplying her son with a daily dole of bread. But the

unfortunate man's doom was sealed. He came to his death, as it was

believed, by poison prepared by Alexander. [808]

The last of Alexander's notable achievements for his family was the

marriage of Lucretia to Alfonso, son of Hercules, duke of Ferrara,

1502. The young duke was 24, and a widower. The prejudices of his

father were removed through the good offices of the king of France and

a reduction of the tribute due from Ferrara, as a papal fief, from 400

ducats to 100 florins, the college of cardinals giving their assent.

While the negotiations were going on, Alexander, during an absence of

three months from Rome, confided his correspondence and the transaction

of his business to the hands of his daughter. This appointment made the

college of cardinals subject to her.

Lucretia entered with zest into the settlement of the preliminaries

leading up to the betrothal and into the preparations for the nuptials.

When the news of the signing of the marriage contract reached Rome,

early in September, 1501, she went to S. Maria del Popolo, accompanied

by 300 knights and four bishops, and gave public thanks. On the way she

took off her cloak, said to be worth 300 ducats, and gave it to her

buffoon. Putting it on, he rode through the streets crying out, "Hurrah

for the most illustrious duchess of Ferrara. Hurrah for Alexander VI."

[809] For three hours the great bell on the capitol was kept ringing,

and bonfires were lit through the city to "incite everybody to joy."

The pope's daughter, although she had been four times betrothed and

twice married, was only 21 at the time of her last engagement.

According to the Ferrarese ambassador, her face was most beautiful and

her manners engaging. [810] In the brilliant escort sent by Hercules to

conduct his future daughter-in-law to her new home, were the duke's two

younger sons, who were entertained at the Vatican. Caesar and 19

cardinals, including Cardinal Hippolytus of Este, met the escort at the

Porto del Popolo. Night after night, the Vatican was filled with the

merriment of dancing and theatrical plays. At her father's request,

Lucretia performed special dances. The formal ceremony of marriage was

performed, December 30th, in St. Peter's, Don Ferdinand acting as proxy

for his brother. Preceded by 50 maids of honor, a duke on each side of

her, the bride proceeded to the basilica. Her approach was announced by

musicians playing in the portico. Within on his throne sat the pontiff,

surrounded by 13 cardinals. After a sermon, which Alexander ordered

made short, a ring was put on Lucretia's finger by Duke Ferdinand. Then

the Cardinal d'Este approached, laying on a table 4 other rings, a

diamond, an emerald, a turquoise and a ruby, and, at his order, a

casket was opened which contained many jewels, including a head-dress

of 16 diamonds and 150 large pearls. But with exquisite courtesy, the

prelate begged the princess not to spurn the gift, as more gems were

awaiting her in Ferrara.

The rest of the night was spent in a banquet in the Vatican, when

comedies were rendered, in which Caesar was one of the leading figures.

To their credit be it said, that some of the cardinals and other

dignitaries preferred to retire early. The week which followed was

filled with entertainments, including a bull-fight on St. Peter's

square, in which Caesar again was entered as a matador.

The festivities were brought to a close Jan. 6th, 1502. 150 mules

carried the bride's trousseau and other baggage. The lavish father had

told her to take what she would. Her dowry in money was 100,000 ducats.

A brilliant cavalcade, in which all the cardinals and ambassadors and

the magistrates of the municipality took part, accompanied the party to

the city gates and beyond, while Cardinal Francesco Borgia accompanied

the party the whole journey. In this whole affair, in spite of

ourselves, sympathy for a father supplants our indignation at his

perfidy in violating the sacred vows of a Catholic priest and the

pledge of the supreme pontiff. Alexander followed the cavalcade as far

as he could with his eye, changing his position from window to window.

But no mention is made by any of the writers of the bride's mother. Was

she also a witness of the gayeties from some concealed or open

standing-place?

Lucretia never returned to Rome. And so this famous woman, whose

fortunes awaken the deepest interest and also the deepest sympathy,

passes out from the realm of this history and she takes her place in

the family annals of the noble house of Este. She gained the respect of

the court and the admiration of the city, living a quiet, domestic life

till her death in 1519. Few mortals have seen transpire before their

own eyes and in so short a time so much of dissemblance and crime as

she. She was not forty when she died. The old representation, which

made her the heroine of the dagger and the poisoned cup and guilty of

incest, has given way to the milder judgment of Reumont and

Gregorovius, with whom Pastor agrees. While they do not exonerate her

from all profligacy, they rescue her from being an abandoned Magdalen,

and make appeal to our considerate judgment by showing that she was

made by her father an instrument of his ambitions for his family and

that at last she exhibited the devotion of a wife and of a mother. Her

son, Hercules, who reigned till 1559, was the husband of Ren�e, the

princess who welcomed Calvin and Clement Marot to her court.

Death finally put an end to the scandals of Alexander's reign. After an

entertainment given by Cardinal Hadrian, the pope and his son Caesar

were attacked with fever. It was reported that the poison which they

had prepared for a cardinal was by mistake or intentionally put into

the cups they themselves used. [811] The pontiff's sickness lasted less

than a week. The third day he was bled. On his death-bed he played

cards with some of his cardinals. At the last, he received the

eucharist and extreme unction and died in the presence of five members

of the sacred college. It is especially noted by that well-informed

diarist, Burchard, that during his sickness Alexander never spoke a

single word about Lucretia or his son, the duke. Caesar was too ill to

go to his father's sick-bed but, on hearing of his death, he sent

Micheletto to demand of the chamberlain the keys to the papal

exchequer, threatening to strangle the cardinal, Casanova, and throw

him out of the window in case he refused. Terrified out of his

wits,--perterritus,--the cardinal yielded, and 100,000 ducats of gold

and silver were carried away to the bereaved son.

In passing an estimate upon Alexander VI., it must be remembered that

the popular and also the carefully expressed judgments of

contemporaries are against him. [812] The rumor was current that the

devil himself was present at the death-scene and that, paying the price

he had promised him for the gift of the papacy 12 years before,

Alexander replied to the devil's beckonings that he well understood the

time had come for the final stage of the transaction. [813]

Alexander's intellectual abilities have abundant proof in the results

of his diplomacy by which be was enabled to plot for the political

advancement of Caesar Borgia, with the support of France, at whose feet

he had at one time been humbled, by his winning back the support of the

disaffected cardinals, and by his immunity from personal hurt through

violence, unless it be through poison at last. That which marks him out

for unmitigated condemnation is his lack of principle. Mental ability,

which is ascribed to the devil himself, is no substitute for moral

qualities. Perfidy, treachery, greed, lust and murder were stored up in

Alexander's heart. [814] While he shrank from the commission of no

crime to reach the objects of his ambition, he was wont to engage in

the solemn exercises of devotion, and even to say the mass with his own

lips. To measure his iniquity, as has been said, one need only compare

his actions with the simple statement of the precepts, "Thou shalt not

kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal." Elevation

to a position of responsibility usually has the effect of sobering a

man's spirit, but Rodrigo Borgia degraded the highest office in the

gift of Christendom for his own carnal designs. The moral qualities and

aims of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., however much we may dissent

from those aims, command respect. Alexander VI. was sensual, and his

ability to govern men, no matter how great it was, should not moderate

the abhorrence which his depraved aims arouse. The man with brute force

can hold others in terror, but he is a brute, nevertheless. The

standards, it must be confessed, of life in Rome were low when Rodrigo

was made cardinal, and a Roman chronicler could say that every priest

had his mistress and almost all the Roman monasteries had been turned

into lupinaria -- brothels. [815] But holy traditions still lingered

around the sacred places of the city; the solemn rites of the Christian

ritual were still performed; the dissoluteness of the Roman emperors

still seemed hellish when compared with the sacrifice of the cross. And

yet, two years before Alexander's death, October 31, 1501, an orgy took

place in the Vatican by Caesar's appointment whose obscenity the worst

of the imperial revels could hardly have surpassed. 50 courtezans spent

the night dancing, with the servants and others present, first with

their clothes on and then nude, the pope and Lucretia looking on. The

women, still naked, and going on their hands and feet, picked up

chestnuts thrown on the ground, and then received prizes of cloaks,

shoes, caps and other articles. [816]

To Alexander nothing was sacred,--office, virtue, marriage, or life. As

cardinal he was present at the nuptials of the young Julia Farnese, and

probably at that very moment conceived the purpose of corrupting her,

and in a few months she was his acknowledged mistress. The cardinal of

Gurk said to the Florentine envoy, "When I think of the pope's life and

the lives of some of his cardinals, I shudder at the thought of

remaining in the curia, and I will have nothing to do with it unless

God reforms His Church." It was a biting thrust when certain German

knights, summoned to Rome, wrote to the pontiff that they were good

Christians and served the Count Palatine, who worshipped God, loved

justice, hated vice and was never accused of adultery. "We believe,"

they went on, "in a just God who will punish with eternal flames

robbery, sacrilege, violence, abuse of the patrimony of Christ,

concubinage, simony and other enormities by which the Christian Church

is being scandalized." [817]

It is pleasant to turn to the few acts of this last pontificate of the

15th century which have another aspect than pure selfishness or

depravity. In 1494, Alexander canonized Anselm without, however,

referring to the Schoolman's great treatise on the atonement, or his

argument for the existence of God. [818] He promoted the cult of St.

Anna, the Virgin Mary's reputed mother, to whom Luther was afterwards

devoted. [819] He almost blasphemously professed himself under the

special protection of the Virgin, to whom he ascribed his deliverance

from death on several occasions, by sea and in the papal palace.

In accord with the later practice of the Roman Catholic Church,

Alexander restricted the freedom of the press, ordering that no volume

should be published without episcopal sanction. [820] His name meets

the student of Western discovery in its earliest period, but his

treatment of America shows that he was not informed of the purposes of

Providence. In two bulls, issued May 4th and 5th, 1493, he divided the

Western world between Portugal and Spain by a line 100 leagues west of

the Azores, running north and south. These documents mention

Christopher Columbus as a worthy man, much to be praised, who, apt as a

sailor, and after great perils, labors and expenditures, had discovered

islands and continents--terras firmas -- never before known. The

possession of the lands in the West, discovered and yet to be

discovered, was assigned to Spain and Portugal to be held and governed

in perpetuity,--in perpetuum,--and the pope solemnly declared that he

made the gift out of pure liberality, and by the authority of the

omnipotent God, conceded to him in St. Peter, and by reason of the

vicarship of Jesus Christ, which he administered on earth. [821]

Nothing could be more distinctly stated. As Peter's successor,

Alexander claimed the right to give away the Western Continent, and his

gift involved an unending right of tenure. This prerogative of

disposing of the lands in the West was in accordance with Constantine's

invented gift to Sylvester, recorded in the spurious Isidorian

decretals. [822]

If any papal bull might be expected to have the quality of inerrancy,

it is the bull bearing so closely on the destinies of the great

American continent, and through it on the world's history. But the

terms of the bull of May 4th were set aside a year after its issue by

the political treaty of Tordesillas, June 7, 1494, which shifted the

line to a distance 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. And the

centuries have rudely overturned the supreme pontiff's solemn bequest

until not a foot of land on this Western continent remains in the

possession of the kingdoms to which it was given. Putting aside the

distinctions between doctrinal and disciplinary decisions, which are

made by many Catholic exponents of the dogma of papal infallibility,

Alexander's bull conferring the Americas, as Innocent III.'s bull

pronouncing the stipulations of the Magna Charta forever null, should

afford a sufficient refutation of the dogma.

The character and career of Alexander VI. afford an argument against

the theory of the divine institution and vicarial prerogatives of the

papacy which the doubtful exegesis of our Lord's words to Peter ought

not to be allowed to counteract. If we leave out all the wicked popes

of the 9th and 10th centuries, forget for a moment the cases of

Honorius and other popes charged with heresy, and put aside the

offending popes of the Renaissance period and all the bulls which sin

against common reason, such as Innocent VIII.'s bull against

witchcraft, Alexander is enough to forbid that theory. Could God commit

his Church for 12 years to such a monster? It is fair to recognize that

Catholic historians feel the difficulty, although they find a way to

explain it away. Cardinal Hergenr�ther says that, Christendom was

delivered from a great offence by Alexander's death, but even in his

case, unworthy as this pope was, his teachings are to be obeyed, and in

him the promise made to the chair of St. Peter was fulfilled (Matt.

23:2, 3). In no instance did Alexander VI. prescribe to the Church

anything contrary to morals or the faith, and never did he lead her

astray in disciplinary decrees which, for the most part, were

excellent." [823]

In like strain, Pastor writes: [824] In spite of Alexander, the purity

of the Church's teaching continued unharmed. It was as if Providence

wanted to show that men may injure the Church, but that it is not in

their power to destroy it. As a bad setting does not diminish the value

of the precious stone, so the sinfulness of a priest cannot do any

essential detriment either to his dispensation of her sacraments or to

the doctrines committed to her. Gold remains gold, whether dispensed by

clean hands or unclean. The papal office is exalted far above the

personality of its occupants, and cannot lose its dignity or gain

essential worth by the worthiness or unworthiness of its occupants.

Peter sinned deeply, and yet the supreme pastoral office was committed

to him. It was from this standpoint that Pope Leo the Great declared

that the dignity of St. Peter is not lost, even in an unworthy

successor. Petri dignitas etiam in indigno haeredo non deficit." Leo's

words Pastor adopts as the motto of his history.

In such reasoning, the illustrations beg the question. No matter how

clean or unclean the hands may be which handle it, lead remains lead,

and no matter whether the setting be gold or tin, an opaque stone

remains opaque which is held by them. The personal opinion of Leo the

Great will not be able to stand against the growing judgment of

mankind, that the Head of the Church does not commit the keeping of

sacred truth to wicked hands or confide the pastorate over the Church

to a man of unholy and lewd lips. The papal theory of the succession of

Peter, even if there were no other hostile historic testimony, would

founder on the personality of Alexander VI., who set an example of all

depravity. Certainly the true successors of Peter will give in their

conduct some evidence of the fulfilment of Christ's words "the kingdom

of heaven is within you." Who looks for an illustration of obedience to

the mandates of the Most High to the last pontiff of the 15th century!

[825]

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[786] Pastor, III. 278, says that, "from the moment he received

priestly consecration to the end of his life, he was a slave to the

demon of sensuality." Hefele-Kn�pfler, Kirchengesch., p. 485, speaks of

his career before he reached the papal office as having been "very

dissolute"--sehr dissolut. Prof. Villari, Machiavelli, I. 279, calls

Alexander the worst of the popes, whose "crimes were sufficient to

upset any human society." Gregorovius and Pastor have carried on the

most notable researches in this period, and rivalled one another in the

brilliant description of Alexander's reign and domestic relations.

[787] P. 281. In his despatch to the duchess of Este, published by

Pastor, 1st ed., III. 879, Giovanni Boccaccio, bishop of Modena, gives

an estimate of Borgia's ability to pay for the tiara, the

vice-chancellorship worth 8,000 ducats, the cities of Nepi and Civita

Castellana, abbeys In Aquila and Albano, each worth 1,000 ducats a

year, two large abbeys in the kingdom of Naples, the abbey of Sabiaco,

worth 2,000 a year., abbeys in Spain, 16 bishoprics in Spain, the see

of Porto, worth 1,200 ducats, and numerous other ecclesiastical places.

[788] The letter of Cardinal Sforza to his brother, dated 1484, and

publ. by Pastor, III. 876, gives a description of his associate's

palace.

[789] Sigismondo, II. 53, ascribes to Alexander majestas formae.

[790] Burchard, I. 577.

[791] Seine Kinder zu erh�hen war sein vorz�glichstes Ziel is the

statement of the calm Catholic historian, Funk, p. 373.

[792] They are given in Burchard, Supplement to vol. III, and dated

Oct. 1, 1480, and Nov. 4, 1481.

[793] See W. H. Woodward, Two Bulls of Alex. VI., Sept., 1493, in Engl.

Hist. Rev., 1908, pp. 730-734.

[794] Vanozza outlived Alexander 15 years, dying 1518. Her epitaph

formerly in S. Maria del Popolo reads, Vanotiae Cathanae, Caesare

Valentiae, Joane Candiae, Jufredo Scylatii et Lucretiae Ferrariae,

ducibus filiis, etc. See Creighton, III. 163, Pastor, III. 279. Pastor

says that to deny the authenticity of this inscription as Ollivier does

is nothing less than ridiculous--geradezu l�cherlich. On Ollivier's

attempt to rehabilitate Alexander, see Pastor's caustic words in 1st

ed., I. 589. Burchard constantly calls Lucretia papae filia, II. 278,

386, 493, etc., and Joffr� and the other boys his sons. So also

Sigismondo II. 249, 270, etc. The nativity of Pedro Ludovico is not

absolutely certain, but it is highly probable that Vanozza was his

mother.

[795] Gregorovius, Lucrezia Borgia, p. 19, and Appendix, Germ. ed.,

where the marriage contract of Girolama is given.

[796] These two bulls, extant at Mantua and first published by

Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Appendix, 76-85, were issued the same day.

Burchard, III. 170, calls the child's mother quaedam Romana. Following

Burchard, Gregorovius and Pastor have no doubt that it was Alexander's

own child. Pastor, III. 475, says that the bull is unquestionably

genuine. A satire of the year 1500 ascribes to Alexander 3 or 4

children by Julia Farnese. According to Villari, Life of Savonarola, p.

376, note, the Civilta cattolica, the papal organ at Rome, March 15,

1873, acknowledged the existence of Giovanni, as Alexander's sixth or

seventh child.

[797] These letters are given in full by Burchard, II. 202 sqq.

Alexander's letters Gregorovius pronounces to be genuine beyond a

doubt. The sultan's are matter of dispute. Ranke discredited them, but

Gregorovius regards their contents as genuine, though the form may be

spurious. Creighton, III. 300 sqq., gives reasons for accepting them.

[798] Dictum Gem levare facere ex angustiisistius mundi et transferre

ejus animan in aliud seculum ubi meliorem habebit quietem, Burchard,

II. 209.

[799] The French left behind them a terrible legacy in the disease

which they are said to have carrried during the Crusades and again a

century ago, under Napoleon, to Syria, and known as the French disease.

See Pastor, III. 7.

[800] Burchard's account of the tragedy, II. 387-390. Gregorovius,

VIII. 424, confidently advocates the theory of fratricide. This

explains why Alexander dropped the investigation two weeks after it was

begun, and why he and Caesar in the first meetings after the event were

silent in each other's presence. However, it is almost too much to

believe that Alexander would at once begin to heap honors upon Caesar,

as he did, if the father believed him to be the murderer. Roscoe, I.

153 sq., and Pastor discredit the theory of fratricide, to which

Creighton, III. 388, also inclines. Don Juan was the only one of the

Borgias that founded a family.

[801] Burchard, II. 280, 493, filia clarissima, filia jocosa et

risoria.

[802] Infessura, p. 286 sq., closes his account by saying he would not

tell all, lest it might seem incredible. The account of Boccaccio,

ambassador of Ferrara, who was present, is given by Gregorov., Lucr.

Borgia, pp. 59-61.

[803] Alexander had courteously attended a mass for the repose of the

soul of his old enemy, Charles, in the Sistine chapel, Burchard, II.

461.

[804] Burchard, II. 591-593.

[805] Rodrigo, who was baptized in St. Peter's, Nov. 1, 1499, the 16

cardinals then in Rome, many ambassadors and other dignitaries being

present. In 1501 he was invested with the duchy of Sermoneta. Burchard,

II. 675, 578; III. 170.

[806] Infessura, p. 293.

[807] Burchard, III. 236.

[808] So Pastor, though with some hesitation, III. 491. Even Creighton,

IV. 40, is unwilling to dismiss the charge as groundless. But in

another place, p. 265, he seems to contradict himself.

[809] Burchard, III. 161 sq.

[810] The letter is given in Gregor., Lucr. Borgia, p. 212.

[811] The question of whether or no poison was the cause of the pope's

death must be regarded as an open one. This is the view taken by

Gregorovius, Roscoe, I. 193 sq., Reumont, Pastor, III. 499. Creighton,

IV. 43, and Hergenr�ther, III. 987, are against the theory of

poisoning. Neither Burchard nor the ambassador of Venice speak of

poison. The ambassador of Mantua, writing on the 19th, denies the

charge, which was freely made on the streets. Ranke, D. r�m. P�pste, p.

35, distinctly decides for poisoning. So also Hase, Kirchengesch., III.

353. Many contemporary writers pronounced for poisoning, Guicciardini,

Cardinal Bembo, Jovius, Cardinal Aegidius, etc. Alexander's physician

gave as the immediate cause of death apoplexy. Against the theory of

poisoning is the fact that Cardinal Hadrian was also taken sick. On the

other hand is the evidence that Alexander's body immediately after

death was bloated and disfigured and his mouth was filled with foam,

and that Caesar was taken sick at the same time with the same symptoms,

a fact which Gregorovius, VII. 521, pronounces the strongest evidence

for the theory of poisoning.

[812] There is one exception, the address made in the conclave after

Alexander's death by the bishop of Gallipolis. See Garnett's art. Engl.

Hist. Rev., 1892, p. 311 sq., giving the text of the British Museum,

the only copy in existence.

[813] The duke of Mantua, whose camp was near Rome, wrote to his

duchess that seven devils appeared in the pope's room at the moment of

his death, that the body swelled and was dragged from the bed with a

cord. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, p. 288.

[814] Bishop Creighton, IV. 44, lays stress on the fact that hypocrisy

was not added to Alexander's other vices.

[815] Infessura, p. 287.

[816] Burchard, III. 167, who reports the wild scene, was reticent

about many of the evil happenings in the papal palace. The other

authorities for the orgy may be seen in Thuasne's ed. of Burchard. See

also Villari, Machiavelli, I. 538. When we are taken to the square of

St. Peter's, where the pope and the cardinals watched a feat of

tight-rope walking, an expert walking with a child in his arms, we may

easily applaud or tolerate the recreation, Burchard, III. 210; but the

dark furies of evil seem at will to have had mastery over Alexander's

soul.

[817] Burchard, III. 110.

[818] Mansi, XXXII. 533 sq.

[819] Calvin spoke of having been taken as a child by his mother to the

abbey of Ourscamp, near Noyon, where a part of St. Anna's body was

preserved, and of having kissed the relic.

[820] Decretum de libris non sine censura imprimendis, 1501. Reusch,

Index, p. 54.

[821] , De nostra mera liberalitate ... auctoritate omnip. Dei, nobis

in beato Petro concessa, ac vicariatus J. Christi, qua fungimur in

terris. For the bull, see Mirbt, pp. 174-176. Also Fiske, Disc. of Am.,

I. 454-458; II. 581-593.

[822] Pastor, III. 520, seeks to break the force of the charge that

Alexander's gift was a short-sighted piece of work by putting the

unnatural interpretation upon donamus et assignamus, that it referred

only to what Portugal and Spain had already acquired. But the very

wording of the bull makes this impossible, for it is distinctly said

that all islands and continents were given to Spain and Portugal which

were to be discovered in the future, as well as those which were

already discovered--omnes insulas et terras firmas inventas et

inveniendas, detectas et detegendas. For the bull of Sept. 26, 1493,

giving India to Spain, see Davenport in Am. Hist. Rev., 1909, p. 764

sqq.

[823] Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, II. 987.

[824] III. 503

[825] Pastor, in the course of prolonged estimates, Gesch. der P�pste,

III. pp. vi, 601sq., etc., says: "The life of this

voluptuary--Genussmenschen --a man of untamed sensuality, contradicted

at every point the demands of him he was called upon to represent. With

unrestrained abandon, he gave himself up to a vicious life until his

end." Ranke thus expresses himself, Hist. of the Popes, Germ. ed., I.

32. "All his life through, Alexander was bent on nothing else than to

enjoy the world, to live pleasurably, to satisfy his passions and

ambitions." The estimate of Gregorovius, City of Rome, VII. 525, is

this: "No one can ever discover in Alexander's history any other

guiding principle than the contemptible one of aggrandizing his

children at any cost. To the despicable objects of nepotism and

self-preservation he sacrificed his own conscience, the happiness of

nations, the existence of Italy and the good of the Church." Bishop

Creighton, IV. 43-49, lays such elaborate emphasis upon Alexander's

knowledge of politics, firmness of purpose and affability of manners

that one loses the impression of the baseness of his morals and the

sacrilege to which he subjected his office and himself. He seems to

have been influenced by Roscoe's presentation of Alexander's "many

great qualities," I. 195.

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� 55. Julius II., the Warrior-Pope. 1503-1513.

Alexander's successor, Pius III., a nephew of Pius II., and a man of

large family, succumbed, within a month after his election, to the gout

and other infirmities. He was followed by Julian Rovere, Alexander's

old rival, who, as cardinal, had played a conspicuous part for more

than 30 years. He proved to be the ablest and most energetic pontiff

the Church had had since the days of Innocent III. and Gregory IX. in

the 13th century.

At Alexander's death, Caesar Borgia attempted to control the situation.

He afterwards told Machiavelli that he had made provision for every

exigency except the undreamed-of conjunction of his own and his

father's sickness. [826] Consternation ruled in Rome, but with the aid

of the ambassadors of France, Germany, Venice and Spain, Caesar was

prevailed upon to withdraw from the city, while the Orsini and the

Colonna families, upon which Alexander had heaped high insult, entered

it again.

The election of Julian Rovere, who assumed the name of Julius II., was

accomplished with despatch October 31, 1503, after bribery had been

freely resorted to. The Spanish cardinals, 11 in number and still in a

measure under Caesar's control, gave their votes to the successful

candidate on condition that Caesar should be recognized as gonfalonier

of the church. The faithful papal master-of-ceremonies, whose Diary we

have had occasion to draw on so largely, was appointed bishop of Orta,

but died two years later. Born in Savona of humble parentage and

appointed to the sacred college by his uncle, Sixtus IV., Julius had

recently returned to Rome after an exile of nearly 10 years. The income

from his numerous bishoprics and other dignities made him the richest

of the cardinals. Though piety was not one of the new pontiff's notable

traits, his pontificate furnished an agreeable relief from the coarse

crimes and domestic scandals of Alexander's reign. It is true, he had a

family of three daughters, one of whom, Felice, was married into the

Orsini family in 1506, carrying with her a splendid dowry of 15,000

ducats. But the marriage festivities were not appointed for the

Vatican, nor did the children give offence by their ostentatious

presence in the pontifical palace. Julius also took care of his

nephews. Two of them were appointed to the sacred college, Nov. 29,

1503, and later two more were honored with the same dignity. For making

the Spanish scholar, Ximenes, cardinal, Julius deserved well of other

ages as well as his own. He was a born ruler. He had a dignified and

imposing presence and a bright, penetrating eye. Under his white hair

glowed the intellectual fire of youth. He was rapid in his movements

even to impetuosity, and brave even to daring. Defeats that would have

disheartened even the bravest seemed only to intensify Julius'

resolution. If his language was often violent, the excuse is offered

that violence of speech was common at that time. As a cardinal he had

shown himself a diplomat rather than a saint, and as pope he showed

himself a warrior rather than a priest. When Michael Angelo, who was

ordered to execute the pope's statue in bronze, was representing Julius

with his right hand raised, the pope asked, "What are you going to put

into the left?" "It may be a book," answered the artist. "Nay, give me

a sword, for I am no scholar," was the pope's reply. Nothing could be

more characteristic. [827]

Julius' administration at once brought repose and confidence to the

sacred college and Rome. If he did not keep his promise to abide by the

protocol adopted in the conclave calling for the assembling of a

council within two years, he may be forgiven on the ground of the

serious task he had before him in strengthening the political authority

of the papal see. This was the chief aim of his pontificate. He

deserves the title of the founder of the State of the Church, a realm

that, with small changes, remained papal territory till 1870. This end

being secured, he devoted himself to redeeming Italy from its foreign

invaders. Three foes stood in his way, Caesar and the despots of the

Italian cities, the French who were intrenched in Milan and Genoa, and

the Spaniards who held Naples and Sicily. His effort to rescue Italy

for the Italians won for him the grateful regard due an Italian

patriot. Like Innocent III., he closed his reign with an oecumenical

council.

Caesar Borgia returned to Rome, was recognized as gonfalonier and given

apartments in the Vatican. Julius had been in amicable relations with

the prince in France and advanced his marriage, and Caesar wrote that

in him he had found a second father. But Caesar now that Alexander was

dead, was as a galley without a rudder. He was an upstart; Julius a man

of power and far-reaching plans. Prolonged co-operation between the two

was impossible. The one was sinister, given to duplicity; the other

frank and open to brusqueness. The encroachment of Venice upon the

Romagna gave the occasion at once for Caesar's fall and for the full

restoration of papal authority in that region. Supporters Caesar had

none who could be relied upon in the day of ill success. He no longer

had the power which the control of patronage gives. Julius demanded the

keys of the towns of the Romagna as a measure necessary to the

dislodgment of Venice. Caesar yielded, but withdrew to Ostia,

meditating revenge. He was seized, carried back to Rome and placed in

the castle of S. Angelo, which had been the scene of his dark crimes.

He was obliged to give up the wealth gotten at his father's death and

to sign a release of Forli and other towns. Liberty was then given him

to go where be pleased. He accepted protection from the Spanish

captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova, but on his arrival in Naples the

Spaniard, with despicable perfidy, seized the deceived man and sent him

to Spain, August, 1504. For two years he was held a prisoner, when he

escaped to the court of his brother-in-law, the king of Navarre. He was

killed at the siege of Viana, 1507, aged 31. Thus ended the career of

the man who had once been the terror of Rome, whom Ranke calls "a

virtuoso in crime," and Machiavelli chose as the model of a civil

ruler. This political writer had met Caesar after Julius' elevation,

and in his Prince [828] says, "It seems good to me to propose Caesar

Borgia as an example to be imitated by all those who through fortune

and the arms of others have attained to supreme command. For, as he had

a great mind and great ambitions, it was not possible for him to govern

otherwise." Caesar had said to the theorist, "I rob no man. I am here

to act the tyrant's part and to do away with tyrants." Only if to

obtain power by darkness and assassination is worthy of admiration, and

if to crush all individual liberty is a just end of government, can the

Machiavellian ideal be regarded with other feelings than those of utter

reprobation. There is something pathetic in the recollection that, to

the end, this inhuman brother retained the affection of his sister,

Lucretia. She pled for his release from imprisonment in Spain, and

Caesar's letter to her announcing his escape is still extant. [829]

When the rumor came of his death, Lucretia despatched her servant,

Tullio, to Navarre to find out the truth, and gave herself up to

protracted prayer on her brother's behalf. This beautiful example of a

sister's love would seem to indicate that Caesar possessed by nature

some excellent qualities.

Julius was also actively engaged in repairing some of the other evils

of Alexander's reign and making amends for its injustices. He restored

Sermoneta to the dukes of Gaetani. The document which pronounced severe

reprobation upon Alexander ran, "our predecessor, desiring to enrich

his own kin, through no zeal for justice, but by fraud and deceit,

sought for causes to deprive the Gaetani of their possessions." With

decisive firmness, he announced his purpose to assert his lawful

authority over the papal territory and, accompanied by 9 cardinals, he

left Rome at the head of 500 men and proceeded to make good the

announcement. Perugia was quickly brought to terms; and, aided by the

French, the pope entered Bologna, against which he had launched the

interdict. Returning to Rome, he was welcomed as a conqueror. The

victorious troops passed under triumphal arches, including a

reproduction of Constantine's arch erected on St. Peter's square; and,

accompanied by 28 members of the sacred college, Julius gave solemn

thanks in St. Peter's. [830]

The next to be brought to terms was Venice. In vain had the pope,

through letters and legates, called upon the doge to give up Rimini,

Faenza, Forli and other parts of the Romagna upon which he had laid his

hand. In March, 1508, he joined the alliance of Cambrai, the other

parties being Louis XII. and the emperor Maximilian, and later,

Ferdinand of Spain. This agreement decided in cold blood upon the

division of the Venetian possessions, and bound the parties to a war

against the Turk. France was confirmed in the tenure of Milan, and

given Cremona and Brescia. Maximilian was to have Verona, Padua and

Aquileja; Naples, the Venetian territories in Southern Italy; Hungary,

Dalmatia; Savoy, Cyprus; and the Apostolic see, the lands of which it

had been dispossessed. It was high-handed robbery, even though a pope

was party to it. Julius, who had promised to add the punishments of the

priestly office to the force of arms, proceeded with merciless

severity, and placed the republic under the interdict, April 27, 1509.

In vain did Venice appeal to God and a general council. Past sins

enough were written against her to call for severe treatment. She was

forced to surrender Rimini, Faenza and Ravenna, and was made to drink

the cup of humiliation to its dregs. The city renounced her claim to

nominate to bishoprics and benefices and tax the clergy without the

papal consent. The Adriatic she was forced to open to general commerce.

Her envoys, who appeared in Roma to make public apology for the sins of

the proud state, were subjected to the insult of listening on their

knees to a service performed outside the walls of St. Peter's and

lasting an hour; at every verse of the Miserere the pope and 12

cardinals, each with a golden rod, touched them. Then, service over,

the doors of the cathedral were thrown open and absolution pronounced.

[831] The next time Venice was laid under the papal ban, the measure

failed.

Julius' plans were next directed against the French, the impudent

invaders of Northern Italy and claimants of sovereignty over it. Times

had changed since the pope, as cardinal Julian Rovere, had accompanied

the French army under Charles VIII. The absolution of Venice was

tantamount to the pope's withdrawal from the alliance of Cambrai. By

making Venice his ally, he hoped to bring Ferrara again under the

authority of the holy see. The duchy had flourished under the warm

support of the French.

Julius now made a far-reaching stroke in securing the help of the

Swiss, who had been fighting under the banners of France. The hardy

mountaineers, who now find it profitable to entertain tourists from all

over the world, then found it profitable to sell their services in war.

With the aid of their vigorous countryman, Bishop Schinner of Sitten,

afterwards made cardinal, the pope contracted for 6,000 Swiss

mercenaries for five years. The localities sending them received 13,000

gulden a year, and each soldier 6 francs a month, and the officers,

twice that sum. As chaplain of the Swiss troops, Zwingli went to Rome

three times, a course of which his patriotism afterwards made him

greatly ashamed. The descendants of these Swiss mercenaries defended

Louis XVI., and their heroism is commemorated by Thorwaldsen's lion,

cut into the rock at Lucerne. Swiss guards, dressed in yellow suits, to

this day patrol the approaches and halls of the Vatican. [832]

The French king, Louis XII. (1498-1515), sought to break Julius' power

by adding to the force of arms the weight of a religious assembly and,

at his instance, the French bishops met in council at Tours, September,

1510, and declared that the pope had put aside the keys of St. Peter,

which his predecessors had employed, and seized the sword of Paul. They

took the ground that princes were justified in opposing him with force,

even to withdrawing obedience and invading papal territory. [833] As in

the reign of Philip the Fair, so now moneys were forbidden transferred

from France to Rome, and a call was made by 9 cardinals for a council

to meet at Pisa on Sept. 1st, 1511. This council of Tours denounced

Julius as "the new Goliath," and Louis had a coin struck off with the

motto, I will destroy the name of Babylon--perdam Babylonis nomen.

Calvin, in the year of his death, sent to Ren�e, duchess of Ferrara,

one of these medals which in his letter, dated Jan. 8, 1564, he

declared to be the finest present he had it in his power to make her.

Ren�e was the daughter of Louis XII. Julius excommunicated Alfonso,

duke of Ferrara, as a son of iniquity and a root of perdition. Thus we

have the spectacle of the supreme priest of Christendom and the most

Christian king, the First Son of the Church, again engaged in war with

one another.

At the opening of the campaign, Julius was in bed with a sickness which

was supposed to be mortal; but to the amazement of his court, he

suddenly arose and, in the dead of Winter, January, 1511, betook

himself to the camp of the papal forces. His promptness of action was

in striking contrast to the dilatory policy of Louis, who spent his

time writing letters and summoning ecclesiastical assemblies when he

ought to have been on the march. From henceforth till his death, the

pope wore a beard, as he is represented in Raphael's famous portrait.

[834] Snow covered the ground, but Julius set an example by enduring

all the hardships of the camp. To accomplish the defeat of the French,

he brought about the Holy League, October, 1511, Spain and Venice being

the other parties. Later, these three allies were joined by Maximilian

and Henry VIII. of England. Henry had been honored with the Golden

Rose. [835] Henry's act was England's first positive entrance upon the

field of general European politics.

In the meantime the French were carrying on the Council of Pisa. The

pope prudently counteracted its influence by calling a council to meet

in the Lateran. Christendom was rent by two opposing ecclesiastical

councils as well as by two opposing armies. The armies met in decisive

conflict under the walls of the old imperial city of Ravenna. The

leader of the French, Gaston de Foix, nephew of the French king, though

only 24, approved himself, in spite of his youth, one of the foremost

captains of his age. Bologna had fallen before his arms, and now

Ravenna yielded to the same necessity after a bloody battle. The French

army numbered 25,000, the army of the League 20,000. In the French camp

was the French legate, Cardinal Sanseverino, mounted and clad in steel

armor, his tall form towering above the rest. Prominent on the side of

the allied army was the papal legate, Cardinal de' Medici, clad in

white, and Giulio Medici, afterwards Clement VII. The battle took place

on Easter Day, 1512. Gaston de Foix, thrown to the ground by the fall

of his horse, was put to death by some of the seasoned Spanish soldiers

whom Gonsalvo had trained. The victor, whose battle cry was "Let him

that loves me follow me," was borne into the city in his coffin.

Rimini, Forli and other cities of the Romagna opened their gates to the

French. Cardinal Medici was in their hands.

The papal cause seemed to be hopelessly lost, but the spirit of Julius

rose with the defeat. He is reported to have exclaimed, "I will stake

100,000 ducats and my crown that I will drive the French out of Italy,"

and the victory of Ravenna proved to be another Cannae. The hardy

Swiss, whose numbers Cardinal Schinner had increased to 18,000, and the

Venetians pushed the campaign, and the barbarians, as Julius called the

French, were forced to give up what they had gained, to surrender Milan

and gradually to retire across the Alps. Parma and Piacenza, by virtue

of the grant of Mathilda, passed into his hands, as did also Reggio.

The victory was celebrated in Rome on an elaborate scale. Cannons

boomed from S. Angelo, and thanks were given in all the churches. In

recognition of their services, the pope gave to the Swiss two large

banners and the permanent title of Protectors of the Apostolic

see--auxiliatores sedis apostolicae. Such was the end of this

remarkable campaign.

Julius purchased Siena from the emperor for 30,000 ducats and, with the

aid of the seasoned Spanish troops, took Florence and restored the

Medici to power. In December, 1513, Maximilian, who at one time

conceived the monstrous idea of combining with his imperial dignity the

office of supreme pontiff, announced his support of the Lateran

council, the pope having agreed to use all the spiritual measures

within his reach to secure the complete abasement of Venice. The

further execution of the plans was prevented by the pope's death. In

his last hours, in a conversation with Cardinal Grimani, he pounded on

the floor with his cane, exclaiming, "If God gives me life, I will also

deliver the Neapolitans from the yoke of the Spaniards and rid the land

of them." [836]

The Pisan council had opened Sept. 1, 1511, with only two archbishops

and 14 bishops present. First and last 6 cardinals attended, Carvajal,

Bri�onnet, Prie, d'Albret, Sanseverino and Borgia. The Universities of

Paris Toulouse and Poictiers were represented by doctors. After holding

three sessions, it moved to Milan, where the victory of Ravenna gave it

a short breath of life. When the French were defeated, it again moved

to Asti in Piedmont, where it held a ninth session, and then it

adjourned to Lyons, where it dissolved of itself. [837] Hergenr�ther,

Pastor and other Catholic historians take playful delight in calling

the council the little council--conciliabulum--and a conventicle, terms

which Julius applied to it in his bulls. [838] Among its acts were a

fulmination against the synod Julius was holding in the Lateran, and it

had the temerity to cite the pope to appear, and even to declare him

deposed from all spiritual and temporal authority. The synod also

reaffirmed the decrees of the 5th session of the Council of Constance,

placing general councils over the pope.

Very different in its constitution and progress was the Fifth Lateran,

the last oecumenical council of the Middle Ages, and the 18th in the

list of oecumenical councils, as accepted by the Roman Catholic Church.

It lasted for nearly five years, and closed on the eve of the nailing

of the XCV theses on the church door in Wittenberg. It is chiefly

notable for what it failed to do rather than for anything it did. The

only one of its declarations which is of more than temporary interest

was the deliverance, reaffirming Boniface's theory of the supremacy of

the Roman pontiff over all potentates and individuals whatsoever.

In his summons calling the council, Julius deposed the cardinals, who

had entered into the Pisan synod, as schismatics and sons of darkness.

[839] The attendance did not compare in weight or numbers with the

Council of Constance. At the 1st session, held May 3, 1512, there were

present 16 cardinals, 12 patriarchs, 10 archbishops, 70 bishops and 3

generals of orders. The opening address by Egidius of Viterbo, general

of the Augustinian order, after dwelling upon the recent glorious

victories of Julius, magnified the weapons of light at the council's

disposal, piety, prayers, vows and the breastplate of faith. The

council should devote itself to placating all Christian princes in

order that the arms of the Christian world might be turned against the

flagrant enemy of Christ, Mohammed. The council then declared the

adherents of the Pisan conventicle schismatics and laid France under

the interdict. Julius, who listened to the eloquent address, was

present at 4 sessions.

At the 2d session, Cajetan dilated at length on the pet papal theory of

the two swords.

In the 4th session, the Venetian, Marcello, pronounced a eulogy upon

Julius which it would be hard to find excelled for fulsome flattery in

the annals of oratory. After having borne intolerable cold, so the

eulogist declared, and sleepless nights and endured sickness in the

interests of the Church, and having driven the French out of Italy,

there remained for the pontiff the greater triumphs of peace. Julius

must be pastor, shepherd, physician, ruler, administrator and, in a

word, another God on earth. [840]

At the 5th session, held during the pope's last illness, a bull was

read, severely condemning simony at papal elections. The remaining

sessions of the council were held under Julius' successor.

When Julius came to die, he was not yet 70. No man of his time had been

an actor in so many stirring scenes. On his death-bed he called for

Paris de Grassis, his master of ceremonies, and reminded him how little

respect had been paid to the bodies of deceased popes within his

recollection. Some of them had been left indecently nude. He then made

him promise to see to it that he should have decent care and burial.

[841] The cardinals were summoned. The dying pontiff addressed them

first in Latin, and implored them to avoid all simony in the coming

election, and reminded them that it was for them and not for the

council to choose his successor. He pardoned the schismatic cardinals,

but excluded them from the conclave to follow his death. And then, as

if to emphasize the tie of birth, he changed to Italian and besought

them to confirm his nephew, the duke of Urbino, in the possession of

Pesaro, and then he bade them farewell. A last remedy, fluid gold, was

administered, but in vain. He died Feb. 20, 1513. [842]

The scenes which ensued were very different from those which followed

upon the death of Alexander VI. A sense of awe and reverence filled the

city. The dead pontiff was looked upon as a patriot, and his services

to civil order in Rome and its glory counterbalanced his deficiencies

as a priest of God. [843]

It was of vast profit that the Vatican had been free from the domestic

scandals which had filled it so long. From a worldly standpoint, Julius

had exalted the papal throne to the eminence of the national thrones of

Europe. In the terrific convulsion which Luther's onslaughts produced,

the institution of the papacy might have fallen in ruins had not Julius

re-established it by force of arms. But in vain will the student look

for signs that Julius II. had any intimation of the new religious

reforms which the times called for and Luther began. What measures this

pope, strong in will and bold in execution, might have employed if the

movement in the North had begun in his day, no one can surmise. The

monk of Erfurt walked the streets of Rome during this pontificate for

the first and only time. While Luther was ascending the scala santa on

his knees and running about to the churches, wishing his parents were

in purgatory that he might pray them out, Julius was having perfected a

magnificently jewelled tiara costing 200,000 ducats, which he put on

for the first time on the anniversary of his coronation, 1511. These

two men, both of humble beginnings, would have been more a match for

each other than Luther and Julius' successor, the Medici, the man of

luxurious culture. [844]

Under Julius II. the papal finances flourished. Great as were the

expenditures of his campaigns, he left plate and coin estimated to be

worth 400,000 ducats. A portion of this fund was the product of the

sale of indulgences. He turned the forgiveness of sins for the present

time and in purgatory into a matter of merchandise. [845]

In another place, Julius will be presented from the standpoint of art

and culture, whose splendid patron he was. What man ever had the

privilege of bringing together three artists of such consummate genius

as Bramante, Michael Angelo and Raphael! His portrait in the Pitti

gallery, Florence, forms a rich study for those who seek in the lines

and colors of Raphael's art the secret of the pontiff's power. [846]

The painter has represented Julius as an old man with beard, and with

his left hand grasping the arm of the chair in which he sits. His

fingers wear jewelled rings. The forehead is high, the lips firmly

pressed, the eyes betokening weariness, determination and commanding

energy.

In the history of the Western Continent, Julius also has some place. In

1504 he created an archbishopric and two bishoprics of Hispaniola, or

Hayti. The prelates to whom they were assigned never crossed the seas.

Seven years later, 1511, he revoked these creations and established the

sees of San Domingo and Concepcion de la Vega on the island of Hayti

and the see of San Juan in Porto Rico, all three subject to the

metropolitan supervision of the see of Seville.

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[826] The Prince, ch. VII.

[827] The statue was placed in front of St. Petronio in Bologna. The

left hand held neither book nor sword, but the keys. Pastor, III. 569,

says,in einer derartigen Pers�nlichkeit lag mehr Stoff zu einem K�nige

und Feldherrn als zu einem Priester

[828] The Prince, written in 1515, was dedicated to Leo X.'s nephew,

Lorenzo de' Medici, at a time when it was contemplated giving Lorenzo a

large slice of Italian territory to govern. See Villari: Machiavelli,

III. 372-424. Also Louis Dyer: Machiavelli and the Modern State,

Boston, 1904. Caesar Borgia had his laureate, who sung his praises in

12 Latin lyrics, Peter Franciscus Justulus of Spoleto. Jupiter, who is

represented as about to destroy the world for its wickedness, perceives

that it contains at least one excellent young man, Caesar, and sends

Mercury to urge him to take up arms for the world's deliverance. Engl.

Hist. Rev., Jan., 1902, pp. 15-20.

[829] The letter is given by Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, p. 319.

[830] The expedition is described by de Grassis, the new master of

ceremonies at the papal palace, who accompanied the expedition, and

also by Aegidius of Viterbo,

[831] Pastor, III. 643, contents himself with the simple mention of the

absolution of the Venetian's, and omits all reference to the

humiliating conditions. The Venetian scribblers let loose their pens

against Julius and, among other charges, made against him the charge of

sodomy. Pastor, III. 644, Note.

[832] Zwingli's friend, Thomas Platter (1499-1582), in speaking in his

Autobiography of his travels in Germany as a boy to get knowledge and

begging his bread, mentions how willing the people were to give him

ear, "for they were very fond of the Swiss." At Breslau a family was

ready to adopt him partly on this ground. After the defeat of Marigano,

1515, it was a common saying, so Platter says, "The Swiss have lost

their good luck." On one occasion near Dresden, after a good dinner, to

which he had been treated, he was taken in to see the mother of the

home, who was on her death-bed. She said to Platter and his Swiss

companions, "I have heard so many good things about the Swiss that I

was very anxious to see one before my death." See Whitcomb, Renaissance

Source-Book, p. 108; Monroe, Thos. Platter, p. 107.

[833] Mansi, XXXII. 555-559.

[834] Creighton, IV. 123, unguardedly says that Julius was the first

pope who let his beard grow. Many of the early bishops of Rome, as

depicted in St. Peter's, wore beards. So did Clement VII. after him,

and other popes.

[835] See the pope's letter granting it, Mansi, XXXII. 554.

[836] Pastor, III. 725.

[837] Hefele-Hergenr�ther, VIII. 520.

[838] See Mansi, XXXII. 570.

[839] A pamphlet war was waged over the council. Among the writers on

the papal side was Thomas de Vio Gaeta, general of the Dominican order

and afterwards famous as Cardinal Cajetan, who had the colloquies with

Luther. His tracts were ordered burnt by Louis XII. He took the ground

that no council can be oecumenical which has not the pope's support. An

account of this literary skirmish is given by Hefele-Hergenr�ther,

VIII. 470-480.

[840] Tu pastor, tu medicus, tu gubernator, tu cultor, tu denique alter

Deus in terris, Mansi, XXXII. 761. Hefele-Hergenr�ther VII. 528-531,

pronounce this expression, God on earth, used before by Gregory II., a

rhetorical flourish and nothing more. See also Pastor, III. 725.

[841] De Grassis reports the rumors abroad concerning the pope's mortal

malady. One of them was the Gallic disease, and another that the pope's

stomach had given way under excessive indulgence. He also speaks of the

great number who went to look at the pope's corpse and to kiss his

feet. D�llinger, III. 432.

[842] A satire, called Julius exclusus, which appeared after the

pontiff's death, represented him as appearing at the gate of heaven

with great din and noise. Peter remarked that, as he was a brave man,

had a large army and much gold and was a busy builder, he might build

his own paradise. At the same time the Apostle reminded him he would

have to build the foundations deep and strong to resist the assaults of

the devil. Julius retorted by peremptorily giving Peter three weeks to

open heaven to him. In case he refused, he would open siege against him

with 60,000 men. This recalls a story Dr. Philip Schaff used to tell of

Gregory XVI., with whom, as a young graduate of Berlin, he had an

audience. Gregory had a reputation with the Romans for being a

connoisseur of wines. At his death, so the Roman wits reported, he

appeared at the gate of heaven and, drawing out his keys, tried to

unlock the gate. The keys would not fit. Peter, hearing the noise,

looked out and, seeing the bunch of keys, told his vicar that he had

brought with him by mistake the keys to his wine cellar, and must

return to his palace and get the right set.

[843] Guicciardini pronounces Julius a priest only in name. A letter

dated Rome, Feb. 24, 1513, and quoted by Brosch, p. 363, has this

statement, hic pontifex nos omnes, omnem Italiam a Barbarorum et

Gallorum manibus eripuit, an expression used by Aegidius and Marcello

before the Lateran council. See also Paris de Grassis-in D�llinger, p.

482. Pastor, III. 732, and Hergenr�ther, Conciliengesch., VIII. 535,

justify Julius' attention to war on the ground that he was fighting in

a righteous cause and for possessions he had held as temporal prince

ever since the 8th century. The right of a pope to defend the papal

state is inherent in the very existence of a papal state. Even a saint,

Leo IX., urges Pastor, p. 741, followed the camp.

[844] See Ranke: Hist. of the Popes, I. 35.

[845] Pastor, III. 575, condemns Julius under this head, tadelnswerth

erscheint dass das Ablassgesch�ft vielfach zu einer Finanzoperation

wurde

[846] An original cartoon of this portrait is preserved in the Corsini

Florence. In 1889 I met Professor Weizs�cker of T�bingen in Florence

standing before Julius' portrait and studying it. I had been with him

in his home before he started on his journey, and he told me that one

of the chief pleasures which he was anticipating from his Italian trip

was the study of that portrait of one of the most vigorous--thatkr�ftig

--of the popes.

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� 56. Leo X. 1513-1521.

The warlike Julius II. was followed on the pontifical throne by the

voluptuary, Leo X.,--the prelate whose iron will and candid mind compel

admiration by a prince given to the pursuit of pleasure and an adept in

duplicity. Leo loved ease and was without high aims. His Epicurean

conception of the supreme office of Christendom was expressed in a

letter he sent a short time after his election to his brother Julian.

In it were these words, "Let us enjoy the papacy, for God has given it

to us." [847] The last pontificate of the Middle Ages corresponded to

the worldly philosophy of the pontiff. Leo wanted to have a good time.

. The idea of a spiritual mission never entered his head. No effort was

made, emanating from the Vatican, to further the interests of true

religion.

Born in Florence, Dec. 11, 1475, Giovanni de' Medici, the second son of

Lorenzo the Magnificent, had every opportunity which family

distinction, wealth and learned tutors, such as Poliziano, could give.

At 7 he received the tonsure, and at once the world of ecclesiastical

preferment was opened to the child. Louis XI. of France presented him

with the abbey of Fonte Dolce, and at 8 he was nominated to the

archbishopric of Aix, the nomination, however, not being confirmed. A

canonry in each of the cathedral churches of Tuscany was set apart for

him, and his appointments soon reached the number of 27, one of them

being the abbacy of Monte Cassino, and another the office of papal

pronotary. [848]

The highest dignities of the Church were in store for the lad and,

before he had reached the age of 14, he was made cardinal-deacon by

Innocent VIII., March 9, 1489. Three years later, March 8, 1492,

Giovanni received in Rome formal investment into the prerogatives of

his office. The letter, which Lorenzo wrote on this latter occasion, is

full of the affectionate counsels of a father and the prudent

suggestions of the tried man of the world, and belongs in a category

with the letters of Lord Chesterfield to his son. Lorenzo reminded

Giovanni of his remarkable fortune in being made a prince of the

church, all the more remarkable because he was not only the youngest

member of the college of cardinals, but the first cardinal to receive

the dignity at so tender an age. With pardonable pride, he spoke of it

as the highest honor ever conferred upon the Medicean house. He warned

his son that Rome was the sink of all iniquities and exhorted him to

lead a virtuous life, to avoid ostentation, to rise early, an

admonition the son never followed, and to use his opportunities to

serve his native city. Lorenzo died a few months later. [849] Forthwith

the young prelate was appointed papal legate to Tuscany, with residence

in his native city.

When Julius died, Giovanni de' Medici was only 37. In proceeding to

Rome, he was obliged to be carried in a litter, on account of an ulcer

for which an operation was performed during the meeting of the

conclave. Giovanni, who belonged to the younger party, had won many

friends by his affable manners and made no enemies, and his election

seems to have been secured without any special effort on his part. The

great-grandson of the banker, Cosimo, chose the name of Leo X. He was

consecrated to the priesthood March 17, 1513, and to the episcopate

March 19. The election was received by the Romans with every sign of

popular approval. On the festivities of the coronation 100,000 ducats,

or perhaps as much as 150,000 ducats, were expended, a sum which the

frugality of Julius had stored up.

The procession was participated in by 250 abbots, bishops and

archbishops. Alfonso of Este, whom Julius II. had excommunicated, led

the pope's white horse, the same one he had ridden the year before at

Ravenna. On the houses and

[picture with title below]

Pope Leo X

on the arches, spanning the streets, might be seen side by side statues

of Cosmas and Damian, the patrons of the Medicean house, and of the

Olympian gods and nymphs. On one arch at the Piazza di Parione were

depicted Perseus, Apollo, Moses and Mercury, sacred and mythological

characters conjoined, as Alexander Severus joined the busts of Abraham

and Orpheus in his palace in the third century. A bishop, afterwards

Cardinal Andrea della Valle, placed on his arch none but ancient

divinities, Apollo, Bacchus, Mercury, Hercules and Venus, together with

fauns and Ganymede. Antonio of San Marino, the silversmith, decorated

his house with a marble statue of Venus, under which were inscribed the

words--

Mars ruled; then Pallas, but Venus will rule forever. [850]

As a ruler, Leo had none of the daring and strength of his predecessor.

He pursued a policy of opportunism and stooped to the practice of

duplicity with his allies as well as with his enemies. On all occasions

he was ready to shift to the winning side. To counteract the designs of

the French upon Northern Italy, he entered with Maximilian, Henry VIII.

and Ferdinand of Spain into the treaty of Mechlin, April 5, 1513. He

had the pleasure of seeing the French beaten by Henry VIII. at the

battle of the Spurs [851] and again driven out of Italy by the bravery

of the Swiss at Novara, June 6. Louis easily yielded to the pope's

advances for peace and acknowledged the authority of the Lateran

council. The deposed cardinals, Carvajal and Sanseverino, who had been

active in the Pisan council, signed a humiliating confession and were

reinstated. Leo remarked to them that they were like the sheep in the

Gospel which was lost and was found. A secret compact, entered into

between the pontiff and King Louis, and afterwards joined by Henry

VIII., provided for the French king's marriage with Mary Tudor, Henry's

younger sister, and the recognition of his claims in Northern Italy.

But at the moment these negotiations were going on, Leo was secretly

engaged in the attempt to divorce Venice from the French and to defeat

the French plans for the reoccupation of Milan. Louis' career was

suddenly cut short by death, Jan. 1, 1515, at the age of 52, three

months after his nuptials with Mary, who was sixteen at the time of her

marriage.

The same month Leo came to an understanding with Maximilian and Spain,

whereby Julian de' Medici, the pope's brother, should receive Parma,

Piacenza and Reggio. Leo purchased Modena from the emperor for 40,000

ducats, and was sending 60,000 ducats monthly for the support of the

troops of his secret allies.

At the very same moment, faithless to his Spanish allies, the pope was

carrying on negotiations with Venice to drive them out of Italy.

Louis' son-in-law and successor, Francis I., a warlike and enterprising

prince, held the attention of Europe for nearly a quarter of a century

with his campaigns against Charles V., whose competitor he was for the

imperial crown. Carrying out Louis' plans, and accompanied by an army

of 35,000 men with 60 cannon, he marched in the direction of Milan,

inflicting at Marignano, Sept., 1515, a disastrous defeat upon the

20,000 Swiss mercenaries. [852] At the first news of the disaster, Leo

was thrown into consternation, but soon recovered his composure,

exclaiming in the presence of the Venetian ambassador, "We shall have

to put ourselves into the hands of the king and cry out for mercy." The

victory, was the reply, "will not inure to your hurt or the damage of

the Apostolic see. The French king is a son of the Church." And so it

proved to be. Without a scruple, as it would seem, the pope threw off

his alliances with the emperor and Ferdinand and hurried to get the

best terms he could from Francis.

They met at Bologna. Conducted by 20 cardinals, Francis entered Leo's

presence and, uncovering his head, bowed three times and kissed the

pontiff's hand and foot. Leo wore a tiara glittering with gems, and a

mantle, heavy with cloth of gold. The French orator set forth how the

French kings from time immemorial had been protectors of the Apostolic

see, and how Francis had crossed the mountains and rivers to show his

submission. For three days pontiff and king dwelt together in the same

palace. It was agreed that Leo yield up Parma and Piacenza to the

French, and a concordat was worked out which took the place of the

Pragmatic Sanction. This document, dating from the Council of Basel,

and ratified by the synod of Bourges, placed the nomination to all

French bishoprics, abbeys and priories in the hands of the king, and

this clause the concordat preserved. On the other hand, the clauses in

the Pragmatic Sanction were omitted which made the pope subject to

general councils and denied to him the right to collect annates from

French benefices higher and lower.

The election of a successor to the emperor Maximilian, who died Jan.,

1519, put Leo's diplomacy to the severest test. Ferdinand the Catholic,

who had seen the Moorish domination in Spain come to an end and the

Americas annexed to his crown, and had been invested by Julius II. in

1510 with the kingdom of Naples, died in 1516, leaving his grandson,

Charles, heir to his dominions. Now, by the death of his paternal

grandfather Maximilian, Charles was heir of the Netherlands and the

lands of the Hapsburgs and natural claimant of the imperial crown. Leo

preferred Francis, but Charles had the right of lineage and the support

of the German people. To prevent Charles' election, and to avoid the

ill-will of Francis, he agitated through his legate, Cajetan, the

election of either Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, or the

elector of Brandenburg. Secretly he entered into the plans of Francis

and allowed the archbishops of Treves and Cologne to be assured of

their promotion to the sacred college, provided they would cast their

electoral vote for the French king. But to be sure of his ground, no

matter who might be elected, Leo entered also into a secret agreement

with Charles. Both candidates had equal reason for believing they had

the pope on their side. [853] Finally, when it became evident that

Francis was out of the race, and after the electors had already

assembled in Frankfurt, Leo wrote to Cajetan that it was no use beating

one's head against the wall and that he should fall in with the

election of Charles. Leo had stipulated 100,000 ducats as the price of

his support of Charles. [854] He sent a belated letter of

congratulation to the emperor-elect, which was full of tropical

phrases, and in 1521, at the Diet of Worms, the assembly before which

Luther appeared, he concluded with Charles an alliance against his

former ally, Francis. The agreement included the reduction of Milan,

Parma and Piacenza. The news of the success of Charles' troops in

taking these cities reached Leo only a short time before his death,

Dec. 1, 1521. For the cause of Protestantism, the papal alliance with

the emperor against France proved to be highly favorable, for it

necessitated the emperor's absence from Germany.

In his administration of the papacy, Leo X. was not unmindful of the

interests of his family. Julian, his younger brother, was made

gonfalonier of the Church, and was married to the sister of Francis

I.'s mother. For a time he was in possession of Parma, Piacenza and

Reggio. Death terminated his career, 1516. His only child, the

illegitimate Hippolytus, d. 1535, was afterwards made cardinal.

The worldly hopes of the Medicean dynasty now centred in Lorenzo de'

Medici, the son of Leo's older brother. After the deposition of Julius'

nephew, he was invested with the duchy of Urbino. In 1518 he was

married to Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, a member of the royal house

of France. Leo's presents to the marital pair were valued at 300,000

ducats, among them being a bedstead of tortoise-shell inlaid with

mother-of-pearl and precious stones. They took up their abode at

Florence, but both husband and wife died a year after the marriage,

leaving behind them a daughter who, as Catherine de' Medici, became

famous in the history of France and the persecution of the Huguenots.

With Lorenzo's death, the last descendant of the male line of the house

founded by Cosimo de' Medici became extinct.

In 1513 Leo admitted his nephew, Innocent Cibo, and his cousin, Julius,

to the sacred college. Innocent Cibo, a young man of 21, was the son of

Franceschetto Cibo, Innocent VIII.'s son, and Maddelina de' Medici,

Leo's sister. His low morals made him altogether unfit for an

ecclesiastical dignity. Julius de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., was

the bastard son of Leo's uncle, who was killed in the Pazzi conspiracy

under Sixtus IV., 1478. The impediment of the illegitimate birth was

removed by a papal decree. [855] Two nephews, Giovanni Salviati and

Nicolas Ridolfi, sons of two of Leo's sisters, were also vested with

the red hat, 1517. On this occasion Leo appointed no less than

thirty-one cardinals. Among them were Cajetan, the learned general of

the Dominicans, Aegidius of Viterbo, who had won an enviable fame by

his address opening the Lateran council, and Adrian of Utrecht, Leo's

successor in the papal chair. Of the number was Alfonso of Portugal, a

child of 7, but it was understood he was not to enter upon the duties

of his office till he had reached the age of 14. Among the other

appointees were princes entirely unworthy of any ecclesiastical office.

[856]

The Vatican was thrown into a panic in 1517 by a conspiracy directed by

Cardinal Petrucci of Siena, one of the younger set of cardinals with

whom the pope had been intimate. Embittered by Leo's interference in

his brother's administration of Siena and by the deposition of the duke

of Urbino, Petrucci plotted to have the pope poisoned by a physician,

Battesta de Vercelli, a specialist on ulcers. The plot was discovered,

and Petrucci, who came to Rome on a safe-conduct procured from the pope

by the Spanish ambassador, was cast into the Marroco, the deepest

dungeon of S. Angelo. On being reminded of the safe-conduct, Leo

replied to the ambassador that no one was safe who was a poisoner.

Cardinals Sauli and Riario were entrapped and also thrown into the

castle-dungeons. Two other cardinals were suspected of being in the

plot, but escaped. Petrucci and the physician were strangled to death;

Riario and Sauli were pardoned. Riario, who had witnessed the dastardly

assassination in the cathedral of Florence 40 years before, was the

last prominent representative of the family of Sixtus IV. Torture

brought forth the confession that the plotters contemplated making him

pope. Leo set the price of the cardinal's absolution high,--150,000

ducats to be paid in a year, and another 150,000 to be paid by his

relatives in case Riario left his palace. He finally secured the pope's

permission to leave Rome, and died, 1521, at Naples.

One of the sensational pageants which occurred during Leo's pontificate

was on the arrival of a delegation from Portugal, 1514, to announce to

the pope the obedience of its king, Emmanuel. The king sent a large

number of presents, among them horses from Persia, a young panther, two

leopards and a white elephant. The popular jubilation over the

procession of the wild beasts reached its height when the elephant,

taking water into his proboscis, spurted it over the onlookers. [857]

In recognition of the king's courtesy, the pope vested in Portugal all

the lands west of Capes Bojador and Non to the Indies.

The Fifth Lateran resumed its sessions in April, 1513, a month after

Leo's election. The council ratified the concordat with France, and at

the 8th session, Dec. 19, 1513, solemnly affirmed the doctrine of the

soul's immortality. [858] The affirmation was called forth by the

scepticism of the Arabic philosophers and the Italian pantheists. A

single vote recorded against the decree came from the bishop of

Bergamo, who took the ground that it is not the business of theologians

to spend their time sitting in judgment upon the theories of

philosophers.

The invention of printing was recognized by the council as a gift from

heaven intended for the glory of God and the propagation of good

science, but the legitimate printing of books was restricted to such as

might receive the sanction of the master of the palace in Rome or,

elsewhere, by the sanction of the bishop or inquisitors who were

charged with examining the contents of books. [859] The condemnation of

all books, distasteful to the hierarchy, was already well under way.

The council approved the proposed Turkish crusade and levied a tenth on

Christendom. Its collection was forbidden in England by Henry VIII.

Cajetan presented the cause in an eloquent address at the Diet of

Augsburg, 1518. Altogether the most significant of the council's

deliverances was the bull, Pater aeternus, labelled as approved by its

authority and sent out by Leo, 1516. [860] Here the position is

reaffirmed--the position taken definitely by Pius II. and Sixtus

IV.--that it is given to the Roman pontiff to have authority over all

Church councils and to appoint, transfer and dissolve them at will.

This famous deliverance expressly renewed and ratified the constitution

of Boniface VIII., the Unam sanctam, asserting it to be altogether

necessary to salvation for all Christians to be subject to the Roman

pontiff. [861] To this was added the atrocious declaration that

disobedience to the pope is punishable with death. Innocent III. had

quoted Deut. 17:12 in favor of this view, falsifying the translation of

the Vulgate, which he made to read, "that whoever does not submit

himself to the judgment of the high-priest, him shall the judge put to

death." The council, in separating the quotations, falsely derived it

from the Book of the Kings. [862]

Nor should it be overlooked that in his bull the infallible Leo X.

certified to a falsehood when he expressly declared that the Fathers,

in the ancient councils, in order to secure confirmation for their

decrees, "humbly begged the pope's approbation." This he affirmed of

the councils of Nice, 325, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople, 680, and

Nice, 787. 214 years before, when Boniface VIII. issued his bull,

Philip the Fair was at hand to resist it. The French sovereign now on

the throne, Francis I., made no dissent. The concordat had just been

ratified by the council.

The council adjourned March 16, 1517, a bare majority of two votes

being for adjournment. Writers of Gallican sympathies have denied its

oecumenical character. On the other hand, Cardinal Hergenr�ther regrets

that the Church has taken a position to it of a stepmother to her

child. Pastor says there was already legislation enough before the

Fifth Lateran sat to secure all the reforms needed. Not laws but action

was required. Funk expresses the truth when he says, what the council

did for Church reform is hardly worth noting down. [863]

In passing judgment upon Leo X., the chief thing to be said is that he

was a worldling. Religion was not a serious matter with him. Pleasure

was his daily concern, not piety. He gave no earnest thought to the

needs of the Church. It would scarcely be possible to lay more stress

upon this feature in the life of Louis XIV., or Charles II., than does

Pastor in his treatment of Leo's career. Reumont [864] says it did not

enter Leo's head that it was the task and duty of the papacy to

regenerate itself, and so to regenerate Christendom. Leo's personal

habits are not a matter of conjecture. They lie before us in a number

of contemporary descriptions. In his reverend regard for the papal

office, Luther did Leo an unintentional injustice when he compared him

to Daniel among the lions. The pope led the cardinals in the pursuit of

pleasure and in extravagance in the use of money. To one charge,

unchasteness, Leo seems not to have exposed himself. How far this was a

virtue, or how far it was forced upon him by nature, cannot be said.

The qualities, with which nature endowed him, remained with him to the

end. He was good-humored, affable and accessible. He was often found

playing chess or cards with his cardinals. At the table he was usually

temperate, though he spent vast sums in the entertainment of others. He

kept a monk capable of swallowing a pigeon at one mouthful and 40 eggs

at a sitting. To his dress he gave much attention, and delighted to

adorn his fingers with gems.

The debt art owes to Leo X. may be described in another place. Rome

became what Paris afterwards was, the centre of luxury, art and

architectural improvement. The city grew with astonishing rapidity.

"New buildings," said an orator, "are planted every day. Along the

Tiber and on the Janicular hill new sections arise." Luigi Gradenigo,

the Venetian ambassador, reports that in the ten years following Leo's

election, 10,000 buildings had been put up by persons from Northern

Italy. The palaces of bankers, nobles and cardinals were filled with

the richest furniture of the world. Artists were drawn from France and

Spain as well as Italy, and every kind of personality who could afford

amusement to others.

The Vatican was the resort of poets, musicians, artists, and also of

actors and buffoons. Leo joined in their conversation and laughed at

their wit. He even vied with the poets in making verses off-hand.

Musical instruments ornamented with gold and silver he purchased in

Germany. With almost Oriental abandon he allowed himself to be charmed

with entertainments of all sorts.

Among Leo's amusements the chase took a leading place, though it was

forbidden by canonical law to the clergy. Fortunately for his

reputation, he was not bound, as pope, by canon law. As Louis XIV.

said, "I am the state," so the pope might have said, "I am the canon

law." Portions of the year he passed booted and spurred. He fished in

the lake of Bolsena and other waters. He takes an inordinate pleasure

in the chase, wrote the Venetian ambassador. He hunted in the woods of

Viterbo and Nepi and in the closer vicinity of Rome, but with most

pleasure at his hunting villa, Magliana. He reserved for his own use a

special territory. The hunting parties were often large. [865] At a

meet, prepared by Alexander Farnese, the pope found himself in the

midst of 18 cardinals, besides other prelates, musicians, actors and

servants. A pack of sixty or seventy dogs aided the hunters. Magliana

was five miles from Rome, on the Tiber. This favorite pleasure castle

is now a desolate farmhouse. In strange contrast to his own practice,

the pope, at the appeal of the king of Portugal, forbade the privileges

of the chase to the Portuguese clergy.

The theatre was another passion to which Leo devoted himself. He

attended plays in the palaces of the cardinals and rich bankers and in

S. Angelo, and looked on as they were performed in the Vatican itself.

Bibbiena, one of the favorite members of his cabinet, was a writer of

salacious comedies. One of these, the Calandria, Leo witnessed

performed in 1514 in his palace. The ballet was freely danced in some

of these plays, as in the lascivious Suppositi by Ariosto, played

before the pope in S. Angelo on Carnival Sunday. Another of the plays

was the Mandragola, by Machiavelli, to modern performances of which in

Florence young people are not admitted. [866] An account given of one

of these plays by the ambassador of Ferrara, Paolucci, represented a

girl pleading with Venus for a lover. At once, eight monks appeared on

the scene in their gray mantles. Venus bade the girl give them a

potion. Amor then awoke the sleepers with his arrow. The monks danced

round Amor and made love to the girl. At last they threw aside their

monastic garb and all joined in a moresca. On the girl's asking what

they could do with their arms, they fell to fighting, and all succumbed

except one, and he received the girl as the prize of his prowess. [867]

And Leo was the high-priest of Christendom, the professed successor of

Peter the Apostle!

Festivities of all sorts attracted the attention of the good-natured

pope. With 14 cardinals he assisted at the marriage of the rich Sienese

banker, Agostino Chigi, to his mistress. The entertainment was given at

Chigi's beautiful house, the Farnesina. This man was considered the

most fortunate banker of his day in Rome. The kings of Spain and France

and princes of Germany sent him presents, and sought from him loans.

Even the sultan was said to have made advances for his friendship. His

income was estimated at 70,000 ducats a year, and he left behind him

800,000 ducats. This Croesus was only fifty-five when death separated

him from his fortune. At one of his banquets, the gold plates were

thrown through the windows into the Tiber after they were used at the

table, but fortunately they were saved from loss by being caught in a

net which had been prepared for them. On another occasion, when Leo and

18 cardinals were present, each found his own coat-of-arms on the

silver dishes he used. At Agostino's marriage festival, Leo held the

bride's hand while she received the ring on one of her fingers. The

pontiff then baptized one of Chigi's illegitimate children. Cardinals

were not ashamed to dine with representatives of the demi-monde, as at

a banquet given by the banker Lorenzo Strozzi. [868] But in scandals of

this sort Alexander's pontificate could not well be outdone.

With the easy unconcern of a child of the world, spoiled by fortune,

the light-hearted de' Medici went on his way as if the resources of the

papal treasury were inexhaustible. Julius was a careful financier.

Leo's finances were managed by incompetent favorites. [869] In 1517 his

annual income is estimated to have been nearly 600,000 ducats. Of this

royal sum, 420,000 ducats were drawn from state revenues and mines. The

alum deposits at Tolfa yielded 40,000; Ravenna and the salt mines of

Cervia, 60,000; the river rents in Rome, 60,000; and the papal domains

of Spoleto, Ancona and the Romagna, 150,000. According to another

contemporary, the papal exchequer received 160,000 ducats from

ecclesiastical sources. The vendable offices at the pope's disposal at

the time of his death numbered 2,150, yielding the enormous yearly

income of 328,000 ducats. [870]

Two years after Leo assumed the pontificate, the financial problem was

already a serious one. All sorts of measures had to be invented to

increase the papal revenues and save the treasury from hopeless

bankruptcy. By augmenting the number of the officials of the

Tiber--porzionari di ripa -- from 141 to 612, 286,000 ducats were

secured. The enlargement of the colleges of the cubiculari and

scudieri, officials of the Vatican, brought in respectively 90,000 and

112,000 ducats more. From the erection of the order of the Knights of

St. Peter,--cavalieri di San Pietro,--with 401 members, the

considerable sum of 400,000 ducats was realized, 1,000 ducats from each

knight. The sale of indulgences did not yield what it once did, but the

revenue from this source was still large. [871] The highest

ecclesiastical offices were for sale, as in the reign of Alexander.

Cardinal Innocent Cibo paid 30,000 ducats or, at; another report went,

40,000, for his hat, and Francesco Armellini bought his for twice that

amount. [872]

The shortages were provided for by resort to the banker and the usurer

and to rich cardinals. Loan followed loan. Not only were the tapestries

of the Vatican and the silver plate given as securities, but

ecclesiastical benefices, the gems of the papal tiara and the rich

statues of the saints were put in pawn. Sometimes the pope paid 20 per

cent for sums of 10,000 ducats and over. [873] It occasions no surprise

that Leo's death was followed by a financial collapse, and a number of

cardinals passed into bankruptcy, including Cardinal Pucci, who had

lent the pope 150,000 ducats. From the banker, Bernado Bini, Leo had

gotten 200,000 ducats. His debts were estimated as high as 800,000

ducats. It was a common joke that Leo squandered three pontificates,

the legacy Julius left and the revenues of his successor's pontificate,

as well as the income of his own.

For the bankers and all sorts of money dealers the Medicean period was

a flourishing time in Rome. No less than 30 Florentines are said to

have opened banking institutions in the city, and, at the side of the

Fuggers and Welsers, did business with the curia. The Florentines found

it to be a good thing to have a Medicean pope, and swarmed about the

Vatican as the Spaniards had done in the good days of Calixtus III. and

Alexander VI., the Sienese, during the reign of Pius II., and the

Ligurians while Sixtus IV. of Savona was pope. They stormed the gates

of patronage, as if all the benefices of the Church were intended for

them. [874]

Leo's father, Lorenzo, said of his three sons that Piero was a fool,

Giuliano was good and Giovanni shrewd. The last characterization was

true to the facts. Leo X. was shrewd, the shrewdness being of the kind

that succeeds in getting temporary personal gain, even though it be by

the sacrifice of high and accessible ends. His amiability and polish of

manners made him friends and secured for him the tiara. He was not

altogether a degenerate personality like Alexander VI., capable of all

wickedness. But his outlook never went beyond his own pleasures. The

Vatican was the most luxurious court in Europe; it performed no moral

service for the world. The love of art with Leo was the love of color,

of outline, of beauty such as a Greek might have had, not a taste

controlled by regard for spiritual grace and aims. In his treatment of

the European states and the Italian cities, his diplomacy was marked by

dissimulation as despicable as any that was practised by secular

courts. Without a scruple be could solemnly make at the same moment

contradictory pledges. Perfidy seemed to be as natural to him as

breath. [875]

At the same time, Leo followed the rubrics of religion. He fasted, so

it is reported, three times a week, abstained from meat on Wednesday

and Friday, daily read his Breviary and was accustomed before mass to

seek absolution from his confessor. But he was without sanctity,

without deep religious conviction. The issues of godliness had no

appreciable effect upon him in the regulation of his habits. Even in

his patronage of art and culture, he forgot or ignored Ariosto,

Machiavelli, Guicciardini and Erasmus. What a noble substitution it

would have been, if these men had found welcome in the Vatican, and the

jesters and buffoons and gormandizers been relegated to their proper

place! The high-priest of the Christian world is not to be judged in

the same terms we would apply to a worldly prince ruling in the closing

years of the Middle Ages. The Vatican, Leo turned into a house of

revelling and frivolity, the place of all others where the step and the

voice of the man of God should have been heard. The Apostle, whom he

had been taught to regard as his spiritual ancestor, accomplished his

mission by readiness to undergo, if necessary, martyrdom. Leo despoiled

his high office of its sacredness and prostituted it into a vehicle of

his own carnal propensities. Had he followed the advice of his princely

father, man of the world though he was, Leo X. would have escaped some

of the reprobation which attaches to his name.

There is no sufficient evidence that Leo ever used the words ascribed

to him, "how profitable that fable of Christ has been to us." [876]

Such blasphemy we prefer not to associate with the de' Medici.

Nevertheless, no sharper condemnation of one claiming to be Christ's

vicar on earth could well be thought of than that which is carried by

the words of Sarpi, the Catholic historian of the Council of Trent,

[877] who said, "Leo would have been a perfect pope, if he had combined

with his other good qualities a moderate knowledge of religion and a

greater inclination to piety, for neither of which he shewed much

concern." Before Leo's death, the papacy had lost a part of its

European constituency, and that part which, in the centuries since, has

represented the furthest progress of civilization. The bull which this

pontiff hurled at Martin Luther, 1520, was consumed into harmless ashes

at Wittenberg, ashes which do not speak forth from the earth as do the

ashes of John Huss. To the despised Saxon miner's son, the Protestant

world looks back for the assertion of the right to study the

Scriptures, a matter of more importance than all the circumstance and

rubrics of papal office and sacerdotal functions. Not seldom has it

occurred that the best gifts to mankind have come, not through a long

heritage of prerogatives but through the devotion of some agent of God

humbly born. It seemed as if Providence allowed the papal office at the

close of the mediaeval age to be filled by pontiffs spiritually

unworthy and morally degenerate, that it might be known for all time

that it was not through the papacy the Church was to be reformed and

brought out of its mediaeval formalism and scholasticism. What popes

had refused to attempt, another group of men with no distinction of

office accomplished.

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[847] These words are upon the testimony of the contemporary

ambassador, Marino Giorgi, and cannot be set aside. Similar testimony

is given by a biographer of Leo in Cod. Vat., 3920, which D�llinger

quotes, Papstthum, p. 484, and which runs volo ut pontificatu isto quam

maxime perfruamur. Pastor, IV. 353, while trying to break the force of

the testimony for Leo's words, pronounces the love of pleasure a

fundamental and insatiable element of his nature--eine uners�ttliche

Verg�gungssucht, etc. Hefele-Kn�pfler, Kirchengesch., p. 488, speak in

the same vein when they say, Des neuen Papstes vorz�glichstes Streben

galt heiterem Lebensgenuss, etc.

[848] See Vaughan, p. 13 sq.

[849] The famous letter is given by Roscoe, Bohn's ed., pp. 285-288,

and Vaughan, p. 23 sqq.

[850] See Schulte, p. 198 sq., and Reumont, III., part II., p. 67. In

front of the house of the banker, Agostino Chigi, were seen two persons

representing Apollo and Mercury, and two little Moors, together with

the inscription-- Olim habuit Cypria sua tempora, tempora Mavors Olim

habuit, sua nunc tempora Pallas habet. The goddess of Cyprus had her

day and also Mars, But now Minerva reigns.

[851] August 15, 1513. The Scotch king, James IV., who had married

Henry's sister, Margaret, joined the French. The memorable defeat at

Flodden followed, Sept. 9, 1513. James and the flower of the Scotch

nobility fell. Leo recognized Henry's victories by conferring upon him

the consecrated sword and hat which it was the pope's custom to set

aside on Christmas day.

[852] The battle is vividly described by D. J. Dierauer, Gesch. der

schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, 2 vols., Gotha, 1892, vol. II. 451

sqq. On the second day of the battle, the arrival of the Venetian

troops gave victory to the French. Of the 12,000 left on the field

dead, the most were Swiss. Before entering the battle, as was their

custom, the mountaineers engaged in prayer, and the leader, Steiner of

Zug, after repeating the usual formula of devotion unto death, threw,

in the name of the Trinity, a handful of earth over his

fellow-soldiers' heads.

[853] Pastor, IV. 185 sq., strongly condemns Leo's two-tongued

diplomacy, doppelz�ngiges Verhalten. Leo's brief, authorizing Francis

to make a promise of red hats to the two archbishops, is dated March

12, 1519.

[854] One-half was to be paid in cash and the other half to be

deposited with the Fuggers, Schulte, p. 196.

[855] The investigation, started by Leo, resulted in making it appear

that Julius' mother, Floreta, and his father had agreed to regard

themselves as married, though a formal service was wanting.

[856] Silvio Passerini, one of the fortunate candidates, was a prince

of benefice-hunters. Pastor, IV. 139, gives fifty-five notices of

benefices bestowed on him from Leo's Regesta. He calls the list of the

places he received as wahrhaft erschreckend, "something terrifying."

[857] The elephant became the subject of quite an extensive literature,

poets joining others in setting forth his peculiarities. See Pastor,

IV. 52, Note.

[858] The concordat met with serious resistance in France both from

parliament and the University of Paris on the ground that it set aside

the decisions of the Councils of Constance and Basel on the question of

conciliar authority, and thus overthrew the Gallican liberties. The

rector of the university forbade the university printer issuing the

document, but he was brought to time by Leo instructing his legate to

pronounce censure against him and the university, who "thinking

themselves to be wise, had become fools."

[859] Perpetuis futuris temporibus, nullus librum aliquem seu aliam

quamcunque scripturam tam in urbe nostra quam aliis quibusvis

civitatibus et diocesibus imprimere seu imprimi facere praesumat,

Mansi, XXXII. 912 sq. Also in part in Mirbt, p. 177.

[860] Sacro concilio approbante. D�llinger, Papstthum, p. 185, affirms

that, in far-reaching significance, no other rule ever passed in a

Roman synod equals this bull.

[861] Mansi, XXXII. 968; Mirbt, p. 178. Solum Rom. pontificem

auctoritatem super omnia concilia habentem et conciliorum indicendorum

transferendorum ac dissolvendorum plenum ius et potestatem habere ...

et cum de necessitate salutis existat omnes Christi fideles Romano

pontifici subesse, etc.

[862] Petri successores ... quibus ex libri Regum testimonio ita

obedire necesse est, ut qui non obedierit, morte moriatur.

[863] Kirchengesch., p. 383.

[864] III., part II., p. 128

[865] Pastor, who gives eight solid pages, IV. 407-415, to an account

of Leo's hunting expeditions, speaks of his passion for the chase as

his leidenschaftliche Jagdliebhaberei

[866] Vaughan, p. 177.

[867] See Reumont, III, Part II., 134 sq.

[868] Sanuto, as quoted by Pastor, IV. 384. For some of the

entertainments given by Cardinal Riario Cornaro, see Vaughan, p. 186

sqq. At one of the banquets given by Cardinal Cornaro, sixty-five

courses were served, three dishes to each course, and all served on

silver. Such devices as a huge pie, from which blackbirds or

nightingales flew forth, or dishes of peacocks' tails, or a

construction of pastry from which a child would emerge to say a

piece,--these were some of the inventions prepared for the amusement of

guests at the tables of members of the sacred college.

[869] Vettori, a contemporary, as quoted by Villari, IV. 4, says, "It

was no more possible for his Holiness to keep 1,000 ducats than it is

for a stone to fly upwards of itself." Villari, IV. 45, gives a list of

Leo's enormous debts.

[870] These two lists of figures are taken from the Venetian

ambassadors, Giorgi and Gradenigo. Schulte, Die Fugger, p. 97 sq.,

gives many cases of the payment of annates and the servitia through the

Fuggers.

[871] Schulte, I. 174, 223 sqq.

[872] Pastor, IV. 368, has said, Um Geld herbeizuschaffen schreckte man

vor keinem Mittel zur�ck. D�llinger, Papstthum, p. 485, quotes a

contemporary as saying ea tempestate Romae, sacra omnia venalia erant,

etc.

[873] These figures are given by Schulte, I. 224-227, upon the basis of

Sanuto and other contemporary writers. The iII odor of usury was

avoided by representing the charges of the bankers as gifts.

[874] Pastor, IV. 371, in his striking way says,Der Zudrang der

Florentiner in der ersten Zeit dieses Pontificats war ein enormer. Die

Begehrlichkeit dieser Leute war grenzenlos. The Fuggers, who carried on

the most extensive dealings with the papal treasury and the sacred

college, had been firmly established in Rome since the beginning of

Alexander VI.'s pontificate. They came originally from Langen to

Augsburg, where they started business as weavers, and then branched off

into trading in spices and other commodities reaching Europe through

Venice, and in copper and other metals, under the name of Ulrich Fugger

and Brothers (George and Jacob), and their capital, estimated by the

taxes they paid, increased, between 1480 and 1501, 1,634 per cent.

Schulte, p. 3. After its transfer to Rome, the house became the

depository of the papal treasurer and cardinals, and was the

intermediary for the payment of annates and servitia to the papal and

camera treasuries. The amounts, as furnished in the ledger entries, are

given by Schulte.

[875] See Pastor's terrific indictment, IV. 359 sq.

[876] Quantum nobis nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit, satis

est omnibus saeculis notum. The words, said to have been spoken to

Cardinal Bembo, were noted down for the first time by Bale in his

Pageant of the Popes, ed. 1574, p. 179. Bale, bishop of Ossory, had

been a Carmelite.

[877] I: 1.

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CHAPTER VII.

HERESY AND WITCHCRAFT.

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553-623.--D�llinger: Sektengesch., II.--Lea: Inquisition, III. 129

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Geissler d. Jahres 1349, nach. d. Aufzeichnung Hugo's von Reutlingen

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� 59. Witchcraft.--For the treatments of the Schoolmen and other med.

writers, see vol. V., I. p. 878.--Among earlier modem writers, see J.

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Frankfurt, 1893; also, Zauberglaube des 16ten Jahrh. nach d.

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early opponents of witch-persecution, with sketches of some of its

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Gesch. d. deutschen Volkes, etc., vol. VIII., 531-751.--The

Witch-Persecutions, in Un. of Pa. Transll. and Reprints, vol. III.

� 60. The Spanish Inquisition.--See lit., V. I. p. 460 sqq. Hefele: D.

Cardinal Ximines und d. Kirchl. Zust�nde in Spanien am Ende d. 15 u.

Anfang d. 16. Jahrh., T�bingen, 1844, 2d ed., 1851. Also, art. Ximines

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r�cents, Paris, 1902.--H. C. Lea: Hist. of the Inquisition of Spain, 4

vols., New York, 1906 sq. Includes Sicily, Sardinia, Mexico and Peru,

but omits Holland.--E. Vacandard: The Inquisition. A criticism and

history. Study of the Coercive Power of the Church, transl. by B. L.

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Dr. Lea's elaborate work is the leading modern treatment of the subject

and is accepted as an authority In Germany. See Benrath in Lit-Zeitung,

1908, pp. 203-210. The author has brought out as never before the

prominent part the confiscation of property played in the Spanish

tribunal. The work of Abb� Vacandard, the author of the Life of St.

Bernard, takes up the positions laid down in Dr. Lea's general work on

the Inquisition and attempts to break the force of his statements.

Vacandard admits the part taken by the papacy in prosecuting heresy by

trial torture and even by the death penalty, but reduces the Church's

responsibility on the ground of the ideas prevailing in the Middle

Ages, and the greater freedom and cruelty practised by the state upon

its criminals. He denies that Augustine favored severe measures of

compulsion against heretics and sets forth, without modification, the

unrelenting treatment of Thomas Aquinas.

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� 58. Heretical and Unchurchly Movements.

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the seat of heresy was shifted from

Southern France and Northern Italy to Bohemia and Northern Germany, the

Netherlands and England. In Northern and Central Europe, the papal

Inquisition, which had been so effective in exterminating the

Albigenses and in repressing or scattering the Waldenses, entered upon

a new period of its history, in seeking to crush out a new enemy of the

Church, witchcraft. The rise and progress of the two most powerful and

promising forms of popular heresy, Hussitism and Lollardy, have already

been traced. Other sectarists who came under the Church's ban were the

Beghards and Beguines, who had their origin in the 13th century, [878]

the Brethren of the Free Spirit, the Fraticelli, the Flagellants and

the Waldenses.

It is not possible to state with exactness the differences between the

Beghards, Beguines, the Brethren of the Free Spirit and the Fraticelli

as they appeared from 1300 to 1500. The names were often used

interchangeably as a designation of foes of the established Church

order. [879] The court records and other notices that have come down to

us indicate that they were represented in localities widely separated,

and excited alarm which neither their numbers nor the station of their

adherents justified. The orthodox mind was easily thrown into a panic

over the deviations from the Church's system of doctrine and

government. The distribution of the dissenters proves that a widespread

religious unrest was felt in Western Christendom. They may have imbibed

some elements from Joachim of Flore's millenarianism, and in a measure

partook of the same spirit as German mysticism. There was a spiritual

hunger the Church's aristocratic discipline and its priestly

ministrations did not satisfy. The Church authorities had learned no

other method of dealing with heresy than the method in vogue in the

days of Innocent III. and Innocent IV., and sought, as before, by

imprisonments, the sword and fire, to prevent its predatory ravages.

The Brethren of the Free Spirit [880] were infected with pantheistic

notions and manifested a tendency now to free thought, now to

libertinism of conduct. At times they are identified with the Beghards

and Beguines. The pantheistic element suggests a connection with Amaury

of Bena or Meister Eckart, but of this the extant records of trials

furnish no distinct evidence. To the Beghards and Beguines likewise

were ascribed pantheistic tenets.

To the general class of free thinkers belonged such individuals as

Margaret of Henegouwen, usually known as Margaret of Porete, a Beguine,

who wrote a book advocating the annihilation of the soul in God's love,

and affirmed that, when this condition is reached, the individual may,

without qualm of conscience, yield to any indulgence the appetites of

nature call for. After having several times relapsed from the faith,

she was burnt, together with her books, in the Place de Gr�ve, Paris,

1310. [881] Here belong also the Men of Reason,--homines

intelligentiae,--who appeared at Brussels early in the 14th century and

were charged with teaching the final restoration of all men and of the

devil. [882]

The Fraticelli, also called the Fratricelli,--the Little

Brothers,--represented the opposite tendency and went to an extravagant

excess in insisting upon a rigid observance of the rule of poverty.

Originally followers of the Franciscan Observants, Peter Olivi, Michael

Cesena and Angelo Clareno, they offered violent resistance to the

decrees of John XXII., which ascribed to Christ and the Apostles the

possession of property. Some were given shelter in legitimate

Franciscan convents, while others associated themselves in schismatic

groups of their own. They were active in Italy and Southern France, and

were also represented in Holland and even in Egypt and Syria, as

Gregory XI., 1375, declared; but it would be an error to regard their

number as large. In his bull, Sancta romana, issued in 1317, John XXII.

spoke of "men of the profane multitude, popularly called Fraticelli, or

brethren of the poor life, Bizochi or Beguines or known by other

names." This was not the first use of the term in an offensive sense.

Villani called two men Fraticelli, a mechanic of Parma, Segarelli and

his pupil Dolcino of Novara, both of whom were burnt, Segarelli in 1300

and Dolcino some time later. Friar Bonato, head of a small Spiritual

house in Catalonia, after being roasted on one side, proffered

repentance and was released, but afterwards, 1335, burnt alive. [883]

Wherever the Fraticelli appeared, they were pursued by the Inquisition.

A number of bulla of the 14th century attacked them for denying the

papal edicts and condemned them to rigorous prosecution. A formula,

which they were required to profess, ran as follows: "I swear that I

believe in my heart and profess that our Lord Jesus Christ and his

Apostles, while in mortal life, held in common the things the

Scriptures describe them as having and that they had the right of

giving, selling and alienating them."

In localities they seem to have carried their opposition to the Church

so far as to set up a hierarchy of their own. [884] The regular priests

they denounced as simonists and adulterers. In places they were held in

such esteem by the populace that the Inquisition and the civil courts

found themselves powerless to bring them to trial. Nine were burnt

under Urban V. at Viterbo, and in 1389 Fra Michaele Berti de Calci, who

had been successful in making converts, met the same fate at Florence.

In France also they yielded victims to the flames, among them, Giovanni

da Castiglione and Francese d'Arquata at Montpellier, 1354, and Jean of

Narbonne and Maurice at Avignon. These enthusiasts are represented as

having met death cheerfully.

Early in the 15th century, we find the Fraticelli again the victims of

the Inquisition. In 1424 and 1426, Martin V. ordered proceedings

against certain of their number in Florence and in Spain. The vigorous

propaganda of the papal preachers, John of Capistrano and James of the

Mark, succeeded in securing the return of many of these heretics to the

Church, but, as late as the reign of Paul II., 1466, they were

represented in Rome, where six of their number were imprisoned and

subjected to torture. The charges against them were the denial of the

validity of papal decrees of indulgence other than the Portiuncula

decree. [885] In Northern Europe the Fraticelli were classified with

the Lollards and Beghards or identified with these heretics. The term,

however, occurs seldom. Walter, the Lollard, was styled, the most

wicked heresiarch of the Fraticelli, a man full of the devil and most

perverse in his errors." [886]

Of far more interest to this age are the Flagellants who attracted

attention by the strange outward demonstrations in which their

religious fervor found expression. Theirs was a militant Christianity.

They made an attempt to do something. They correspond more closely to

the Salvation Army of the 19th century than any other organization of

the Middle Ages. There is no record that the beating of drums played

any part in the movement, but they used popular songs, a series of

distinctive physical gestures and peculiar vociferations, uniforms and

some of the discipline of the camp. Their campaigns were penitential

crusades in which the self-mortifications of the monastery were

transferred to the open field and the public square, and were adapted

to impress the impenitent to make earnest in the warfare against the

passions of the flesh. The Flagellants buffeted the body if they did

not always buffet Satan.

An account has already been given of the first outbreak of the

enthusiasm in Italy in 1259, which, starting in Perugia, spread to

Northern Italy and extended across the Alps to Austria, Prag and

Strassburg. [887] Similar outbreaks occurred in 1296, 1333, 1349, 1399,

and again at the time of the Spanish evangelist, Vincent Ferrer.

From being regarded as harmless fanatics they came to be treated as

disturbers of the ecclesiastical peace, and in Northern Europe were

classed with Beghards, Lollards, Hussites and other unchurchly or

heretical sectarists.

The movement of 1333 was led by an eloquent Dominican, Venturino of

Bergamo, and is described at length by Villani. Ten thousand followed

this leader, wearing head-bands inscribed with the monogram of Christ,

IHS, and on their chests a dove with an olive-branch in her mouth.

Venturino led his followers as far as Rome and preached on the

Capitoline. The penniless enthusiasts soon became a laughing-stock, and

Venturino, on going to Avignon, gained absolution and died in Smyrna,

1346.

The earlier exhibitions of Flagellant zeal were as dim candlelights

compared with the outbursts of 1349, during the ravages of the Black

Death, which in contemporary chronicles and the Flagellant codes was

called the great death--das grosse Sterben, pestis grandis, mortalitas

magna. Bands of religious campaigners suddenly appeared in nearly all

parts of Latin Christendom, Hungary, Bohemia, Italy, France, Germany

and the Netherlands. John du Fayt, preaching before Clement VI.,

represented them as spread through all parts--per omnes provincias--and

their numbers as countless. The exact numbers of the separate bands are

repeatedly given, as they appeared in Ghent, Tournay, Dort, Bruges,

Li�ge and other cities. [888] Even bishops and princes took part in

them. There were also bands of women.

Our knowledge of the German and Lowland Flagellants is most extensive.

While the accounts of chroniclers differ in details, they agree in the

main features. The Flagellants clad themselves in white and wore on

their mantles, before and behind, and on their caps, a red cross, from

which they got the name, the Brothers of the Cross. They marched from

place to place, stopping only a single day and night at one locality,

except in case of Sunday, when they often made an exception. In the van

of their processions were carried crosses and banners. They sang hymns

as they marched. The public squares in front of churches and fields,

near-by towns, were chosen for their encampments and disciplinary

drill, which was repeated twice a day with bodies bared to the waist. A

special feature was the reading of a letter which, so it was asserted,

was originally written on a table of stone and laid by an angel on the

altar of St. Peter's in Jerusalem. [889] It represented Christ as

indignant at the world's wickedness, and, more especially, at the

desecration of Sunday and the prevalence of usury and adultery, but as

promising mercy on condition that the Flagellants gather and make

pilgrimages of penance lasting 33� days, a period corresponding to the

years of his earthly life.

The letter being read, the drill began in earnest. It consisted of

their falling on their knees and on the ground three times, in

scourging themselves and in certain significant gestures to indicate to

what sin each had been specially addicted. Every soldier carried a

whip, or scourge, which, as writers are careful to report, was tipped

with pieces of iron. These were often so sharp as to justify their

comparison to needles, and the blood was frequently seen trickling down

the bodies of the more zealous, even to their loins. [890] The blows

were executed to the rhythmic music of hymns, and the ruddy militiamen,

milites rubicundi,--as they were sometimes called, believed that the

blood which they shed was one with Christ's blood or was mixed with it.

They found a patron in St. Paul, whose stigmata they thought of, not as

scars of conscience but bodily wounds. [891] At each genuflection they

sang a hymn, four hymns being sung during the progress of a drill. The

first calling to the drill began with the words: --

Nun tretet herzu wer buesen welle

Fliehen wir die heisse H�lle.

Lucifer ist b�s Geselle

Wen er habet mit Pech er ihn labet.

Darum fliehen wir mit ihm zu sein.

Wer unser Busse wolle pflegen

Der soll gelten und wieder geben.

Now join us all who will repent

Let's flee the fiery heat of hell.

Lucifer is a bad companion

Whom he clutches, he covers with pitch.

Let us flee away from him.

Whoso will through our penance go

Let him restore what he's taken away. [892]

In falling flat on the ground, they stretched out their arms to

represent the arms of the cross. The fourth hymn, sung at the third

genuflection, was a lament over the punishment of hell to which the

Usurer, the liar, the murderer, the road-robber, the man who neglected

to fast on Friday and to keep Sunday, were condemned, and with this was

coupled a prayer to Mary.

Das Hilf uns Maria K�nigin,

Dass wir deines Kindes Huld gewin.

Mary, Queen, help us, pray,

To win the favor of thy child. [893]

Each penitent indicated his besetting sin. The hard drinker put his

finger to his lips. The perjurer held up his two front fingers as if

swearing an oath. The adulterer fell on his belly. The gambler moved

his hand as if in the act of throwing dice.

During the ravages of the Black Death a contingent of 120 of these

penitential warriors crossed the channel from Holland and marched

through London and other English towns, wearing red crosses and having

their scourges pointed with pieces of iron as sharp as needles. [894]

But they failed to secure a following.

It was inevitable that the Flagellants should incur opposition from the

Church authorities. The mediaeval Church as little tolerated

independence in ritual or organization as in doctrine. In France, they

were opposed from the first. The University of Paris issued a

deliverance against them, and Philip VI. forbade their manoeuvres on

French soil under pain of death. A harder blow was struck by the head

of Christendom, Clement VI., who fulminated his sweeping bull Oct. 20,

1349. Flagellants starting from Basel appeared in Avignon to the

number, according to one document, of 2000. Before issuing his bull,

Clement and his cardinals listened to the sermon on the subject

preached by the Paris doctor, John du Fayt. The preacher selected 13 of

the Flagellant tenets and practices for his reprobation, including the

shedding of their own blood, a practice, he declared, fit for the

priests of Baal, and the murder of Jews for their supposed crime of

poisoning the wells, in which was sought the origin of the Black

Plague. Clement pronounced the Flagellant movement a work of the devil

and the angelic letter a forgery. He condemned the warriors for

repudiating the priesthood and treating their penances as equivalent to

the journey to the jubilee in Rome, set for 1350. [895] The bull was

sent to the archbishops of England, France, Poland, Germany and Sweden,

and it called upon them to invoke, if necessary, the secular arm to put

down the new rebellion against the ordinances of the Church.

Against such opposition the Flagellants could not be expected to

maintain themselves long. Sharp enactments were directed against them

by the Fleming cities and by archbishops, as in Prag and Magdeburg.

Strassburg forbade public scourgings on its streets. As late as 1353,

the archbishop of Cologne found it necessary to order all priests who

had favored them to confess on pain of excommunication. [896]

We are struck with four features of the Flagellant movement during the

Black Death,--its organization, the part assumed in it by the laity,

the use of music and, in general, its strong religious and ethical

character. In Italy, before this time, these people had their

organizations. There was scarcely an Italian city which did not have

one or more such brotherhoods. Padua had six, Perugia and Fabiano

three, but the movement does not seem to have developed opposition to

Church authority. In some of the outbreaks priests were the leaders,

and the permanent organizations seem to have formed a close association

with the Dominicans and Franciscans and to have devoted themselves to

the care of the poor and sick.

On the other hand, in the North, a spirit of independence of the clergy

manifested itself. This is evident from the Flagellant codes of the

German and Dutch groups, current at the time of the great pestilence

and in after years. The conditions of membership included

reconciliation with enemies, the consent of husband or wife or, in the

case of servants, the consent of their masters, strict obedience to the

leaders, who were called master or rector, and ability to pay their own

expenses. During the campaigns, which lasted 33� days, they were to ask

no alms nor to wash their persons or their clothing, nor cut their

beards nor speak to women, nor to lie on feather beds. They were

forbidden to carry arms or to pursue the flagellation to the limit

where it might lead to sickness or death. [897]

Five pater nosters and ave Marias were prescribed to be said before and

after meals, and it was provided that, so long as they lived, they

should flagellate themselves every Friday three times during the day

and once at night. The associations were called brotherhoods, and the

members were bidden to call each other not chum--socium -- but brother,

"seeing that all were created out of the same element and bought with

the same price." [898]

The leaders of the fraternities were laymen, and, as just indicated,

the equality of the members before God and the cross was emphasized.

The movement was essentially a lay movement, an expression of the

spirit of dissatisfaction in Northern Germany and the Lowlands with the

sacerdotal class. [899] Some of the codes condemn the worship of

images, the doctrine of transubstantiation, indulgences, priestly

unction and, in cases, they substituted the baptism of blood for water

baptism. One of these, containing 50 articles, expressly declared that

the body of Christ is not in the sacrament, and that "indulgences

amount to nothing and together with priests are condemned of God." The

26th article said, "It is better to die with a skin tanned with dust

and sweat than with one smeared with a whole pound of priestly

ointment." [900]

The German hymns as well as the codes of the Flagellants urge the duty

of prayer and the mortification of the flesh and the preparation for

death, the abandonment of sin, the reconciliation of enemies and the

restoration of goods unjustly acquired. These sentiments are further

vouched for by the chroniclers.

To these religionists belongs the merit of having revived the use of

popular religious song. Singing was a feature of the earliest

Flagellant movement, 1259. [901] Their hymns are in Latin, Italian,

French, German and Dutch. In Italian they went by the name of laude,

and in German leisen. The Italian hymns, like the German, agree that

sins have brought down the judgment of God and in appealing to the

Virgin Mary, and call upon the "brethren" to castigate themselves, to

confess their sins and to live in peace and brotherhood. They beseech

the Virgin to prevail upon her son to stop "the hard death and

pestilence--Gesune tolga via l' aspra morte e pistilentia. [902] Most

of these hymns are filled with the thought of death and the woes of

humanity, but the appeals to Mary are full of tenderness, and every

conceivable allegory is applied to her from the dove to the gate of

paradise, from the rose to a true medicine for every sickness. The

songs of the Italian and the Northern Flagellants seem to have been

independent of each other. [903]

The cohorts in the North agreed in using the same penitential song at

their drills, but they had a variety of scores and songs for their

marches. [904] While the most of the words of their songs have been

known, it is only recently that some of the music has been found to

which the Flagellants sang their hymns. A manuscript of Hugo of

Reutlingen, dating from 1349 and discovered at St. Petersburg, gives 8

such tunes, together with the words and an account of the movement.

[905] The hearers, in describing the impression made upon them by the

melodies, mention their sweetness, their orderly rhythm,--ordine miro

hymnos cantabant,--and their pathos capable of "moving hearts of stone

and bringing tears to the eyes of the most stolid." [906]

Altogether, the Flagellant movement during the Black Death, 1349, must

be regarded as a genuinely popular religious movement.

The next outbreak of Flagellant zeal, which occurred in 1399, was

confined for the most part to Italy. The Flagellants, who were

distinguished by mantles with a red cross, appeared in Genoa, Piacenza,

Modena, Rome and other Italian cities. A number of accounts have come

down to us, now favorable as the account of the "notary of Pistoja,"

now unfavorable as the account of von Nieheim. According to the

Pistojan writer, the movement had its origin in a vision seen by a

peasant in the Dauphin�, which is of interest as showing the relative

places assigned in the popular worship to Christ and Mary. After a

midday meal, the peasant saw Christ as a young man. Christ asked him

for bread. The peasant told him there was none left, but Christ bade

him look, and behold! he saw three loaves. Christ then bade him go and

throw the loaves into a spring a short distance off. The peasant went,

and was about to obey, when a woman, clad in white and bathed in tears,

appeared, telling him to go back to the young man and say that his

mother had forbidden it. He went, and Christ repeated his command, but

at the woman's mandate the peasant again returned to Christ. Finally he

threw in one of the loaves, when the woman, who was Mary, informed him

that her Son was exceedingly angry at the sinfulness of the world and

had determined to punish it, even to destruction. Each loaf signified

one-third of mankind and the destruction of one-third was fixed, and if

the peasant should cast in the other two loaves, all mankind would

perish. The man cast himself on his knees before the weeping Virgin,

who then assured him that she had prayed her Son to withhold judgment,

and that it would be withheld, provided he and others went in

processions, flagellating themselves and crying "mercy" and "peace,"

and relating the vision he had seen. [907]

The peasant was joined by 17 others, and they became the nucleus of the

new movement. The bands slept in the convents and church grounds, sang

hymns,--laude,--from which they were also called laudesi, and scourged

themselves with thongs as their predecessors had done. Miracles were

supposed to accompany their marches. Among the miracles was the

bleeding of a crucifix, which some of the accounts, as, for example,

von Nieheim's, explain by their pouring blood into a hole in the

crucifix and then soaking the wood in oil and placing it in the sun to

sweat. According to this keen observer, the bands traversed almost the

whole of the peninsula. Fifteen thousand, accompanied by the bishop of

Modena, marched to Bologna, where the population put on white. Not only

were the people and clergy of Rome carried away by their

demonstrations, but also members of the sacred college and all classes

put on sackcloth and white. The pope went so far as to bestow upon them

his blessing and showed them the handkerchief of St. Veronica. Nieheim

makes special mention of their singing and their new songs -- nova

carmina. But the historian of the papal schism could see only evil and

fraud in the movement, [908] and condemns their lying together

promiscuously at night, men and women, boys and girls. On their marches

they stripped the trees bare of fruit and left the churches and

convents, where they encamped, defiled by their uncleanness. An end was

put to the movement in Rome by the burning of one of the leading

prophets.

The bull of Clement VI. was followed, in l372, by the fulmination of

Gregory XI., who associated the Flagellants with the Beghards, and by

the action of the Council of Constance. In a tract presented to the

council in 1417, Gerson asserted that the sect made scourging a

substitute for the sacrament of penance and confession. [909] He called

upon the bishops to put down its cruel and sanguinary members who dared

to shed their own blood and regarded themselves as on a par with the

old martyrs. The laws of the decalogue were sufficient without the

imposition of any new burdens, as Christ himself taught, when he said,

"If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." This judgment of

the theologians the Flagellants might have survived, but the merciless

probe of the Inquisition to which they were exposed in the 15th century

took their life. Trials were instituted against them in Thuringia under

the Dominican agent, Sch�nefeld, 1414. At one place, Sangerhausen, near

Erfurt, 91 were burnt at one time and, on another occasion, 22 more.

The victims of the second group died, asserting that all the evils in

the Church came from the corrupt lives of the clergy.

The Flagellant movement grew out of a craving which the Church life of

the age did not fully meet. Excesses should not blind the eye to its

good features. Hugo of Reutlingen concludes his account of the outbreak

of 1349 with the words: "Many good things were associated with the

Flagellant brothers, and these account for the attention they excited."

A group of sectaries, sometimes associated by contemporary writers with

the Flagellants, was known as the Dancers. These people appeared at

Aachen and other German and Dutch towns as early as 1374. In Cologne

they numbered 500. Like the Flagellants, they marched from town to

town. Their dancing and jumping--dansabant et saltabant -- they

performed half naked, sometimes bound together two and two, and often

in the churches, where they had a preference for the spaces in front of

the images of the Virgin. Cases occurred where they fell dead from

exhaustion. In Holland, the Dancers were also called Frisker or Frilis,

from frisch,--spry,--the word with which they encouraged one another in

their terpsichorean feats. [910]

To another class of religious independents belong the Waldenses, who,

in spite of their reputation as heretics, continued to survive in

France, Piedmont and Austria. They were still accused of allowing women

to preach, denying the real presence and abjuring oaths, extreme

unction, infant baptism and also of rejecting the doctrines of

purgatory and prayers for the dead. [911]

With occasional exceptions, the Waldensians of Italy and France were

left unmolested until the latter part of the 15th century and the dukes

of Savoy were inclined to protect them in their Alpine abodes. But the

agents of the Inquisition were keeping watch, and the Franciscan

Borelli is said to have burned, in 1393, 150 at Grenoble in the

Dauphin� in a single day. It remained for Pope Innocent VIII. to set on

foot a relentless crusade against this harmless people as his

predecessor of the same name, Innocent III., set on foot the crusade

against the Albigenses. His notorious bull of May 5, 1487, called upon

the king of France, the duke of Savoy and other princes to proceed with

armed expeditions against them and to crush them out "as venomous

serpents." [912] It opened with the assertion that his Holiness was

moved by a concern to extricate from the abyss of error those for whom

the sovereign Creator had been pleased to endure sufferings. The

striking difference seems not to have occurred to the pontiff that the

Saviour, to whose services he appealed, gave his own life, while he

himself, without incurring any personal danger, was consigning others

to torture and death.

Writing of the crusade which followed, the Waldensian historian, Leger,

says that all his people had suffered before was as "flowers and roses"

compared to what they were now called upon to endure. Charles VIII.

entered heartily into the execution of the decree, and sent his

captain, Hugo de la Palu. The crusading armies may have numbered 18,000

men.

The mountaineer heretics fled to the almost inaccessible platform

called Pr� du Tour, where their assailants could make no headway

against their arrows and the stones they hurled. On the French side of

the Alps the crusade was successful. In the Val de Louise, 70, or,

according to another account, 3000, who had fled to the cave called

Balme de Vaudois, were choked to death by smoke from fires lit at the

entrance. Many of the Waldenses recanted, and French Waldensianism was

well-nigh blotted out. Their property was divided between the bishop of

Embrun and the secular princes. As late as 1545, 22 villages inhabited

by French Waldenses were pillaged and burnt by order of the parliament

of Provence. With the unification of Italy in 1870, this ancient and

respectable people was granted toleration and began to descend from its

mountain fastnesses, where it had been confined for the half of a

millennium.

in Austria, the fortunes of the Waldensians were more or less

interwoven with the fortunes of the Hussites and Bohemian Brethren. In

parts of Northern Germany, as in Brandenburg in 1480, members of the

sect were subjected to severe persecutions. In the Lowlands we hear of

their imprisonment, banishment and death by fire. [913]

The mediaeval horror of heresy appears in the practice of ascribing to

heretics nefarious performances of all sorts. The terms Waldenses and

Waldensianism were at times made synonymous with witches and

witchcraft. Just how the terms Vauderie, Vaudoisie, Vaudois, Waudenses

and Valdenses came to be used in this sense has not been satisfactorily

explained. But such usage was in vogue from Lyons to Utrecht, and the

papal bull of Eugenius IV., 1440, refers to the witches in Savoy as

being called Waldenses. [914] An elaborate tract entitled the

Waldensian Idolatry, [915] -- Valdenses ydolatrae,--written in 1460 and

giving a description of its treatment in Arras, accused, the Waldenses

with having intercourse with demons and riding through the air on

sticks, oiled with a secret unguent.

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[878] See vol. V., 1. 489 sqq.

[879] Haupt, pp. 467, 471. Bezold: Gesch. d. deutschen Reform., p. 120

sqq.

[880] Secta spiritus libertatis, liberi spiritus, etc.

[881] Fredericq, I. 155-160, II. 63 sqq. Another writer of the same

clan was Mary of Valenciennes, whose book was condemned by the

Inquisition, about 1400, as a work of "incredible subtlety." It was

mentioned by Gerson in his tract on false and true visions. Fredericq,

II. 188.

[882] For a list of their errors, see Fredericq, I. 267-279. A sect of

free thinkers known as the Loists flourished in Antwerp in the 16th

century. D�llinger, II. 664 sqq., gives one of their documents.

[883] Lea: Span. Inq., III. 190.

[884] Wetzer-Welte, IV. 1931, quoting Mansi-Miscell. IV. 595-610.

[885] Lea: Inquis., III. 178; Aur. Conf., III. 377.

[886] D�llinger, II. 381, 407 sq. The first three volumes of Fredericq

contain the term Fraticelli only twice, III. 17, 225.

[887] Vol. V., 1, p. 876 sqq. The Flagellants were also known as

Flagellatores, Cruciferi, Paenitentes, Disiciplinati, Battisti, etc.,

and in German and Dutch as Geissler, Geeselaars, Cruusbroeders,

Kreuzbr�der, etc. The references under Geeselaars in Fredericq fill

four closely printed pages of the Index, III. 297-300.

[888] Fredericq, II. 120, III. 19, 21, 33, etc. Also F�rstemann, pp. 74

sqq. Runge, 99-209.

[889] Fredericq, II. 119, III. 22, etc. Runge, 152 sqq.

[890] Pointillons de fer; aculeis ferreis; habentes in fine nodos

aculeatos; quasi acus acuti infixi. Fredericq, I. 197, II. 120 sqq.,

III. 19, 20, 35, etc. Le sang leur couloit parmy les rains, Fredericq,

III. 19. Hugo of Reutlingen speaks of the sharp iron tips. Runge, p.

25.

[891] Si sanguis istorum militum est justus, et unitus cum sanguine

Christi, etc. Fredericq, III. 18. Dicebant quod eorum sanguis per

flagella effusus cum Christi sanguine miscebatur, II. 125.

[892] Hugo von Reutlingen, p. 36.

[893] � Hugo von Reutlingen, in Runge, p. 38.

[894] � So Robert of Avesbury, Rolls Series, p. 407 sqq.

[895] Clement's bull is given by Fredericq, I. 199-201, and in

translation by F�rstemann, p. 97 sqq. Du Fayt's sermon is full of

interest, and is one of the most important documents given by

Fredericq, III. 28-37. Du Fayt ascribed the Black Death to an infection

of the air due to the celestial bodies--infectionem aeris creatam a

corporibus coelestibus. The deliverance of the University of Paris is

lost. See Chartul. III. 655 sqq.

[896] Fredericq, II. 116, etc. The magistrates, as at Tournay,

sometimes found it necessary to repeat their proclamations against the

Flagellants as often an three times.

[897] Usque ad mortem vel infirmitatem. See especially the 35 articles

of Bruges, Fredericq, II. 111 sqq.; 50 articles given by F�rstemann, p.

164 sqq. and the several codes given by Runge, 115 sqq. Hugo of

Reutlingen, in Runge, 27, mentions the strict prohibition against

bathing, balnea fratri non licet ulli tempore tali.

[898] Fredericq, III. 15, Runge, pp. 25, 41, 118, etc.

[899] Runge, pp. 130, 215.

[900] � F�rstemann, p. 165 sqq.

[901] Schneerganz speaks of the number of their hymns in manuscript in

Italian libraries as "exceedingly large." He gives a list of such

libraries and also a list of the published laude. See Runge, pp. 50-64.

It is not, however, to be supposed that more than a few were in popular

use and sung.

[902] See, for example, Runge, p. 68 sqq.

[903] Schneerganz, p. 85, emphatically denies all connection.

[904] Fr. Chrysander as quoted by Runge, p. 1. For specimen of the

hymns and accounts of the singing, see Runge, F�rstemann, p. 255 sqq.,

Fredericq, I. 197; II. 108, 123, 127-129, 137-139, 140; III. 23-27.

[905] This most interesting document, edited by Runge, gives the

original music. Here are two lines with a translation of the German

words:-- [Fig. 6-06 musical staff for words below. Edit.] Now let us

all lift up our hands And pray to God this death to a vert.

[906] See Runge, pp. 27, 140, 157.

[907] See F�rstemann, p. 111 sqq.

[908] Omnem populum mirabiliter deceperunt. De schismate, II. 26.

Erler's ed., p. 168 sq.

[909] Contra sectam flagellantium. Du Pin's ed., 659-664. Van der

Hardt, III. 99 sqq.

[910] The bad effects of the delusion upon morals is given by

chroniclers, one of whom says that during one of the epidemics 100

unmarried women became pregnant. See Fredericq, I. 231 sq., III. 41,

etc. Other names given to the Dancers were Chorizantes and

Tripudiantes.

[911] D�llinger, II. 365 sqq. Here the barbs,--uncles,--the religious

leaders of the Waldenses, are represented as making affidavit of the

tenets of their people.

[912] The bull is given by Comba: The Waldenses of Italy, p. 126 sq.

[913] Fredericq, I. 26, 50, 351 sqq.; 501 sq., 512; II. 263 sqq.; III.

109. This author, I. 357 sqq., gives a sermon by a canon of Tournay

against Waldensian tenets, which was much praised at the time. A French

translation by Hansen, Quellen, p. 184 sq.

[914] See the bull in Hansen, Quellen, p. 18, and an extended section,

pp. 408 sqq., on the use of the term Vauderie for witchcraft. In the

14th century it was used to designate the practice of unnatural crimes,

just as was the term Bougerie in France, which, at the first, was

applied to the Catharan heresy.

[915] This document is given in part by Fredericq, III. 94-109, and in

full by Hansen, pp. 149-182. Its details are as disgusting as the

imagination could well invent.

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� 59. Witchcraft and its Punishment.

Perhaps no chapter in human history is more revolting than the chapter

which records the wild belief in witchcraft and the merciless

punishments meted out for it in Western Europe in the century just

preceding the Protestant Reformation and the succeeding century. [916]

In the second half of that century, the Church and society were thrown

into a panic over witchcraft, and Christendom seemed to be suddenly

infested with a great company of bewitched people, who yielded

themselves to the irresistible discipline of Satan. The mania spread

from Rome and Spain to Bremen and Scotland. Popes, lawyers, physicians

and ecclesiastics of every grade yielded their assent, and the only

voices lifted up in protest which have come down to us from the Middle

Ages were the voices of victims who were subjected to torture and

perished in the flames. No Reformer uttered a word against it. On the

contrary, Luther was a stout believer in the reality of demonic agency,

and pronounced its adepts deserving of the flames. Calvin allowed the

laws of Geneva against it to stand. Bishop Jewel's sermon before Queen

Elizabeth in 1562 was perhaps the immediate occasion of a new law on

the subject. [917] Baxter proved the reality of witchcraft in his

Certainty of the World of Spirits. On the shores of New England the

delusion had its victims, at Salem, 1692, and a century later, 1768,

John Wesley, referring to occurrences in his own time, declared that

"giving up witchcraft was, in effect, giving up the Bible."

In the establishment of the Inquisition, 1215, Innocent III. made no

mention of sorcery and witchcraft. The omission may be explained by two

considerations. Provision was made for the prosecution of sorcerers by

the state, and heretical depravity, a comparatively novel phenomenon

for the Middle Ages, was in Innocent's age regarded as the imminent

danger to which the Church was exposed.

Witchcraft was one of the forms of maleficium, the general term adopted

by the Middle Ages from Roman usage for demonology and the dark arts,

but it had characteristic features of its own. [918] These were the

transport of the bewitched through the air, their meetings with devils

at the so-called sabbats and indulgence in the lowest forms of carnal

vice with them. Some of these features were mentioned in the canon

episcopi,--the bishop's canon,--which appeared first in the 10th

century and was incorporated by Gratian in his collection of canon law,

1150. But this canon treated as a delusion the belief that wicked women

were accustomed to ride together in troops through the air at night in

the suite of the Pagan goddess, Diana, into whose service they

completely yielded themselves, and this in spite of the fact that women

confessed to this affinity. [919] The night-riding, John of Salisbury,

d. 1182, treated as an illusion with which Satan vexed the minds of

women; but another Englishman, Walter Map, in the same century, reports

the wild orgies of demons with heretics, to whom the devil appeared as

a tom-cat. [920]

From the middle of the 13th century the distinctive features of

witchcraft began to engage the serious attention of the Church

authorities. During the reign of Gregory IX., 1227-1241, it became

evident to them that the devil, not satisfied with inoculating Western

Europe with doctrinal heresy, had determined to vex Christendom with a

new exhibition of his malice in works of sorcery and witchcraft.

Strange cases were occurring which the inquisitors of heresy were quick

to detect. The Dominican Chantimpr� tells of the daughter of a count of

Schwanenburg, who was carried every night through the air, even eluding

the strong hold of a Franciscan who one night tried to hold her back.

In 1275 a woman of Toulouse, under torture, confessed she had indulged

in sexual intercourse with a demon for many years and given birth to a

monster, part wolf and part serpent, which for two years she fed on

murdered children. She was burnt by the civil tribunal.

But it is not till the 15th century that the era of witchcraft properly

begins. From about 1430 it was treated as a distinct cult, carefully

defined and made the subject of many treatises. The punishments to be

meted out for it were carefully laid down, as also the methods by which

witches should be detected and tried. The cases were no longer sporadic

and exceptional; they were regarded as being a gild or sect marshalled

by Satan to destroy faith from the earth.

It is probable that the responsibility for the spread of the wild witch

mania rests chiefly with the popes. Pope after pope countenanced and

encouraged the belief. Not a single utterance emanated from a pope to

discourage it. [921] Pope after pope called upon the Inquisition to

punish witches.

The list of papal deliverances opened in 1233, when Gregory IX.,

addressing the bishops of Mainz and Hildesheim, accepted the popular

demonology in its crudest forms. [922] The devil, so Gregory asserted,

was appearing in the shapes of a toad, a pallid ghost and a black cat.

In language too obscene to be repeated, he described at length the

orgies which took place at the meetings of men and women with demons.

Where medicines did not cure, iron and fire were to be used. The

rotting flesh was to be cut out. Did not Elijah slay the four hundred

priests of Baal and Moses put idolaters to death?

Before the close of the 13th century, popes themselves were accused of

having familiar spirits and practising sorcery, as John XXI., 1276, and

Boniface VIII. Boniface went so far, 1303, as to order the trial of an

English bishop, Walter of Coventry and Lichfield, on the charge of

having made a pact with the devil and habitually kissing the devil's

posterior parts. Under his successor, Clement, the gross charges of

wantonness with the devil were circulated against the Knights of the

Temple. In his work, De maleficiis, Boniface VIII.'s physician, Arnold

of Villanova, stated with scientific precision the satanic devices for

disturbing and thwarting the marital relation. Among the popes of the

14th century, John XXII. is distinguished for the credit he gave to all

sorts of malefic arts and his instructions to the inquisitors to

proceed against persons in league with the devil. [923]

Side by side with the papal utterances went the authoritative

statements of the Schoolmen. Leaning upon Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, d.

1274, accepted as real the cohabitation of human beings with demons,

and declared that old women had the power by the glance of their eye of

injecting into young people a certain evil essence. If the horrible

beliefs of the Middle Ages on the subject of witchcraft are to be set

aside, then the bulls of Leo XIII. and Pius X. [924] pronouncing Thomas

the authoritative guide of Catholic theology must be modified.

The definitions of the Schoolmen justified the demand which papal

deliverances made, that the Church tribunal has at least equal

jurisdiction with the tribunal of the state in ferreting out and

prosecuting the adepts of the dark arts. Manuals of procedure in cases

of sorcery used by the Inquisition date back at least to 1270. [925]

The famous Interrogatory of Bernard Guy of 1320 contains formulas on

the subject. The canonists, however, had difficulty in defining the

point at which maleficium became a capital crime. Oldradus, professor

of canon law in turn at Bologna, Padua and Avignon, sought, about 1325,

to draw a precise distinction between the two, and gave the opinion

that, only when sorcery savors strongly of heresy, should it be dealt

with as heresy was dealt with, the position assumed before by Alexander

IV., 1258-1260. The final step was taken when Eymericus, in his

Inquisitorial Directory and special tracts, 1370-1380, affirmed the

close affinity between maleficium and heresy, and threw the door wide

open for the most rigorous measures against malefics.

To such threefold authorization was added the weight of the great

influence of the University of Paris, which, in 1378, two years after

the issue of Eymericus' work, sent out 28 articles affirming the

reality of maleficium.

Proceeding to the second period in the history of our subject,

beginning with 1430, it is found to teem with tracts and papal

deliverances on witchcraft.

Gerson, the leading theologian of his age, said it was heresy and

impiety to question the practice of the malefic arts, and Eugenius IV.,

in several deliverances, beginning with 1434, spoke in detail of those

who made pacts with demons and sacrificed to them. [926] Witchcraft was

about to take the place in men's minds which heresy had occupied in the

age of Innocent III. The frightful mania was impending which spread

through Latin Christendom under the Renaissance popes, from Pius II. to

Clement VII., and without a dissenting voice received their sanction.

Of the Humanist, Pius II., better things might have been expected, but

he also, in 1459, fulminated against the malefics of Brittany. To what

length the Vatican could go in sanctioning the crassest superstition is

seen from Sixtus IV.'s bull, 1471, in which that pontiff reserved to

himself the right to manufacture and consecrate the little waxen

figures of lambs, the touch of which was pronounced to be sufficient to

protect against fire and shipwreck, storm and hail, lightning and

thunder, and to preserve women in the hour of parturition. [927]

Among the documents on witchcraft, emanating from papal or other

sources, the place of pre-eminence is occupied by the bull, Summis

desiderantes issued by Innocent VIII., 1484. This notorious

proclamation, consisting of nearly 1000 words, was sent out in answer

to questions proposed to the papal chair by German inquisitors, and

recognizes in clearest language the current beliefs about demonic

bewitchment as undeniable. It had come to his knowledge, so the pontiff

wrote, that the dioceses of Mainz, Cologne, Treves, Salzburg and Bremen

teemed with persons who, forsaking the Catholic faith, were consorting

with demons. By incantations, conjurations and other iniquities they

were thwarting the parturition of women and destroying the seed of

animals, the fruits of the earth, the grapes of the vine and the fruit

of the orchard. Men and women, flocks and herds, trees and all herbs

were being afflicted with pains and torments. Men could no longer

beget, women no longer conceive, and wives and husbands were prevented

from performing the marital act. In view of these calamities, the pope

authorized the Dominicans, Heinrich Institoris and Jacob Sprenger,

professors of theology, to continue their activity against these

malefics in bringing them to trial and punishment. He called upon the

bishop of Salzburg to see to it that they were not impeded in their

work and, a few months later, he admonished the archbishop of Mainz to

give them active support. In other documents, Innocent commended

Sigismund, archbishop of Austria, the count of the Tyrol and other

persons for the aid they had rendered to these inquisitors in their

effort to crush out witchcraft.

The burning of witches was thus declared the definite policy of the

papal see and the inquisitors proceeded to carry out its instructions

with untiring and merciless severity. [928]

Innocent's communication, so abhorrent to the intelligent judgment of

modern times, would seem of itself to sweep away the dogma of papal

infallibility, even if there were no cases of Liberius, the Arian, or

Honorius, the Monothelite. The argument is made by Pastor and Cardinal

Hergenr�ther that Innocent did not officially pronounce on the reality

of witchcraft when, proceeding upon the basis of reports, he condemned

it and ordered its punishment. [929] However, in case this explanation

be not regarded as sufficient, these writers allege that the decision,

being of a disciplinary nature, would have no more binding force than

any other papal decision on non-dogmatic subjects. This distinction is

based upon the well-known contention of Catholic canonists that the

pope's inerrancy extends to matters of faith and not to matters of

discipline. Leaving these distinctions to the domain of theological

casuistry, it remains a historic fact that Innocent's bull deepened the

hold of a vicious belief in the mind of Europe and brought thousands of

innocent victims to the rack and to the flames. The statement made by

Dr. White is certainly not far from the truth when he says that, of all

the documents which have issued from Rome, imperial or papal,

Innocent's bull first and last cost the greatest suffering. [930]

Innocent might have exercised his pontifical infallibility in denying,

or at least doubting, the credibility of the witnesses. A simple word

from him would have prevented untold horrors. No one of his successors

in the papal chair has expressed any regret for his deliverance, much

less consigned to the Index of forbidden books the Malleus maleficarum,

the inquisitors' official text-book on witchcraft, most of the editions

of which printed Innocent's bull at length.

Innocent's immediate successors followed his example and persons or

states opposing repressive measures against witches were classed with

malefactors and, as in the case of Venice, the state was threatened by

Leo X. with the fulminations of the Church if it did not render active

assistance. At the papal rebuke, Brescia changed its attitude and in a

single year sentenced 70 to the flames.

Next to Innocent's bull, the Witches Hammer,--Malleus

maleficarum,--already referred to, is the most important and nefarious

legacy the world has received on witchcraft. Dr. Lea pronounces it "the

most portentous monument of superstition the world has produced." [931]

These two documents were the official literature which determined the

progress and methods of the new crusade.

The Witches Hammer, published in 1486, proceeded from the hands of the

Dominican Inquisitors, Heinrich Institoris, whose German name was

Kraemer, and Jacob Sprenger. The plea cannot be made that they were

uneducated men. They occupied high positions in their order and at the

University of Cologne. Their book is divided into three parts: the

first proves the existence of witchcraft; the second sets forth the

forms in which it manifested itself; the third describes the rules for

its detection and prosecution. In the last quarter of the 15th century

the world, so it states, was more given over to the devil than in any

preceding age. It was flooded with all kinds of wickedness. In

affirming the antics of witches and other malefics, appeal is made to

the Scriptures and to the teachings of the Church and especially to

Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Witches and sorcerers, whose father is

the devil, are at last bound together in an organized body or sect.

They meet at the weekly sabbats and do the devil homage by kissing his

posterior parts. He appears among them as a tom-cat, goat, dog, bull or

black man, as whim and convenience suggest. Demons of both sexes swarm

at the meetings. Baptism and the eucharist are subjected to ridicule,

the cross trampled upon. After an abundant repast the lights are

extinguished and, at the devil's command "Mix, mix," there follow

scenes of unutterable lewdness. The devil, however, is a strict

disciplinarian and applies the whip to refractory members.

The human members of the fraternity are instructed in all sorts of fell

arts. They are transported through the air. They kill unbaptized

children, keeping them in this way out of heaven. At the sabbats such

children are eaten. Of the carnal intercourse, implied in the words

succubus and incubus, the authors say, there can be no doubt. To quote

them, "it is common to all sorcerers and witches to practise carnal

lust with demons." [932] To this particular subject are devoted two

full chapters, and it is taken up again and again.

In evidence of the reality of their charges, the authors draw upon

their own extensive experience and declare that, in 48 cases of witches

brought before them and burnt, all the victims confessed to having

practised such abominable whoredoms for from 10 to 30 years.

Among the precautions which the book prescribed against being

bewitched, are the Lord's Prayer, the cross, holy water and salt and

the Church formulas of exorcism. It also adds that inner grace is a

preservative. [933]

The directions for the prosecution of witches, given in the third part

of the treatise, are set forth with great explicitness. Public rumor

was a sufficient cause for an indictment. The accused were to be

subjected to the indignity of having the hair shaved off from their

bodies, especially the more secret parts, lest perchance some imp or

charm might be hidden there. Careful rules were given to the

inquisitors for preserving themselves against being bewitched, and

Institoris and Sprenger took occasion to congratulate themselves that,

in their long experience, they had been able to avoid this calamity. In

case the defender of a witch seemed to show an excess of zeal, this was

to be treated as presumptive evidence that he was himself under the

same influence. One of the devices for exposing guilt was a sheet of

paper of the length of Christ's body, inscribed with the seven words of

the cross. This was to be bound on the witch's body at the time of the

mass, and then the ordeal of torture was applied. This measure almost

invariably brought forth a confession of guilt. The ordeal of the

red-hot iron was also recommended, but it was to be used with caution,

as it was the trick of demons to cover the hands of witches with a

salve made from a vegetable essence which kept them from being burnt.

Such a case happened in Constance, the woman being able to carry the

glowing iron six paces and thus going free.

Of all parts of this manual, none is quite so infamous as the author's

vile estimate of woman. If there is any one who still imagines that

celibacy is a sure highway to purity of thought, let him read the

testimonies about woman and marriage given by mediaeval writers,

priests and monks, themselves celibate and presumably chaste. Their

impurities of expression suggest a foul atmosphere of thought and

conversation. The very title of the Malleus maleficarum--the Hammer of

the Female Malefics--is in the feminine because, as the authors inform

their readers, the overwhelming majority of those who were behagged and

had intercourse with demons were women. [934] In flat contrast to our

modern experience of the religious fidelity of women, the authors of

this book derive the word femina -- woman--from fe and minus, that is,

fides minus, less in faith. Weeping and spinning and deceiving they

represent as the very essence of her nature. She deceives, because she

was formed from Adam's rib and that was crooked.

A long chapter, I. 6, is devoted to showing woman's inferiority to man

and the subject of her alliance with demons is dwelt upon, apparently

with delight. The cohabitation with fiends was in earlier ages, the

authors affirm, against the will of women, but in their own age it was

with their full consent and by their ardent desire. They thank God for

being men. Few of their sex, they say, consent to such obscene

relations,--one man to ten women. This refusal was due to the male's

natural vigor of mind, vigor rationis. To show the depravity of woman

and her fell agency in history, Institoris and Sprenger quote all the

bad things they can heap up from authors, biblical and classic,

patristic and scholastic, Cato, Terence, Seneca, Cicero, Jerome. Jesus

Sirach's words are frequently quoted, "Woman is more bitter than

death." Helen, Jezebel and Cleopatra are held forth as examples of

pernicious agency which wrought the destruction of kingdoms, such

catastrophes being almost invariably due to woman's machinations.

It was the common representation of the writers of the outgoing century

of the Mediaeval Age that God permits the intervention of Satan's

malefic agency through the marriage bed more than through any other

medium, and for the reason that the first sin was carried down through

the marital act. On this point, Thomas Aquinas is quoted by one author

after the other. [935] Preachers, as well as writers on witchcraft,

took this disparaging view of woman. Geiler of Strassburg gave as the

reason for ten women being burnt to one man on the charge of

witchcraft, woman's loquacity and frivolity. He quoted Ambrose that

woman is the door to the devil and the way of iniquity--janua diaboli

et via iniquitatis. Another noted preacher of the 15th century, John

Nider, gave ten cases in which the cohabitation of man and woman is a

mortal sin and, in a Latin treatise on moral leprosy, included the

marriage state. [936] A century earlier, in his De planctu ecclesiae,

written from Avignon, Bishop Alvarez of Pelayo enumerated 102 faults

common to women, one of these their cohabitation with the denizens of

hell. From his own experience, the prelate states, he knew this to be

true. It was practised, he says, in a convent of nuns and vain was his

effort to put a stop to it.

Experts gave it as their opinion that "the new sect of witches" had its

beginning about the year 1300. [937] But the writers of the 15th and

16th centuries were careful to prove that their two characteristic

performances, the flight through the air and demonic intercourse, were

not illusions of the imagination, but palpable realities. [938] To the

testimonies of the witches themselves were added the ocular

observations of church officials. [939] Other devilish performances

dwelt upon, were the murder of children before baptism, the eating of

their flesh after it had been consecrated to the devil and the

trampling upon the host. [940] One woman, in 1457, confessed she had

been guilty of the last practice 30 years.

The more popular places of the weekly sabbats were the Brocken,

Benevento, Como and the regions beyond the Jordan. Here the witches and

demons congregated by the thousands and committed their excesses. The

witches went from congregation to congregation as they pleased [941]

and, according to Prierias, children as young as eight and ten joined

in the orgies.

Sometimes it went hard with the innocent, though prurient, onlookers of

these scenes, as was the case with the inquisitor of Como, Bartholomew

of Homate, and some of his companions. Determined to see for

themselves, they looked on at a sabbat in Mendrisio from a place of

concealment. As if unaware of their presence, the presiding devil

dismissed the assembly, but immediately calling the revellers back, had

them drag the intruders forth and the demons belabored them so lustily

that they survived only 15 days. [942] The forms the devil usually

assumed were those of a large tom-cat or a goat. If the meeting was in

a building, he was wont to descend by a ladder, tail foremost. The

witches kissed his posterior parts and, after indulging in a feast, the

lights were put out and wild revels followed. As early as 1460,

pictures were printed representing women riding through the air,

straddling stocks and broomsticks, on goats or carried by demons. In

Normandy, the obsessed were called broom-riders--scobaces. [943] Taught

by demons, they made a salve of the ashes of a toad fed on the wafer,

the blood of murdered children and other ingredients, which they

applied to their riding sticks to facilitate their flights. According

to the physician, John Hartlieb, who calls this salve the "unguent of

Pharelis"--Herodias--it was made from seven different herbs, each

gathered on a different day of the week and mixed with the fat of birds

and animals. [944]

The popularity of the witch-delusion as a subject of literary treatment

is shown by the extracts Hansen gives from 70 writings, without

exhausting the list. [945] Most of the writers were Dominicans. The

Witches Hammer was printed in many editions, issued 13 times before

1520 and, from 1574-1669, 16 times. The most famous of these writers in

the earlier half of the 15th century was John Nider, d. 1438, in his

Formicarius or Ant-Industry. He was a member of the Dominican order,

professor of theology in Vienna and attended the Council of Basel.

Writers like Jacquier were not satisfied with sending forth a single

treatise. [946] Writers like Sylvester Prierias, d. 1523, known in the

history of Luther, and Bartholomew Spina, d. 1546, occupied important

positions at the papal court. [947] These two men expounded Innocent

VIII.'s bull, and quote the Witches Hammer. Geiler of Strassburg

repeated from the pulpit the vilest charges against witches. Pico della

Mirandola, the biographer of Savonarola, filled a book with material of

the same sort, and declared that one might as well call in question the

discovery of America as the existence of witches. [948]

The prosecution of witches assumed large proportions first in

Switzerland and Northern Italy and then in France and Germany. In Rome,

the first reported burning was in 1424. [949] In the diocese of Como,

Northern Italy, 41 were burnt the year after the promulgation of

Innocent VIII.'s bull. Between 1500-1525 the yearly number of women

tried in that district was 1000 and the executions averaged 100. In

1521, Prierias declared that the Apennine regions were so full of

witches that they were expected soon to outnumber the faithful.

In France, one of the chief victims, the Carmelite William Adeline, was

professor in Paris and had taken part in the Council of Basel.

Arraigned by the Inquisition, 1453, he confessed to being a Vaudois,

and having habitually attended their synagogues and done homage to the

devil. In spite of his abjurations, he was kept in prison till he died.

[950] In Brian�on, 1428-1447, 110 women and 57 men were executed for

witchcraft in the flames or by drowning.

In Germany, Heidelberg, Pforzheim, N�rnberg, W�rzburg, Bamberg, Vienna,

Cologne, Metz and other cities were centres of the craze and witnessed

many executions. It was during the five years preceding 1486 that

Heinrich Institoris and Sprenger sent 48 to the stake. The Heidelberg

court-preacher, Matthias Widman, of Kemnat, pronounced the "Cathari or

heretical witches" the most damnable of the sects, one which should be

subjected to "abundance of fire and without mercy." He reports that

witches rode on broomsticks, spoons, cats, goats and other objects, and

that he had seen many of them burnt in Heidelberg. In 1540, six years

before Luther's death, four witches and sorcerers were burnt in

Protestant Wittenberg. And in 1545, 34 women were burnt or quartered in

Geneva. In England the law for the burning of heretics, 1401, was

applied to these unfortunate people, not a few of whom were committed

to the flames. But the persecution in the mediaeval period never took

on the proportions on English soil it reached on the Continent; and

there, it was not the Church but the state that dealt with the crime of

sorcery.

According to the estimate of Louis of Paramo, himself a distinguished

inquisitor of Sicily who had condemned many to the flames, there had

been during the 150 years before 1597, the date of his treatise on the

Origin and Progress of the Inquisition, 30,000 executions for

witchcraft. [951]

The judgments passed upon witches were whipping, banishment and death

by fire, or, as in Cologne, Strassburg and other places, by drowning.

The most common forms of torture were the thumb-screw and the

strappado. In the latter the prisoner's hands were bound behind his

back with a rope which was drawn through a pulley in the ceiling. The

body was slowly lifted up, and at times left hanging or allowed to

suddenly drop to the floor. In our modern sense, there was no

protection of law for the accused. The suspicion of an ecclesiastical

or civil court was sufficient to create an almost insurmountable

presumption of guilt. Made frantic by the torture, the victims were

willing to confess to anything, however untrue and repulsive it might

be. Death at times must have seemed, even with the Church's ban,

preferable to protracted agonies, for the pains of death at best lasted

a few hours and might be reduced to a few minutes. As Lecky has said,

these unfortunate people did not have before them the prospect of a

martyr's crown and the glory of the heavenly estate. They were not

buoyed up by the sympathies and prayers of the Church. Unpitied and

unprayed for, they yielded to the cold scrutiny of the inquisitor and

were consumed in the flames.

Persons who took the part of the supposed witch, or ventured to lift up

their voices against the trials for witchcraft, did so at the risk of

their lives. In 1598, the Dutch priest, Cornelius Loos Callidus, was

imprisoned at Treves for declaring that women, making confession under

torture to witch devices, confessed to what was not true. And four

years before, 1589, Dr. Dietrich Flade, a councillor of Treves, was

burnt for attacking the prosecution of witchcraft. [952]

The belief in demonology and all manner of malefic arts was a legacy

handed down to the Church from the old Roman world and, where the

influence of the Northern mythologies was felt, the belief took still

deeper roots. But it cannot be denied that cases and passages taken

from the Scriptures, especially the Old Testament, were adduced to

justify the wild dread of malign spirits in the Middle Ages. Saul's

experience with the witch of Endor, the plagues brought by the devil

upon Job, the representations in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, incidents

from the Apocrypha and the cases of demonic agency in the New Testament

were dwelt upon and applied with literal and relentless rigor.

It is a long chapter which begins with the lonely contests the old

hermits had with demons, recounts the personal encounters of mediaeval

monks in chapel and cell and relates the horrors of the inquisitorial

process for heresy. Our more rational processes of thought and our

better understanding of the Christian law of love happily have brought

this chapter to a close in enlightened countries. The treatment here

given has been in order to show how greatly a Christian society may

err, and to confirm in this generation the feeling of gratitude for the

better sentiments which now prevail. It is perhaps also clue to those

who suffered, that a general description of the injustice done them

should be given. The chapter may not unfitly be brought to a close by

allowing one of the victims to speak again from his prison-cell, the

burgomaster of Bamberg, though he suffered a century after the Middle

Ages had closed, 1628. After being confronted by false witnesses he

confessed, under torture, to having indulged in the practices ascribed

to the bewitched and he thus wrote to his daughter: --

Many hundred good nights, dearly beloved daughter, Veronica. Innocent

have I come into prison, innocent must I die. For whoever comes into a

witch-prison must become a witch or be tortured till he invents

something out of his head and--God pity him--bethinks himself of

something. I will tell you how it has gone with me .... Then came the

executioner and put the thumbscrews on me, both hands bound together,

so that the blood ran out at the nails and everywhere, so that for four

weeks I could not use my hands, as you can see from the writing ....

Then they stripped me, bound my hands behind my back and drew me up. I

thought heaven and earth were at an end. Eight times did they do this

and let me drop again so that I suffered terrible agony .... [Here

follows a rehearsal of the confessions he was induced to make.] ...

Now, dear child, you have all my confessions for which I must die. They

are sheer lies made up. All this I was forced to say through fear of

the rack, for they never leave off the torture till one confesses

something .... Dear child, keep this letter secret so that people may

not find it or else I shall be tortured most piteously and the jailers

be beheaded .... I have taken several days to write this for my hands

are both lame. Good night, for your father Johannes Junius will never

see you more. [953]

Innocent VIII's Bull, Summit desiderantes. December 5, 1484: In Part:95

[954]

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Summis desiderantes affectibus, prout pastoralis sollicitudinis cura

requirit, ut fides catholica nostris potissime temporibus ubique

augeatur et floreat ac omnis haeretica pravitas de finibus fidelium

procul pellatur, es libenter declaramus ac etiam de novo concedimus per

quae hujusmodi pium desiderium nostrum votivum sortiatur effectum;

cunctisque propterea, per nostrae operationis ministerium, quasi per

providi operationis saeculum erroribus exstirpatis, eiusdem fidei zelus

et observantia in ipsorum corda fidelium fortium imprimatur.

Sane nuper ad nostrum non sine ingenti molestia pervenit auditum, quod

in nonnullis partibus Alemaniae superioris, necnon in Maguntinensi,

Coloniensi, Treverensi, Saltzumburgensi, et Bremensi, provinciis,

civitatibus, terris, locis et dioecesibus complures utriusque sexus

personae, propriae salutis immemores et a fide catholica deviantes, cum

daemonibus, incubis et succubis abuti, ac suis incantationibus,

carminibus et coniurationibus aliisque nefandis superstitiosis, et

sortilegis excessibus, criminibus et delictis, mulierum partus,

animalium foestus, terra fruges, vinearum uvas, et arborum fructus;

necnon homines, mulieres, pecora, pecudes et alia diversorum generam

animalia; vineas quoque, pomeria, prata, pascua, blada, frumenta et

alia terra legumina perirs, suffocari et extingui facere et procurare;

ipsosque homines, mulieres, iumenta, pecora, pecudes et animalia diris

tam intrinsecis quam extrinsecis doloribus et tormentis afficere et

excruciare; ac eosdem homines ne gignere, et mulieres ne concipere,

virosque, ne uxoribus, et mulieres, ne viris actus coniugales reddere

valeant, impedire; fidem praeterea ipsam, quam in sacri susceptione

baptismi susceperunt, ore sacrilego abnegare, aliaque quam plurima

nefanda, excussus et crimina, instigante humani generis inimico,

committere et perpetrare non verentur in animarum suarum periculum,

divines maiestatis offensam ac perniciosum exemplum ac scandulum

plurimorum. Quodque licet dilecti filii Henrici Institoris in

praedictis partibus Alemaniae superioris ... necnon Iacobus Sprenger

per certas partes lineae Rheni, ordinis Praedicatorum et theologiae

professores, haeretics pravitatis inquisitores per literas apostolicas

deputati fuerunt, prout adhuc existunt; tamen nonnulli clerici et laici

illarum partium, quaerentes plura sapere quam oporteat, pro eo quod in

literis deputationis huiusmodi provinciae, civitates dioeceses terrae

et alia loca praedicta illarumque personae ac excessus huiusmodi

nominatim et specifice expressa non fuerunt, illa sub eisdem partibus

minime contineri, et propterea praefatis inquisitoribus in provinciis,

civitatibus, dioecesibus, terris et locis praedictis huiusmodi

inquisitionis officium exequi non licere; et ad personarum earundem

super excessibus et criminibus antedictis punitionem, incarcerationem

et correctionem admitti non debere, pertinaciter asserere non

erubescunt ... Huiusmodi inquisitions officium exequi ipsasque

personas, quas in praemissis culpabiles reperierint, iuxta earum

demerita corrigere, incarcerare, punire et mulctare .... Quotiens opus

fuerant, aggravare et reaggravare auctoritate nostra procuret, invocato

ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii saecularis.

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[916] Lempens pronounces the prosecution of witchcraft the greatest

crime of all times, das gr�sste Verbrechen aller Zeiten. Witches were

called fascinaret, strigimagae, lamiae, phytonissae, strigae, streges,

maleficae, Gazarii, that is, Cathari, and Valdenses, etc. For the

derivation of the German term, Hexe, see J. Francke's discussion in

Hansen, Quellen, pp. 615-670.

[917] In Protestant Scotland the iron collar and gag were used. The

last trial in England occurred in 1712. A woman was executed for

witchcraft in Seville in 1781 and another in Glarus in 1782. Dr.

Diefenbach, in his Aberglaube, etc., attempts to prove that the belief

in witchcraft was more deepseated in Protestant circles than in the

Catholic Church. Funk, Kirchengesch., p. 419, Hefele, Kirchengesch., p.

522, and other Catholic historians take care to represent the share

Protestants had in the persecution of witches as equal to the share of

the Catholics.

[918] Alexander Hales distinguished eight sorts of maleficium. Martin

V. and Eugenius IV. call the workers of the dark arts sortilegi,

divinatores, demonum invocatores, carminatores, conjuratores,

superstitiosi, augures, utentes artibus nefariis et prohibitis. See

Hansen, Quellen, p. 16 sqq. Henry IV.'s council of bishops, met at

Worms, 1076, in deposing Gregory VII., accused him of witchcraft and

making covenant with the devil.

[919] Sceleratae mulieres ... credunt se et profitentur nocturnis horis

cum Diana paganorum dea et innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super

quasdam bestas, etc. Hansen, Quellen, p. 88 sq.

[920] See Vol. V., I. 889-897, and Hansen, Zauberwahn, p. 144.

[921] Michelet, p. 9, says: "I unfalteringly declare that the witch

appeared in the age of that deep despair which the gentry of the Church

engendered. The witch is a crime of their own achieving." D�llinger,

Papstthum, p. 123, says that witchcraft in its different

manifestations, from the 13th to the 17th century, is "a product of the

faith in the plenary authority of the pope. This may seem to be a

paradox, but it is not hard to prove." Hoensbroech's language, I., 381,

is warm but true, when he says, "In all this period the pope was the

patron and the prop of the belief in witchcraft, spreading it and

confirming it."

[922] A translation of Gregory's bull, Vox rama, is given by

Hoensbroech, I. 215-218. See D�llinger: Papstthum, pp. 125, 144.

[923] So, In 1326, John inveighed against those who cum morte foedus

ineunt et pactum faciunt cum inferno. For the text of this and other

papal documents, see Hansen, Quellen, pp. 1-37.

[924] In his bull Pascendi gregis, 1907.

[925] Hansen: Zauberwahn, pp. 241, 263 sq., 271.

[926] Principis tenebrarum suasus et illusiones caecitate noxia

sectantes demonibus immolant, eos adorant, etc. illis homagium faciunt,

etc. Hansen, Quellen, p. 17.

[927] Cereae formae innocentissimi agni, Hansen, etc.: Quellen, p. 21

sq.

[928] See Hansen, p. 27-29. D�llinger-Friedrich, p. 126, says, "Mit

Inn. VIII. beginnt das regelm�ssige Verbrennen der Hexen."

[929] Gesch. der Papste, III. 266 sqq., Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, II. 1040

sq. Vacandard, Inquisition, p. 200, takes the same view and says

"Innocent assuredly had no intention of committing the Church to a

belief in the phenomena he mentions in his bull; but his personal

opinion did have an influence upon the canonists and Inquisitors of his

day," etc.

[930] Warfare of Science and Theology, I. 351.

[931] Inquisition, III. 543.

[932] Hoc est commune omnium maleficarum spurcitias carnales cum

daemonibus exercere, Malleus II. 4. The author goes into all the

details of the demon's procedure, the demon as he approaches men being

known as the succubus, and women as the incubus. Many of the details

are too vile to repeat. Such passages of Scripture are quoted as Gen.

vi. 2 and 1 Cor. xi. 10, which is made to teach that the woman wears a

covering on her head to guard herself against the looks of lustful

angels. The demons, in becoming succubi and incubi, are not actuated by

carnal lust, so the author asserts, but by a desire to make their

victims susceptible to all sorts of vices.

[933] Many cases are given to show the efficacy of these preservatives.

For example, a man in Ravensburg, who was tempted by the devil in the

shape of a woman, became much concerned, and at last, recalling what a

priest had said in the pulpit, sprinkled himself with salt and at once

escaped the devil's influence.

[934] Haeresis dicenda est non maleficorum sed maleficarum, ut fiat a

potiori denominatio. See Hansen: Quellen, 416-444, and Zauberwahn,

481-490.

[935] Com. ad Sent., IV. 34, qu. I. 3, quia corruptio peccati prima ...

in nos per actum generantem devenit, ideo maleficii potestas

permittitur diabolo adeo in hoc actu magis quam aliis. See Hansen:

Quellen, pp. 88-99. In answering the question why more women were given

to sorcery than men, Alexander Hales declared that it was because she

had less intellectual vigor than man, minus habet discretionem

spiritus.

[936] See Hansen: Quellen, p. 423 sqq. Wyclif does not seem to have had

so low an opinion of woman as did the writers of the century after him.

And yet he says, Lat. Serm. II. 161, Femina super in malicia multos

viros ... veritas est quod natura feminea est virtute inferior, etc.

[937] Ista secta strigiarum. So Bernard of Como, who was followed by

Nicolas Jacquier, Prierias, etc. Hansen: Quellen, pp. 282, 319.

[938] Turrecremata, the Spanish dogmatician and canonist, dissents from

the opinion that the flying women were led by Diana and Herodias, on

the rational grounds that Diana never existed and Herodias probably was

never permitted to leave hell.

[939] See the realistic language of Jacquier, Prierias, Bartholomew of

Spina, etc. Quellen, p. 136, etc.

[940] Jacquier, Widman of Kemnat, Barthol. of Spina, etc., Quellen, pp.

141, 234, 327, sq.

[941] Valdenses ydolatrae, Quellen, pp. 157, 165. The poet Martin la

Franc, secretary to Felix V., in his Champion des dames, about 1440,

speaks of 10,000 witches celebrating a sabbat in the Valley of Wallis.

Six hundred of them were brought to confess they had cohabited with

demons. Quellen, 99-104.

[942] The incident is told by that famous witch-inquisitor, Bernard of

Como, in his De strigiis. Hansen: Quellen, pp. 279-284.

[943] From scoba, meaning broom. So in the tract Errores Gazariorum seu

illorum qui scobam vel baculum equitare probantur, Quellen, pp.

118-123.

[944] Quellen, p. 131 sq. This medical expert declared that women and

men were often turned into toads and cats. When such a cat's paw was

cut off, it was found that the foot of the suspected witch was gone.

With his own eyes, this mediaeval practitioner says he saw such a woman

burnt in Rome, and he states that many such cases occurred in the papal

metropolis. Hartlieb was medical adviser to Duke Albert III. of

Bavaria. His Buch aller verbotenen Kunst, Unglaubens u. d. Zauberei,

was written 1456.

[945] Hansen devotes 60 pages of his Quellen to the title, date and

authors of the Malleus. An excellent German translation is by J. W. R.

Schmidt: Der Hexenhammer, Berlin, 3 vols., 1906.

[946] Flagellum haereticorum fascinariorum, The Heretics' Flail.

Extracts in Hansen, 133-144. Tract. de calcinatione daemonum seu

malignorum spirituum, still in MS. in Brussels.

[947] De strigmagarum daemonumque mirandis, Rome, 1521, and De

strigibus et lamiis, Venice, 1535. Hansen, pp. 317-339.

[948] Strix sive de ludificatione daemonum, 1523. See

Burckhardt-Geiger: Renaissance, Excursus, II. 359-362. The official

papal view at the close of the 16th century was set forth by the

canonist, Francis Pegna, d. in Rome 1612. He held an appointment on the

papal commission for the revision of Gratian's Decretals, and asserts

that the aerial flights and cohabitation of witches could be proved

beyond all possible doubt. See extracts from his Com. on Eymericus

Directorium. Hansen: Quellen, p. 358 sq.

[949] Infessura, Tommasini's ed., p. 25. For another burning in Rome,

1442, Burckhardt-Geiger, II. 359. For witchcraft in Italy, see this

author, II. p. 255-264. Also the extensive lists of trials, 1245-1540,

noted down in Hansen's Quellen; the ecclesiastical trials, pp. 445-516;

the civil, pp. 517-615. In 1623 Gregory XV. renewed the penalty of

lifelong imprisonment for making pacts with the devil.

[950] Hansen: Quellen, pp. 467-472. For the notorious case of Gilles de

Rais, the reputed original Bluebeard, see Lea: Inq., III. 468-487.

[951] For other figures, see Hansen: Zauberwahn, p. 532 sqq.,

Hoensbroech, I. 500 sqq., and Lecky, I. 29 sqq. Seven thousand are said

to have been burnt at Treves. In 1670, 70 persons were arraigned in

Sweden and a large number of them burnt.

[952] D�llinger-Friedrich, pp. 130, 447. For Loos' recantation as given

by Delrio, see Phil. Trsll. and Reprints, III. In a letter, written in

1629, the chancellor of the bishop of W�rzburg states that the week

before a beautiful maiden of 19 had been executed as a witch. Children

of three and four years, he adds, to the number of 300, were reported

to have had intercourse with the devil. He himself had seen children of

seven and promising students of 12 and 16 put to death. Phil. Trsll.,

etc., III.

[953] The transation taken from the Phila. Trsll. and Reprints, vol.

III.

[954] Reprinted from Hansen: Quellen, pp. 25-27. The Latin text is also

found In Soldan, p. 215, and Mirbt, p. 171 sq. Germ. trsl in Schmidt,

pp. xxxvi-xli, and Hoensbrooch, I, 384-386. Engl. trsl. in Phila.

Trsll. and Reprints,. vol. III

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� 60. The Spanish Inquisition.

Torquemada's name, with clouds o'ercast,

Looms in the distant landscape of the past

Like a burnt tower upon a blackened heath,

Lit by the fires of burning woods beneath.

Longfellow.

The Inquisition of Spain is one of the bywords of history. The horrors

it perpetrated have cast a dark shadow over the pages of Spanish

annals. Organized to rid the Spanish kingdoms of the infection of

heresy, it extended its methods to the Spanish dependencies in Europe,

Sicily and Holland and to the Spanish colonies of the new world. After

the marriage of Philip II. with Mary Tudor it secured a temporary

recognition in England. In its bloody sacrifices, Jews, Moors,

Protestants and the practitioners of the dark arts were included. No

country in the world was more concerned to maintain the Catholic faith

pure than was Spain from the 15th to the 18th century, and to no Church

organization was a more unrestricted authority given than to the

Spanish Inquisition. Agreeing with the papal Inquisition established by

Innocent III. in its ultimate aim, the eradication of heresy, it

differed from that earlier institution by being under the direction of

a tribunal appointed by the Spanish sovereign, immediately amenable to

him and acting independently of the bishops. The papal Inquisition was

controlled by the Apostolic see, which appointed agents to carry its

rules into effect and whose agency was to a certain extent subject to

the assent of the bishops.

Engaged in the wars for the dispossession of the Pagan Moors, the

Spanish kingdoms had shown little disposition to yield to the intrusion

of Catharan and other heresy from the North. The menace to its orthodox

repose came from the Jews, Jews who held firmly to their ancestral

faith and Jews who had of their own impulse or through compulsion

adopted the Christian rites. In no part of Europe was the number of

Jews so large and nowhere had they been more prosperous in trade and

reached such positions of eminence as physicians and as counsellors at

court. The Jewish literature of mediaeval Spain forms a distinct and

notable chapter in Hebrew literary history. To rid the land of the Jews

who persisted in their ancestral belief was not within the jurisdiction

of the Church. That belonged to the state, and, according to the canon

law, the Jew was not to be molested in the practice of his religion.

But the moment Jews or Moors submitted to baptism they became amenable

to ecclesiastical discipline. Converted Jews in Spain were called

conversos, or maranos -- the newly converted--and it was with them, in

its first period, that the Spanish Inquisition had chiefly to do. After

Luther's doctrines began to spread it addressed itself to the

extirpation of Protestants, but, until the close of its history, in

1834, the Jewish Christians constituted most of its victims.

From an early time Spanish legislation was directed to the humiliation

of the Jews and their segregation from the Christian population. The

oecumenical Council of Vienne, 1312, denounced the liberality of the

Spanish law which made a Jewish witness necessary to the conviction of

a Jew. Spanish synods, as those of Valladolid and Tarragona, 1322,

1329, gave strong expression to the spirit of intolerance with which

the Spanish church regarded the Jewish people. The sacking and

wholesale massacre of their communities, which lived apart in quarters

of their own called Juderias, were matters of frequent occurrence, and

their synagogues were often destroyed or turned into churches. It is

estimated that in 1391, 50,000 Jews were murdered in Castile, and the

mania spread to Aragon. [955]

The explanation of this bitter feeling is to be sought in the haughty

pride of the descendants of Abraham according to the flesh, their

persistent observance of their traditions and the exorbitant rates of

usury which they charged. Not content with the legal rate, which in

Aragon was 20% and in Castile 331/3% they often compelled

municipalities to pay even higher rates. The prejudice and fears of the

Christian population charged them with sacrilege in the use of the

wafer and the murder of baptized children, whose blood was used in

preparations made for purposes of sorcery. Legislation was made more

exacting. The old rules were enforced enjoining a distinctive dress and

forbidding them to shave their beards or to have their hair cut round.

All employment in Christian households, the practice of medicine and

the occupation of agriculture were denied them. Scarcely any trade was

left to their hand except the loaning of money, and that by canon law

was illegal for Christians.

The joint reign of Ferdinand, 1452-1516, and Isabella, 1451-1504,

marked an epoch in the history of the Jews in Spain, both those who

remained true to their ancestral faith and the large class which

professed conversion to the Christian Church. [956]

In conferring the title "Catholic" upon Ferdinand and Isabella, 1495,

Alexander VI. gave as one of the reasons the expulsion of the Jews from

Spain, 1492. The institution of the Spanish Inquisition, which began

its work twelve years before, was directed primarily against the

conversos, people of Jewish blood and members of the Church who in

heart and secret usage remained Jews.

The papal Inquisition was never organized in Castile, and in Aragon it

had a feeble existence. With the council of Tortosa, 1429, complaints

began to be made that the conversos neglected to have their children

baptized, and by attending the synagogues and observing the Jewish

feasts were putting contempt upon their Christian faith. That such

hypocrisy was practised cannot be doubted in view of the action of the

Council of Basel which put its brand upon it. In 1451 Juan II. applied

to the papal court to appoint a commission to investigate the

situation. At the same time the popular feeling was intensified by the

frantic appeals of clerics such as Friar Alfonso de Espina who in his

Fortalicium fidei -- the Fortification of the Faith--brought together a

number of alleged cases of children murdered by Jews and argued for the

Church's right to baptize Jewish children in the absence of the

parents' consent. [957] The story ran that before Isabella's accession

her confessor Torquemada, that hammer of heretics, secured from her a

vow to leave no measure untried for the extirpation of heresy from her

realm. Sometime later, listening to this same ecclesiastic's appeal,

Ferdinand and his consort applied to the papal see for the

establishment of the Inquisition in Castile.

Sixtus IV., who was then occupying the chair of St. Peter, did not

hesitate in a matter so important, and on Nov. 1, 1478, issued the bull

sanctioning the fell Spanish tribunal. It authorized the Spanish

sovereigns to appoint three bishops or other ecclesiastics to proceed

against heretics and at the same time empowered them to remove and

replace these officials as they thought fit. After a delay of two

years, the commission was constituted, 1480, and consisted of two

Dominican theologians, Michael de Morillo and John of St. Martin, and a

friar of St. Pablo, Seville. A public reception was given to the

commission by the municipal council of Seville. The number of prisoners

was soon too large for the capacity of St. Pablo, where the court first

established itself, and it was removed to the chief stronghold of the

city, the fortress of Triana, whose ample spaces and gloomy dungeons

were well fitted for the dark work for which it had been chosen.

Once organized, the Inquisition began its work by issuing the so-called

Edict of Grace [958] which gave heretics a period of 30 or 40 days in

which to announce themselves and, on making confession, assured them of

pardon. Humane as this measure was, it was also used as a device for

detecting other spiritual criminals, those confessing, called

penitentes, being placed under a vow to reveal the names of heretics.

The humiliations to which the penitents were subjected had exhibition

at the first auto de fe held in Toledo, 1486, when 750 penitents of

both sexes were obliged to march through the city carrying candles and

bare-headed; and, on entering the cathedral, were informed that

one-fifth of their property had been confiscated, and that they were

thenceforth incapacitated to hold public office. The first auto de fe

was held in Seville, Feb. 6, 1481, six months after the appointment of

the tribunal, when six men and women were cremated alive. The ghastly

spectacle was introduced with a sermon, preached by Friar Alfonso de

Hojeda. A disastrous plague, which broke out in the city, did not

interrupt the sittings of the tribunal, which established itself

temporarily at Aracena, where the first holocaust included 23 men and

women. According to a contemporary, by Nov. 4, 1491, 298 persons had

been committed to the flames and 79 condemned to perpetual

imprisonment. [959] The tribunal established at Ciudad Real, 1483,

burnt 52 heretics within two years, when it was removed, in 1485, to

Toledo. In Avila, from 1490-1500, 75 were burnt alive, and 26 dead

bodies exhumed and cast into the flames. In cases, the entire conversos

population was banished, as in Guadalupe, by the order of the

inquisitor-general, Deza, in 1500. From Castile, the Inquisition

extended its operations to Aragon, where its three chief centres were

Valencia, Barcelona and Saragossa, and then to the Balearic Islands,

where it was especially active. The first burning in Saragossa took

place, 1484, when two men were burnt alive and one woman in effigy, and

at Barcelona in 1488, when four persons were consumed alive.

The interest of Sixtus IV. continued to follow the tribunal he had

authorized and, in a letter addressed to Isabella, Feb. 13, 1483, he

assured the queen that its work lay close to his heart. The same year,

to render the tribunal more efficient, it was raised by Ferdinand to

the dignity of the fifth council of the state with the title, Concejo

de la Suprema y General Inquisicion. Usually called the suprema, this

body was to have charge of the Holy Office throughout the realm. The

same end was promoted by the creation of the office of

inquisitor-general, 1483, to which the power was consigned of removing

and appointing inquisitorial functionaries. The first incumbent was

Thomas de Torquemada, at that time prior of Santa Cruz in Segovia. This

fanatical ecclesiastic, whose name is a synonym of uncompromising

religious intolerance and heartless cruelty, had already been

appointed, in 1482, an inquisitor by the pope. He brought to his duties

a rare energy and formulated the rules characteristic of the Spanish

Inquisition.

With Torquemada at its head, the Holy Office became, next to royalty

itself, the strongest power in Spain. Its decisions fell like the blow

of a great iron hammer, and there was no power beneath the sovereign

that dared to offer them resistance. In 1507, at the death of Deza,

third inquisitor-general, Castile and Aragon were placed under distinct

tribunals. Cardinal Ximenes, 1436-1517, a member of the Franciscan

order and one of the foremost figures in Spanish church history, was

elevated to the office of supreme inquisitor of Castile. His

distinction as archbishop of Toledo pales before his fame as a scholar

and patron of letters. He likewise was unyielding in the prosecution of

the work of ridding his country of the taint of heresy, but he never

gave way to the temptation of using his office for his own advantage

and enriching himself from the sequestrated property of the conversos,

as Torquemada was charged with doing.

Under Adrian of Utrecht, at first inquisitor-general of Aragon, the

tribunals of the two kingdoms were again united in 1518, and, by the

addition of Navarre, which Ferdinand had conquered, the whole Iberian

peninsula, with the exception of Portugal, came under the jurisdiction

of a single supreme official. Adrian had acted as tutor to Charles V.,

and was to succeed Leo X. on the papal throne. From his administration,

the succession of inquisitors-general continued unbroken till 1835,

when the last occupant of the office died, Geronimo Castellan y Salas,

bishop of Tarazona. [960]

The interesting question has been warmly discussed, whether the

Inquisition of Spain was a papal institution or an institution of the

state, and the attempt has been made to lift the responsibility for its

organization and administration from the supreme pontiff. The answer

is, that it was predominantly an ecclesiastical institution, created by

the authority of Sixtus IV. and continuously supported by pontifical

sanction. On the other hand, its establishment was sought after by

Ferdinand and Isabella, and its operations, after the papal

authorization had been secured, was under the control of the Spanish

sovereign. So far as we know, the popes never uttered a word in protest

against the inhuman measures which were practised by the Spanish

tribunals. Their only dissent arose from the persistence with which

Ferdinand kept the administrative agency in his own hands and refused

to allow any interference with his disposition of the sequestrated

estates. [961] The hearty approbation of the Apostolic see is vouched

for in many documents, and the responsibility for the Spanish tribunal

was distinctly assumed by Sixtus V., Jan. 22, 1588, as an institution

established by its authority. Sixtus IV. and his successors sought

again and again to get its full management into their own hands, but

were foiled by the firmness of Ferdinand. When, for example, in a bull

dated April 18, 1482, the pope ordered the names of the witnesses and

accusers to be communicated to the suspects, that the imprisonments

should be in episcopal gaols, that appeal might be taken to the

Apostolic chair and that confessions to the bishop should stop all

prosecution, Ferdinand sharply resented the interference and hinted

that the suggestion had started with the use of conversos gold in the

curia. This papal action was only a stage in the battle for the control

of the Holy Office. [962] Ferdinand was ready to proceed to the point

of rupture with Rome rather than allow the principle of appeals which

would have reduced the power of the suprema to impotence. Sixtus wrote

a compromising reply, and a year later, October, 1483, Ferdinand got

all he asked for, and the appointment of Torquemada was confirmed.

The royal management of the Inquisition was also in danger of being

fatally hampered by letters of absolution, issued according to custom

by the papal penitentiary, which were valid not only in the court of

conscience but in stopping public trials. Ferdinand entered a vigorous

protest against their use in Spain, when Sixtus, 1484, confirmed the

penitentiary's right; but here also Sixtus was obliged to retreat, at

least in part, and Alexander VI. and later Clement VII., 1524, made

such letters invalid when they conflicted with the jurisdiction of the

Spanish tribunal. Spain was bent on doing things in its own way and won

practical independence of the curia. [963]

The principle, whereby in the old Inquisition the bishops were

co-ordinate in authority with the inquisitors or superior to them, had

to be abandoned in Spain in spite of the pope's repeated attempts to

apply it. Innocent VIII., 1487, completely subjected the bishops to the

inquisitorial organization, and when Alexander, 1494, annulled this

bull and required the inquisitors to act in conjunction with the

bishop, Ferdinand would not brook the change and, under his protection,

the suprema and its agents asserted their independence to Ferdinand.

Likewise, in the matter of confiscations of property, the sovereign

claimed the right to dictate their distribution, now applying them for

the payment of salaries to the inquisitors and their agents, now

appropriating them for the national exchequer, now for his own use or

for gifts to his favorites.

No concern of his reign, except the extension of his dominions,

received from Ferdinand more constant and sympathetic attention than

the deletion of heresy. With keen delight he witnessed the public

burnings as adapted to advance the Catholic faith. He scrutinized the

reports sent him by inquisitors and, at times, he expressed his

satisfaction with their services by gifts of money. In his will, dated

the day before his death, he enjoined his heir, Charles V., to be

strenuous in supporting the tribunal. As all other virtues, so this

testament ran, "are nothing without faith by which and in which we are

saved, we command the illustrious prince, our grandson, to labor with

all his strength to destroy and extirpate heresy from our kingdoms and

lordships, appointing ministers, God-fearing and of good conscience,

who will conduct the Inquisition justly and properly for the service of

God and the exaltation of the Catholic faith, and who will also have a

great zeal for the destruction of the sect of Mohammed." [964] Without

doubt, the primary motive in the establishment of the tribunal was with

Ferdinand, and certainly with Isabella, religious.

There seems at no time to have been any widespread revolt against the

procedure of the Inquisition. In Aragon, some mitigation of its rigors

and rules was proposed by the Cortes of Barcelona, 1512, such as the

withdrawal from the inquisitors of the right to carry weapons and the

exemption of women from the seizure of their property, in cases where a

husband or father was declared a heretic, but Ferdinand and Bishop

Enguera, the Aragonese inquisitor-general, were dispensed by Leo X.,

1514, from keeping the oath they had taken to observe the rules. At

Charles V.'s accession, an effort was made to have some of the more

offensive evils abolished, such as the keeping of the names of

witnesses secret, and in 1520 the Cortes of Valladolid and Corunna made

open appeal for the amendment of some of the rules. Four hundred

thousand ducats were offered, presumably by conversos, to the young

king if he would give his assent, and, as late as 1528, the kingdom of

Granada, in the same interest, offered him 50,000 ducats. But the

appeals received no favorable action and, under the influence of

Ximines, in 1517, the council of Castile represented to Charles that

the very peace of Spain depended upon the maintenance of the

Inquisition. The cardinal wrote a personal letter to the king,

declaring that interference on his part would cover his name with

infamy. [965]

The most serious attempt to check the workings of the Inquisition

occurred in Saragossa and resulted in the assassination of the chief

inquisitor, Peter Arbues, an act of despair laid at the door of the

conversos. Arbues was murdered in the cathedral Jan. 25, 1485, the

fatal blow being struck from behind, while the priest was on his knees

engaged in prayer. He knew his life was threatened and not only wore a

coat of mail and cap of steel, but carried a lance. He lingered

twenty-four hours. Miracles wrought at the coffin vouched for the

sanctity of the murdered ecclesiastic. The sacred bell of Villela

tolled unmoved by hands. Arbues' blood liquefied on the cathedral floor

two weeks after the deed. Within two years, the popular veneration

showed itself in the erection of a splendid tomb to the martyr's memory

and the Catholic Church, by the bull of Pius IX., June 29, 1867, has

given him the honors of canonization. As the assassination of the papal

delegate, Peter of Castelnau, at the opening of the crusade against the

Albigenses, 1208, wrought to strengthen Innocent in his purpose to wipe

out heresy, even with the sword, likewise the taking off of Arbues only

tightened the grip of the Spanish Inquisition in Aragon. His murderers

and all in any way accessory to the crime were hunted down, their hands

were cut off at the portal of the cathedral and their bodies dragged to

the market-place, where they were beheaded and quartered or burnt

alive. [966]

Next to the judicial murders perpetrated by the Inquisition, its chief

evil was the confiscation of estates. The property of the conversos

offered a tempting prize to the cupidity of the inquisitors and to the

crown. The tribunal was expected to live from the spoils of the

heretics. Torquemada's Instructions of 1484 contained specific rules

governing the disposition of goods held by heretics. There was no limit

put upon their despoilment, except that lands transferred before 1479

were exempted from seizure, a precaution to avoid the disturbance of

titles. The property of dead heretics, though they had lain in their

graves fifty years, was within the power of the tribunal. The dowries

of wives were mercifully exempted whose husbands were adjudged

heretical, but wives whose fathers were found to be heretics lost their

dowries. The claims of the children of heretic fathers might have been

expected to call for merciful consideration, but the righteousness of

their dispossession had no more vigorous advocates than the clergy. To

such property, as the bishop of Simancas argued, the old Christian

population had a valid moral claim. The Instructions of 1484 direct

that, if the children were under age at the time of the confiscation,

they were to be distributed among pious families, and announced it as

the king's intention, in case they grew up good Christians, so to endow

them with alms, especially the girls, that they might marry or enter

religion. [967]

The practice of confiscation extended to the bedding and wearing

apparel of the victims. One gracious provision was that the slaves of

condemned heretics should receive freedom. Lands were sold at auction

30 days after their sequestration, but the low price which they often

brought indicates that purchasers enjoyed special privileges of

acquisition. Ferdinand and his successor, Charles, were profuse in

their disposition of such property. Had the moneys been used for the

wars against the Moors, as at first proposed by Torquemada, the plea

might be made that the tribunal was moved by unselfish considerations,

but they were not. Not only did Ferdinand take money for his bankrupt

treasury, but he appropriated hunting horses, pearls and other objects

for his own use. The Flemish favorites of Charles V., in less than ten

months, sent home 1,100,000 ducats largely made up of bequests derived

from the exactions of the sacred court. [968] Dr. Lea, whose merit it

is to have shown the vast extent to which the sequestration of estates

was carried, describes the money transactions of the Inquisition as "a

carnival of plunder." It was even found to be not incompatible with a

purpose to maintain the purity of the faith to enter into arrangements

whereby, for a sufficient consideration, communities received

protection from inquisitorial charges. The first such bargain was made

at Valencia, 1482. The king, however, did not hesitate on occasion to

violate his pact and allow unfortunate conversos, who had paid for

exemption, to be arraigned and condemned. No law existed requiring

faith to be kept with a heretic. It also happened that condemned

conversos purchased freedom from serving in the galleys or wearing the

badge of heresy, the sanbenito. [969]

As early as 1485, Ferdinand and Isabella were able to erect a royal

palace at Guadalupe, costing 2,732,333 maravedis, with the proceeds of

sequestrated property and, in a memorial address to Charles V., 1524,

Tristan de Leon asserted that these sovereigns had received from the

possessions of heretics no less than 10,000,000 ducats. Torquemada also

was able to spend vast sums upon his enterprises, such as the

conventual building of St. Thomas at Avila, which it was supposed were

drawn from the victims whom his religious fervor condemned to the loss

of their goods and often of their lives. [970] When the heretical mine

was showing signs of exhaustion in Spain, the Spanish colonies of

Mexico and Peru poured in their spoils to enable the Holy Office to

maintain the state to which it had been accustomed. At an early period,

it began to take care for its own perpetuation by making investments on

a large scale. [971]

After Ferdinand's death, the suprema's power increased, and it demanded

a respect only less than that which was yielded to the crown. Its

arrogance and insolence in administration kept pace with the high

pretension it made to sacredness of aim and divine authority. The

institution was known as the Holy Office, the building it occupied was

the holy house, casa santa, and the public solemnity at which the

tribunal appeared officially before the public and announced its

decisions was called the act of faith, auto de fe.

The suprema acted upon the principle started by Paramo, that the

inquisitor was the chief personage in his district. He represented both

the pope and king. [972] On the one hand, he claimed the right to

arrest at will and without restriction from the civil authority; on the

other, he demanded freedom for his officials from all arrest and

violence.

In trading and making exports, the Holy Office claimed exemption from

the usual duties levied upon the people at large. Immunity from

military service and the right to carry deadly weapons by day and night

were among other privileges to which it laid claim. A deliverance of

the Apostolic see, 1515, confirmed it in its right to arrest the

highest noble in the land who dared to attack its prerogatives or

agents and, in case of need, to protect itself by resort to bloodshed.

Its jurisdiction extended not only to the lower orders of the clergy,

but also to members of the orders, a claim which, after a long

struggle, was confirmed by the edicts of Pius IV. and V., 1559, 1561. A

single class was exempted from the rules of its procedure, the bishops.

However, the exemption was rather apparent than real, for the Holy

Office exercised the right of arraigning bishops under suspicion before

the papal chair. The first cases of this kind were prelates of Jewish

extraction, Davila of Segovia, 1490, and Aranda of Calahorra, 1498.

Both were tried in Rome, the former being exonerated, and Aranda kept

in prison in S. Angelo, where he is supposed to have died, 1500. The

most famous of the episcopal suspects, the archbishop of Toledo,

Bartholomew of Carranza, 1503-1576, was kept in prison for 17 years,

partly in Spain and partly in Rome. The case enjoyed a European

reputation.

Carranza had the distinction of administering the last rites to Charles

V. and was for a time a favorite of Philip II., but that sinister

prince turned against him. Partly from jealousy of Carranza's honors,

as has been surmised, and chiefly on account of his indiscretions of

speech, the inquisitor-general Valdes decided upon the archbishop's

prosecution, and when his Commentary on the Catechism appeared in

Spanish, he was seized under authorization from the Apostolic see,

1559. For two years the prelate was kept in a secret prison and then

brought to trial. After delay, Pius IV., 1564, appointed a

distinguished commission to investigate the case and Pius V. forced his

transfer in 1567 to Rome, where he was confined in S. Angelo for nine

years. Under Pius V.'s successor, Gregory XIII., Carranza was compelled

to abjure alleged errors, suspended from his seat for five years and

remanded to confinement in a Roman convent, where he afterwards died.

The boldness and vast power of the Inquisition could have no better

proof than the indignity and punishment placed upon a primate of Spain,

The procedure of the Holy Office followed the rules drawn by

Torquemada, 1484, 1485, called the Instructions of Seville, and the

Instructions of Valladolid prepared by the same hand, 1488 and 1498.

These early codes were afterwards known as the Instructiones antiguas,

and remained in force until superseded by the code of 1561 prepared by

the inquisitor-general, Valdes.

Torquemada lodged the control of the Inquisition in the suprema, to

which all district tribunals were subordinated. Permanent tribunals

were located at Seville, Toledo, Valladolid, Madrid (Corte), Granada,

Cordova, Murcia Llerena, Cuenca, Santiago, Logro�o and the Canaries

under the crown of Castile and at Saragossa, Valencia, Barcelona and

Majorca under the crown of Aragon. [973]

The officials included two inquisitors an assessor or consulter on

modes of canonical procedure, an alguazil or executive officer, who

executed the sentences of the tribunal, notaries who kept the records,

and censors or califadores who pronounced elaborate opinions on points

of dispute. To these was added an official who appraised and took

charge of confiscated property. A large body of subordinates, such as

the familiars or confidential agents, complete the list of officials.

Laymen were eligible to the office of inquisitor, provided they were

unmarried, and a condition made for holding any of these places was

parity of blood, limpieza, freedom from all stain of Morisco, Jewish or

heretic parentage and of ancestral illegitimacy. This peculiar

provision led to endless investigation of genealogical records before

appointments were made. [974]

Each tribunal had a house of its own, containing the audience chamber,

rooms for the inquisitors, a library for the records, le secreto de la

Inquisicion,--a chamber of torture and secret prisons. The familiars

have a dark fame. They acted as a body of spies to detect and report

cases of heresy. Their zeal made them the terror of the land, and the

Cortes of Monzon, 1512, called for the reduction of their number.

In its procedure, the Inquisition went on the presumption that a person

accused was guilty until he had made out his innocence. The grounds of

arrest were rumor or personal denunciation. Informing on suspects was

represented to the people as a meritorious act and inculcated even upon

children as a duty. The instructions of 1484 prescribed a mitigated

punishment for minors who informed on heretical fathers, and Bishop

Simancas declared it to be the sacred obligation of a son to bring his

father, if guilty, to justice. [975] The spiritual offender was allowed

an advocate. Secrecy was a prime feature in the procedure. After his

arrest, the prisoner was placed in one of the secret prisons,--carceres

secretas,--and rigidly deprived of all intercourse with friends. All

papers bearing upon his case were kept from him. The names of his

accusers and of witnesses for his prosecution were withheld. In the

choice of its witnesses the Inquisition allowed itself great liberty,

even accepting the testimony of persons under the Church's sentence of

excommunication, of Jews who remained in the Hebrew faith and of

heretics. Witnesses for the accused were limited to persons zealous for

the orthodox faith, and none of his relatives to the fourth generation

were allowed to testify. Heresy was regarded as a desperate disorder

and to be removed at all costs. On the other hand, the age of

amenability was fixed at 12 for girls and 14 for boys. The age of

fourscore gave no immunity from the grim rigors of the exacting

tribunal. [976]

The charges, on which victims were arraigned, included the slightest

deflection in word or act from strict Catholic usage, such as the

refusal to eat pork on a single occasion, visiting a house where

Moorish notions were taught, as well as saying that the Virgin herself

and not her image effected cures, and that Jews and Moors would be

saved if they sincerely, believed the Jewish and the Moorish doctrines

to be true. [977] Recourse was had to torture, not only to secure

evidence of guilt. Even when the testimony of witnesses was sufficient

to establish guilt, resort was had to torture to extract a confession

from the accused that thereby his soul might be delivered from the

burden of secret guilt, to extract information of accomplices, and that

a wholesome influence might be exerted in deterring others from heresy

by giving them an example of punishment. The modes of torture most in

use were the water ordeal and the garruche. In the water-cure, the

victim, tightly bound, was stretched upon a rack or bed, and with the

body in an inclined position, the head downward. The jaws were

distended, a linen cloth was thrust down the victim's throat and water

from a quart jar allowed to trickle through it into his inward parts.

[978] On occasion, seven or eight such jars were slowly emptied. The

garrucha, otherwise known as the strappade, has already been described.

In its application in Spain it was customary to attach weights to the

feet and to suspend the body in such a manner that the toes alone

touched the ground, and the Spanish rule required that the body be

raised and lowered leisurely so as to increase the pain.

The final penalties for heresy included, in addition to the spiritual

impositions of fasting and pilgrimage, confiscation of goods,

imprisonment, public scourging, the galleys, exile and death.

Confiscation and burning extended to the dead, against whom the charge

of heresy could be made out. At Toledo, July 25, 1485, more than 400

dead were burnt in effigy. Frequently at the autos no living victims

suffered. In cases of the dead their names were effaced from their

tombstones, that "no memory of them should remain on the face of the

earth except as recorded in our sentence." Their male descendants,

including the grandchildren, were incapacitated from occupying

benefices and public positions, from riding on horseback, carrying

weapons and wearing silk or ornaments.

The penalty of scourging was executed in public on the bodies of the

victims, bared to the waist, by the public executioner. Women of 86 to

girls of 13 were subjected to such treatment. Galley labor as a mode of

punishment was sanctioned by Alexander VI., 1503. The sentence of

perpetual imprisonment was often relaxed, either from considerations of

mercy or for financial reasons. Up to 1488, there had been 5000

condemnations to lasting imprisonment. [979]

The saco bendito, or sanbenito, another characteristic feature of the

Spanish Inquisition, was a jacket of gray or yellow texture, furnished

before and behind with a large cross as prescribed by Torquemada. This

galling humiliation was aggravated by the rule that, after they were

laid aside, the sanbenitos should be hung up in the churches, together

with a record of the wearer's name inscribed and his sentence. To avoid

the shame of this public display, descendants often sought to change

their names, a practice the law soon checked. The precedent for the

sanbenito was found in the covering our first parents wore to hide

their nakedness, or in the sackcloth worn in the early Church as a mark

of penance.

The auto de fe, the final act in the procedure of the Inquisition,

shows the relentlessness of this tribunal, and gave the spectators a

foretaste of the solemnities of the day of judgment. There heretics,

after being tried by the inquisitorial court, were exposed to public

view, [980] and received the first official notice of their sentence.

The ceremonial took place on the public squares, where platforms and

staging were erected at municipal expense, and such occasions were

treated as public holidays. On the day appointed, the prisoners marched

in procession, led by Dominicans and others bearing green and white

crosses, and followed by the officials of the Holy Office. Arrived at

the square, they were assigned seats on benches. A sermon was then

preached and an oath taken from the people and also from the king, if

present, to support the Inquisition. The sentences were then announced.

Unrepentant heretics were turned over to the civil officers. Wearing

benitos, inscribed with their name, they were conducted on asses to the

brasero, or place of burning, which was usually outside the city

limits, and consigned to the flames. The other heretics were then taken

back to the prisons of the Inquisition. Inquisitorial agents were

present at the burnings and made a record of them for the use of the

religious tribunal. The solemnities of the auto de fe were usually

begun at 6 in the morning and often lasted into the afternoon.

Theoretically, the tribunal did not pass the sentence of blood. The

ancient custom of the Church and the canon law forbade such a decision.

Its authority ceased with the abandonment--or, to use the technical

expression, the relaxation--of the offender to the secular arm. By an

old custom in passing sentence of incorrigible heresy, it even prayed

the secular officer to avoid the spilling of blood and to exercise

mercy. The prayer was an empty form. The state well understood its

duty, and its failure to punish with death heretics convicted by the

spiritual court was punishable with excommunication. It did not presume

to review the case, to take new evidence or even to require a statement

of the evidence on which the sentence of heresy was reached. The duty

of the secular officer was ministerial, not judicial. The sentence of

heresy was synonymous with burning at the stake. The Inquisition,

however, did not stop with turning heretics over to the state, but, as

even Vacandard admits, at times pronounced the sentence of burning.

[981]

So honorable to the state and to religion were the autos de fe regarded

that kings attended them and they were appointed to commemorate the

marriage of princes or their recovery from sickness. Ferdinand was in

the habit of attending them. On the visit of Charles V. to Valencia,

1528, public exhibition was given at which 13 were relaxed in person

and 10 in effigy. Philip II.'s marriage, in 1560, to Isabella of Valois

was celebrated by an auto in Toledo and, in 1564, when this sovereign

was in Barcelona, a public exhibition was arranged in his honor, at

which eight were sentenced to death. Such spectacles continued to be

witnessed by royal personages till 1701, when Philip V. set an example

of better things by refusing to be present at one.

The last case of an execution by the Spanish Inquisition was a

schoolmaster, Cayetano Ripoll, July 26, 1826. His trial lasted nearly

two years. He was accused of being a deist, and substituting in his

school the words "Praise be to God" for "Ave Maria purissima." He died

calmly on the gibbet after repeating the words, "I die reconciled to

God and to man." [982]

Not satisfied with putting heretical men out of the world, the

Inquisition also directed its attention to noxious writings. [983] At

Seville, in 1490, Torquemada burnt a large number of Hebrew copies of

the Bible, and a little later, at Salamanca, he burnt 6000 copies. Ten

years later, 1502, Ferdinand and Isabella promulgated a law forbidding

books being printed, imported and sold which did not have the license

of a bishop or certain specified royal judges. All Lutheran writings

were ordered by Adrian, in 1521, delivered up to the Inquisition.

Thenceforth the Spanish tribunal proved itself a vigorous guardian of

the purity of the press. The first formal Index, compiled by the

University of Louvain, 1546, was approved by the inquisitor-general

Valdes and the suprema, and ordered printed with a supplement. This was

the first Index Expurgatorius printed in Spain. All copies of the

Scriptures in Spanish were seized and burnt, and the ferocious law of

1558 ordered booksellers keeping or selling prohibited books punished

with confiscation of goods or death. Strict inquisitorial supervision

was had over all libraries in Spain down into the 19th century. Of the

effect of this censorship upon Spanish culture, Dr. Lea says: "The

intellectual development which in the 16th century promised to render

Spanish literature and learning the most illustrious in Europe was

stunted and starved into atrophy, the arts and sciences were neglected,

and the character which Spain acquired among the nations was tersely

expressed in the current saying that Africa began at the Pyrenees."

The "ghastly total" of the victims consigned by the Spanish Inquisition

to the flames or other punishments has been differently stated. Precise

tables of statistics are of modern creation, but that it was large is

beyond question. The historian, Llorente, gives the following figures:

From 1480-1498, the date of Torquemada's death, 8800 were burnt alive,

6500 in effigy and 90,004 subjected to other punishments. From

1499-1506, 1664 were burnt alive, 832 in effigy and 32,456 subjected to

other punishments. From 1507-1517, during the term of Cardinal Ximines,

2536 were burnt alive, 1368 in effigy and 47,263 subjected to other

penalties. This writer gives the grand totals up to 1524 as 14,344

burnt alive, 9372 in effigy and 195,937 condemned to other penalties or

released as penitents. In 1524, an inscription was placed on the

fortress of Triana Seville, running: "In the year 1481, under the

pontificate of Sixtus IV. and the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, the

Inquisition was begun here. Up to 1524, 20,000 heretics and more

abjured their awful crime on this spot and nearly 1000 were burnt."

From records still extant, the victims in Toledo before 1501 are found

to have numbered 297 burnt alive and 600 in effigy, and 5400 condemned

to other punishment or reconciled. The documents, however, are not

preserved or, at any rate, not known from which a full estimate could

be made. In any case the numbers included thousands of victims burnt

alive and tens of thousands subjected to other punishments. [984]

The rise of the Spanish Inquisition was contemporary with Spain's

advance to a foremost place among the nations of Europe. After eight

centuries, her territory was for the first time completely free from

the government of the Mohammedan. The renown of her regiments was soon

to be unequalled. Spanish ships opened the highways of the sea and

returned from the New World freighted with its wealth. Spanish

diplomacy was in the ascendant in Italy. But the decay of her vital

forces her religious zeal did not check. Spain's Catholic orthodoxy was

assured, but Spain placed herself outside the current of modern culture

and progress. By her policy of religious seclusion and pride, she

crushed independence of thought and virility of moral purpose. One by

one, she lost her territorial acquisitions, from the Netherlands and

Sicily to Cuba and the Philippines in the far Pacific. Heresy she

consumed inside of her own precincts, but the paralysis of stagnation

settled down upon her national life and institutions, and peoples

professing Protestantism, which she still calls heresy, long since have

taken her crown in the world of commerce and culture, invention and

nautical enterprise. The present map of the world has faint traces of

that empire on which it was the boast of the Spaniard of the 16th

century that the sun never set. This reduction of territory and

resources calls forth no spirit of denunciation. Nay, it attracts a

sympathetic consideration which hopes for the renewed greatness of the

land of Ferdinand and Isabella, through the introduction of that

intellectual and religious freedom which has stirred the energies of

other European peoples and kept them in the path of progress and new

achievement.

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[955] Lea, I. 100 sqq., 107 sq.

[956] Ferdinand was associated with his father, John of Navarre, in the

government of Aragon from the year 1469. The same year he was married

to Isabella, sister of Henry IV., king of Castile. At Henry's death,

Isabella's title to the throne was disputed by Juana who claimed to be

a daughter of Henry, but was popularly believed to be the child of

Beltram de la Cueva and so called La Beltraneja. The civil war, which

followed, was brought to a close in 1479 by Juana's retirement to a

convent, and the undisputed recognition of Isabella. Ferdinand and

Isabella's reign is regarded as the most glorious in Spanish annals.

Ferdinand's grandson, through his daughter Juana, Charles V., succeeded

to his dominions.

[957] Lea, I. 15.

[958] Lea, II. 457-463.

[959] Lea, I. 165.

[960] The list is given by Lea, I. 556-559.

[961] Hefele, in his Life of Cardinal Ximenes, p. 265 sqq., took the

position that the Spanish Inquisition was a state institution,

Staatsanstalt, pointing out that the inquisitor-general was appointed

by the king, and the Inquisitors proceeded in his name. Ranke, Die

Osmanen u. d. span. Monarchie inF�rsten u. V�lker, 4th ed., 1877, calls

it "a royal institution fitted out with spiritual weapons." On the

other hand, the Spanish historians, Orti y Lara and Rodrigo take the

position that it was a papal institution. Pastor takes substantially

this view when he insists upon the dominance of the religious element

and the bull of Sixtus IV. authorizing it. So, he says, erscheint d.

span. Inquisition als ein gemischtes Institut mit vorwiegend

kirchlichem Charakter, 1st ed., II. 542-546, 4th ed., III. 624-630.

Wetzer-Welte, VI. 777, occupies the same ground and quotes Orti y Lara

as saying, "The Inquisition fused into one weapon the papal sword and

the temporal power of kings." Dr. Lea emphasizes the mixed character of

the agency, and says that the chief question is not where it had its

origin, but which party derived the most advantage. It is, however, of

much importance for the history of the papacy as a divine or human

institution to insist upon its responsibility in authorizing and

supporting the nefarious Holy Office. Funk says that "the assumption

that the Spanish Inquisition was primarily a state institution does not

hold good."

[962] Lea, I. 235; II. 103 sqq.

[963] Lea, II. 116, etc., insists upon the double-dealing of the

papacy, from Sixtus IV. to Julius II., "who with one hand sold letters

of absolution and with the other declared them invalid by revocation."

Sixtus' bull of 1484 was confirmed by Paul III., 1549. Its claim, an

infallible papacy cannot well abandon.

[964] Lea, I. 214. For Ferdinand's expressions of satisfaction with the

zeal shown in the burning of heretics, as after a holocaust at

Valladolid, September, 1509, see Lea, I. 189, 191, etc.

[965] Lea, I. 217.

[966] Lea, I. 250 sqq.; Wetzer-Welte, Petrus Arbues, vol. IX.

[967] Lea, II. 336

[968] Peter Martyr, as quoted by Lea, II. 381.

[969] Lea, I. 217; II. 353, sq., 400-413.

[970] Lea, II. 363.

[971] Lea: The Inq. in the Span. Dependencies, p. 219.

[972] Lea heads a chapter on this subject, Supereminence, I. 350-375.

[973] For list of temporary tribunals, see Lea, I. 541-555.

[974] Lea devotes a whole chapter to the subject, II. 285-314. In time

limpieza was made a condition of holding church offices of any sort in

Spain.

[975] Lea, II. 485.

[976] Lea, II. 137, gives cases of accused women, respectively 78, 80

and 86.

[977] � Lea, III. 8, 14, etc.

[978] In Paris the usual method was to inject water into the mouth, oil

and vinegar also being used. The amount of water was from 9 to 18

pints. La Croix: Manners, Customs and Dress of the M. A., N. Y. 1874,

chapter on Punishments, pp. 407-433.

[979] Lea, III. 140-159.

[980] For a description of an auto, see Lea, III. 214-224.

[981] Lea, III. 185 sq., quotes the sentence upon Mencia Alfonso, tried

at Guadalupe, 1485, which runs: "As a limb of the devil, she shall be

taken to the place of burning so that by the secular officials of this

town justice may be executed upon her according to the custom of these

kingdoms." Paul III., 1547, and Julius III., 1550, conferred upon

clerics the right of condemning to mutilation and death in cases where,

as with the Venetian government, delays were interposed in the

execution of the ecclesiastical sentence. Vacandard says, p. 180: "Some

inquisitors, realizing the emptiness of the formula, ecclesia abhorret

a sanguine, dispensed with it altogether and boldly assumed the full

responsibility for their sentences. The Inquisition is the real

judge,--it lights the fires .... It is erroneous to pretend that the

Church had absolutely no part in the condemnation of heretics to death.

Her participation was not direct and immediate, but, even though

indirect, it was none the less real and efficacious." This author, p.

211, misrepresents history when he makes the legislation of Frederick

II. responsible for the papal treatment of heresy. Innocent III. had

been punishing the Albigenses to death long before the appearance of

Frederick's Constitutions.

[982] The Spanish Inquisition was introduced into Sicily in 1487, where

it met with vigorous resistance from the parliament, and in Sardinia,

1492. In the New World its victims were Protestants, conversos,

bigamists and fornicators. The Mexican tribunal was abolished in 1820,

and that of Peru, the same year. As late as 1774 a Bogota physician was

tried "as the first and only one who in this kingdom and perhaps in all

America" had publicly declared himself for the Copernican system.

[983] Lea, chapter on Censorship, III. 481-548; Ticknor: Span. Lit., I.

461 sqq.

[984] See Hoensbroech, I. 139, quoting Llorente. Dr. Lea speaks of the

apparent tendency of early writers to exaggerate the achievements of

the "Holy Office," and calls in question, though with some hesitation,

Llorente's figures and the figures given by an early secretary of the

tribunal, Zurita, who records 4000 burnings and 30,000 reconciliations

in Seville alone before 1520. See Lea's figures, IV. 513-624. Father

Gams, in his Kirchengesch. Spaniens, reckons the number of those burnt,

up to 1604, at 2000, but he excludes from these figures the burnings

for other crimes than heresy. See Lea, IV. 517.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE RENAISSANCE.

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� 62. The Intellectual Awakening.

The discussions, which issued in the Reformatory councils and which

those councils fostered, were a worthy expression of an awakening

freedom of thought in the effort to secure relief from ecclesiastical

abuses. The movement, to which the name Renaissance has been given, was

a larger and far more successful effort, achieving freedom from the

intellectual bondage to which the individual man had been subjected by

the theology and hierarchy of the Church. The intelligence of Italy,

and indeed of Western Europe as a whole, had grown weary of the

monastic ideal of life, and the one-sided purpose of the scholastic

systems to exalt heavenly concerns by ignoring or degrading things

terrestrial. The Renaissance insisted upon the rights of the life that

now is, and dignified the total sphere for which man's intellect and

his aesthetic and social tastes by nature fit him. It sought to give

just recognition to man as the proprietor of the earth. It substituted

the enlightened observer for the monk; the citizen for the

contemplative recluse. It honored human sympathies more than conventual

visions and dexterous theological dialectics. It substituted

observation for metaphysics. It held forth the achievements of history.

It called man to admire his own creations, the masterpieces of

classical literature and the monuments of art. It bade him explore the

works of nature and delight himself in their excellency. How different

from the apparent or real indifference to the beauties of the natural

world as shown, for example, by the monk, St. Bernard, was the attitude

of Leon Battista Alberti, d. 1472, who bore testimony that the sight of

a lovely landscape had more than once made him well of sickness. [985]

In the narrower sense, the Renaissance may be confined to the recovery

of the culture of Greece and Rome and the revival of polite literature

and art, and it is sometimes designated the Revival of Letters. After

having been taught for centuries that the literature of classic

antiquity was full of snares and dangers for a Christian public, men

opened their eyes and revelled with childlike delight in the discovery

of ancient authors and history. Virgil sang again the Aeneid, Homer the

Iliad and Odyssey. Cicero once more delivered his orations and Plato

taught his philosophy. It was indeed an intellectual and artistic new

birth that burst forth in Italy, a regeneration, as the word

Renaissance means. But it was more. It was a revolt against monastic

asceticism and scholasticism, the systems which cramped the free flow

of bodily enthusiasm and intellectual inquiry. [986] It called man from

morbid self-mortifications as the most fitting discipline of mortal

existence here below, and offered him the satisfaction of all the

elements of his nature as his proper pursuit.

Beginning in Italy, this new enthusiasm spread north to Germany and

extended as far as Scotland. North of the Alps, it was known as

Humanism and its representatives as Humanists, the words being taken

from literae humanae, or humaniores, that is, humane studies, the

studies which develop the man as the proprietor of this visible sphere.

In the wider sense, it comprehends the revival of literature and art,

the development of rational criticism, the transition from feudalism to

a new order of social organization, the elevation of the modern

languages of Europe as vehicles for the highest thought, the

emancipation of intelligence, and the expansion of human interests, the

invention of the printing-press, the discoveries of navigation and the

exploration of America and the East, and the definition of the solar

system by Copernicus and Galileo,--in one word, all the progressive

developments of the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, developments

which have since been the concern of modern civilization.

The most discriminating characterization of this remarkable movement

came from the pen of Michelet, who defined it as the discovery of the

world and man. In this twofold aspect, Burckhardt, its leading

historian for Italy, has treated the Renaissance with deep

philosophical insight.

The period of the Renaissance lasts from the beginning of the 14th to

the middle of the 16th century, from Roger Bacon, d. 1294, and Dante,

d. 1321, to Raphael, d. 1520, and Michelangelo, d. 1564, Reuchlin, d.

1522, and Erasmus, d. 1536. For more than a century it proceeded in

Italy without the patronage of the Church. Later, from the pontificate

of Nicolas V. to the Medicean popes, Leo X. and Clement VII., it was

fostered by the papal court. For this reason the last popes of the

Middle Ages are known as the Renaissance popes. The movement in the

courts may be divided into three periods: the age of the great Italian

literati, Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio, the age from 1400-1460, when

the interest in classic literature predominated, and the age from

1460-1540, when the pursuit of the fine arts was the predominant

feature. The first age contributed immortal works to literature. In the

second, Plato and the other classics were translated and sedulously

studied. In the last, the fine arts and architecture offered their

array of genius in, Italy.

To some writers it has occurred to go back as far as Frederick II. for

the beginnings of the movement. That sovereign embodied in himself a

varied culture and a versatility of intellect rare in any age. With

authorship and a knowledge of a number of languages, he combined

enlightened ideas in regard to government and legislation, the

patronage of higher education and the arts. For the varied interests of

his mind, he has been called the first modern man. [987] However, the

literary activity of his court ceased at his death. Italy was not

without its poets in the 13th century, but it is with the imposing

figure of Dante that the revival of culture is to be dated. That a

Renaissance should have been needed is a startling fact in the history

of human development and demands explanation. The ban, which had been

placed by the Church upon the study of the classic authors of antiquity

and ancient institutions, palsied polite research and reading for a

thousand years. Even before Jerome, whose mind had been disciplined in

the study of the classics, at last pronounced them unfit for the eye of

a Christian, Tertullian's attitude was not favorable. Cassian followed

Jerome; and Alcuin, the chief scholar of the 9th century, turned away

from Virgil as a collection of lying fables. At the close of the 10th

century, a pope reprimanded Arnulf of Orleans by reminding him that

Peter was unacquainted with Plato, Virgil and Terence, and that God had

been pleased to choose as His agents, not philosophers and

rhetoricians, but rustics and unlettered men. In deference to such

authorities the dutiful churchman turned from the closed pages of the

old Romans and Greeks. Only did a selected author like Terence have

here and there in a convent a clandestine though eager reader.

In the 12th century, it seemed as if a new era in literature was

impending, as if the old learning was about to flourish again. The

works of Aristotle became more fully known through the translations of

the Arabs. Schools were started in which classic authors were read.

Abaelard turned to Virgil as a prophet. The Roman law was discovered

and explained at Bologna and other seats of learning. John of

Salisbury, Grosseteste, Peter of Blois and other writers freely quoted

from Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius, Ovid and other Latin authors.

But the head of Western Christendom discerned in this movement a grave

menace to theology and religion, and was quick to blight the new shoot

with his curse, and in its early statutes, forced by the pope, the

University of Paris excluded the literature of Rome from its

curriculum.

But this arbitrary violence could not forever hold the mind of Europe

in bonds. The satisfaction its intelligence was seeking, it did not

find in the subtle discussions of the Schoolmen or the dismal pictures

of the monastics. When the new movement burst forth, it burst forth in

Italy, that beautiful country, the heir of Roman traditions. The

glories of Italy's past in history and in literature blazed forth again

as after a long eclipse, and the cult of the beautiful, for which the

Italian is born, came once more into free exercise. In spite of

invasion after invasion the land remained Italian. Lombards, Goths,

Normans had occupied it, but the invaders were romanized much more than

the Italians were teutonized. The feudal system and Gothic architecture

found no congenial soil south of the Alps. In the new era, it seemed

natural that the poets and orators of old Italy should speak again in

the land which they had witnessed as the mistress of all nations. The

literature and law of Greece and Rome again became the educators of the

Latin and also of the Teutonic races, preparing them to receive the

seeds of modern civilization.

The tap-root of the Renaissance was individualism as opposed to

sacerdotal authority. Its enfranchising process manifested itself in

Roger Bacon, whose mind turned away from the rabbinical subtleties of

the Schoolmen to the secrets of natural science and the discoveries of

the earth reported by Rubruquis or suggested by his own reflection, and

more fully in Dante, Marsiglius of Padua and Wyclif, who resisted the

traditional authority of the papacy. It was active in the discussions

of the Reformatory councils. And it received a strong impetus in the

administration of the Lombard cities which gloried in their

independence. With their authority the imperial policy of Frederick

Barbarossa and Frederick II. had clashed. Partly owing to the loose

hold of the empire and partly owing to the papal policy, which found

its selfish interests subserved better by free contending states and

republics than by a unified kingdom of Italy under a single temporal

head, these independent municipalities took such deep root that they

withstood for nearly a thousand years the unifying process which, in

the case of France, Great Britain and Spain, resulted in the

consolidation of strong kingdoms soon after the era of the Crusades

closed. Upon an oligarchical or a democratic basis, despots and

soldiers of fortune secured control of their Italian states by force of

innate ability. Individualism pushed aside the claims of birth, and it

so happened in the 14th and 15th centuries that the heads of these

states were as frequently men of illegitimate birth as of legitimate

descent. In our change-loving Italy, wrote Pius II., "where nothing is

permanent and no old dynasty exists, servants easily rise to be kings."

[988]

It was in the free republic of Florence, where individualism found the

widest sphere for self-assertion, that the Renaissance took earliest

root and brought forth its finest products. That municipality, which

had more of the modern spirit of change and progress than any other

mediaeval organism, invited and found satisfaction in novel and

brilliant works of power, whether they were in the domain of government

or of letters or even of religion, as under the spell of Savonarola.

There Dante and Lionardo da Vinci were born, and there Machiavelli

exploited his theories of the state and Michelangelo wrought. The

Medici gave favor to all forms of enterprise that might bring glory to

the city. After Nicolas V. ascended the papal throne, Rome vied with

its northern neighbor as a centre of the arts and culture. The new

tastes and pursuits also found a home in Ferrara, Urbino, Naples, Milan

and Mantua.

Glorious the achievement of the Renaissance was, but it was the last

movement of European significance in which Italy and the popes took the

lead. Had the current of aesthetic and intellectual enthusiasm joined

itself to a stream of religious regeneration, Italy might have kept in

advance of other nations, but she produced no safe prophets. No

Reformer arose to lead her away from dead religious forms to living

springs of spiritual life, from ceremonies and relics to the New

Testament.

In spreading north to Germany, Holland and England, the movement took

on a more serious aspect. There it produced no poets or artists of the

first rank, but in Reuchlin and Erasmus it had scholars whose erudition

not only attracted the attention of their own but benefited succeeding

generations and contributed directly to the Reformation. South of the

Alps, culture was the concern of a special class and took on the form

of a diversion, though it is true all classes must have looked with

admiration upon the works of art that were being produced.

It was, then, the mission of the Renaissance to start the spirit of

free inquiry, to certify to the mind its dignity, to expand the horizon

to the faculties of man as a citizen of the world, to recover from the

dust of ages the literary treasures and monuments of ancient Greece and

Rome, to inaugurate a style of fresh description, based on observation,

in opposition to the dialectic circumlocution of the scholastic

philosophy, to call forth the laity and to direct attention to the

value of natural morality and the natural relationships of man with

man. To the monk beauty was a snare, woman a temptation, pleasure a

sin, the world vanity of vanities. The Humanist taught that the present

life is worth living. The Renaissance breathed a cosmopolitan spirit

and fostered universal sympathies. In the spirit of some of the

yearnings of the later Roman authors, Dante exclaimed again, "My home

is the world." [989]

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[985] Geiger-Burckhardt, I. 152.

[986] "Along this line, see the strong remarks of Owen, pp. 72-96. This

vigorous writer traces the roots of the Renaissance back to the

liberating influence of the Crusades on the intelligence of Europe.

[987] Burckhardt, I. 4. See vol. V., Pt I. 198 of this History.

[988] Quoted by Burckhardt, I. 27. This author speaks of an Epidemie

f�r kleine Dynastien in Italy.

[989] Burckhardt, I. 145.

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� 63. Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio.

Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio represent the birth and glory of Italian

literature and ushered in the new literary and artistic age. Petrarca

and Boccaccio belong chiefly to the department of literary culture;

Dante equally to it and the realm of religious thought and composition.

The period covered by their lives extends over more than a hundred

years, from Dante's birth in 1265 to Boccaccio's death, 1375.

Dante Alighieri, 1265-1321, the first of Italian and the greatest of

mediaeval poets, has given us in his Divina Commedia, the Divine

Comedy, conceived in 1300, a poetic view of the moral universe under

the aspect of eternity,--sub specie aeternitatis. Born in Florence, he

read under his teacher Brunetto Latini, whom in later years he praised,

Virgil, Horace, Ovid and other Latin authors. In the heated conflict of

parties, going on in his native city, he at first took the side of the

Guelfs as against the Ghibellines, who were in favor of the imperial

r�gime in Italy. In 1300, he was elected one of the priori or chief

magistrates, approved the severe measures then employed towards

political opponents and, after a brief tenure of office, was exiled.

The decree of exile threatened to burn him alive if he ventured to

return to the city. After wandering about, going to Paris and perhaps

further west, he settled down in Ravenna, where he died and where his

ashes still lie. After his death, Florence accorded the highest honors

to his memory. Her request for his body was refused by Ravenna, but she

created a chair for the exposition of the Divine Comedy, with Boccaccio

as its first occupant, and erected to her distinguished son an-imposing

monument in the church of Santa Croce and a statue on the square in

front. In 1865, all Italy joined Florence in celebrating the 6th

centenary of the poet's birth. Never has study been given to Dante's

great poem as a work of art by wider circles and with more enthusiasm

than to-day, and it will continue to serve as a prophetic voice of

divine judgment and mercy as long as religious feeling seeks

expression.

Dante was a layman, married and had seven children. An epoch in his

life was his meeting, as a boy of nine years, with Beatrice, who was a

few months younger than himself, at a festival given in her father's

house, where she was tenderly called, as Boccaccio says, Bice. The

vision of Beatrice--for there is no record that they exchanged

words--entered and filled Dante's soul with an effluence of purity and

benignity which cleared away all evil thoughts. [990] After an interval

of nine years he saw her a second time, and then not again till, in his

poetic dream, he met her in paradise. Beatrice married and died at 24,

1290.

With this vision, the new life began for Dante, the vita nuova which he

describes in the book of that name. Beatrice's features illuminated his

path and her pure spirit was his guide. At the first meeting, so the

poet says, "she appeared to me clothed in a most noble color, a modest

and becoming crimson, garlanded and adorned in such wise as befitted

her very youthful age." The love then begotten, says Charles Eliot

Norton, "lasted from Dante's boyhood to his death, keeping his heart

fresh, spite of the scorchings of disappointment, with the springs of

perpetual solace." [991] The last glimpse the poet gives of her was as

he saw her at the side of Rachel in the highest region of heaven.

The third in order, underneath her, lo!

Rachel with Beatrice.--Par., xxxii. 6.

Had Dante written only the tract against the temporal power of the

papacy, the De monarchia, his name would have been restricted to a

place in the list of the pamphleteers of the 14th century. His Divine

Comedy exalts him to the eminence of the foremost poetic interpreter of

the mediaeval world. This immortal poem is a mirror of mediaeval

Christianity and civilization and, at the same time, a work of

universal significance and perennial interest. It sums up the religious

concepts of the Middle Ages and introduces the free critical spirit of

the modern world. [992] It is Dante's autobiography and reflects his

own experiences: --

All the pains by me depicted, woes and tortures, void of pity,

On this earth I have encountered--found them all in Florence City.

[993]

It brings into view the society of mediaeval Italy, a long array of its

personages, many of whom had only a local and transient interest. At

the same time, the Comedy is the spiritual biography of man as man

wherever he is found, in the three conditions of sin, repentance and

salvation. It describes a pilgrimage to the world of spirits beyond

this life, from the dark forest of temptation, through the depths of

despair in hell, up the terraces of purification in purgatory, to the

realms of bliss. Through the first two regions the poet's guide is

Virgil, the representative of natural reason, and through the heavenly

spaces, Beatrice, the type of divine wisdom and love. The Inferno

reflects sin and misery; the Purgatorio, penitence and hope; the

Paradiso, holiness and happiness. The first repels by its horrors and

laments; the second moves by its penitential tears and prayers; the

third enraptures by its purity and peace. Purgatory is an intermediate

state, constantly passing away, but heaven and hell will last forever.

Hell is hopeless darkness and despair; heaven culminates in the

beatific vision of the Holy Trinity, beyond which nothing higher can be

conceived by man or angel. Here are depicted the extremes of terror and

rapture, of darkness and light, of the judgment and the love of God. In

paradise, the saints are represented as forming a spotless white rose,

whose cup is a lake of light, surrounded by innocent children praising

God. This sublime conception was probably suggested by the rose-windows

of Gothic cathedrals, or by the fact that the Virgin Mary was called a

rose by St. Bernard and other mediaeval divines and poets.

Following the geocentric cosmology of the Ptolemaic system, the poet

located hell within the earth, purgatory in the southern hemisphere,

and heaven in the starry firmament. Hell is a yawning cavity, widest at

the top and consisting of ten circles. Purgatory is a mountain up which

souls ascend. The heavenly realm consists of nine circles, culminating

in the empyrean where the pure divine essence dwells.

Among these regions of the spiritual and future world, Dante

distributes the best-known characters of his and of former generations.

He spares neither Guelf nor Ghibelline, neither pope nor emperor, and

gives to all their due. He adapts the punishment to the nature of the

sin, the reward to the measure of virtue, and shows an amazing

ingenuity and fertility of imagination in establishing the

correspondence of outward condition to moral character. Thus the

cowards and indifferentists in the vestibule of the Inferno are driven

by a whirling flag and stung by wasps and flies. The licentious are

hurried by tempestuous winds in total darkness, with carnal lust still

burning, but never gratified.

The infernal hurricane, that never rests

Hurtles the spirits onward in its rapine,

Whirling them round; and smiting, it molests them;

It hither, thither, downward, upward, drives them.

Inferno, V. 31-43.

The gluttonous lie on the ground, exposed to showers of hail and foul

water; blasphemers supine upon a plain of burning sand, while sparks of

fire, like flakes of snow in the Alps, slowly and constantly descend

upon their bodies. The wrathful are forever tearing one another.

And I, who stood intent upon beholding,

Saw people mud-besprent in that lagoon,

All of them naked and with angry look.

They smote each other not alone with hands,

But with the head and with the breast and feet

Tearing each other piecemeal with their teeth.

Inferno, VII. 100 sqq.

The simonists, who sell religion for money and turn the temple of God

into a den of thieves, are thrust into holes, head downwards, with

their feet protruding and tormented with flames. The arch-heretics are

held in red-hot tombs, and tyrants in a stream of boiling blood, shot

at by the centaurs whenever they attempt to rise. The traitors are

immersed in a lake of ice with Satan, the arch-traitor and the

embodiment of selfishness, malignity and turpitude. Their very tears

turn to ice, symbol of utter hardness, and Satan is forever consuming

in his three mouths the three arch-traitors, Judas, Brutus and Cassius.

Milton represents Satan as the archangel who even in hell exalts

himself and in pride exclaims, "Better to reign in hell than serve in

heaven," and the poet leaves the mind of the reader disturbed by a

feeling of admiration for Lucifer's untamed ambition and superhuman

power. Dante's Satan awakens disgust and horror, and the inscription

over the entrance to hell makes the reader shudder: --

Through me ye enter the abode of woe;

Through me to endless sorrow are brought;

Through me amid the souls accurst ye go.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

All hope abandon--ye who enter here!

Per me si va nella citt� dolente;

Per me si va nell' eterno dolore;

Per me si va tra la perduta gente.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch' entrate.

Passing out from the domain of gloom and dole, Virgil leads the poet to

purgatory, where the dawn of day breaks. This realm, as has been said,

comes nearer to our common life than hell or paradise. [994] Hope

dwells here. Song, not wailing, is heard. A ship appears, moved by an

angel and filled with spirits, singing the hymn of redemption. Cato

approaches and urges the guide and Dante to wash themselves on the

shore from all remainders of hell and to hurry on. In purgatory, they

pass through seven stages, which correspond to the seven mortal sins,

the two lowest, pride and envy, the highest, wantonness and luxury. All

the penitents have stamped on their foreheads seven P's,--the first

letter of the word peccata, sins,--which are effaced only one by one,

as they pass from stage to stage, "enclasped with scorching fire,"

until they are delivered through penal fire from all stain. A similar

correspondence exists between sin and punishments as in the Inferno,

but with the opposite effect, for here sins are repented of and

forgiven, and the woes are disciplinary until "the wound that healeth

last is medicined." Thus the proud, in the first and lowest terrace,

are compelled to totter under huge weights, that they may learn

humility. The indolent, in the fourth terrace, are exercised by

constant and rapid walking. The avaricious and prodigal, with hands and

feet tied together, lie with their faces in the dust, weeping and

wailing. The gluttons suffer hunger and thirst that they may be taught

temperance. The licentious wander about in flames that their sensual

passions may be consumed away.

Arriving at paradise, the Roman poet can go no further, and Beatrice

takes his place as Dante's guide. The spirits are distributed in glory

according to their different grades of perfection. Here are passed in

review theologians, martyrs, crusaders, righteous princes and judges,

monks and contemplative mystics. In the 9th heaven Beatrice leaves the

poet to take her place at the side of Rachel, after having introduced

him to St. Bernard. Dante looks again and sees Mary and Eve and Sarah,

... and the gleaner-maid

Meek ancestress of him, who sang the songs

Of sore repentance in his sorrowful mood;

Gabriel, Adam, Moses, John the Baptist, Peter, St. Augustine and other

saints. Then he is led by the devout mystic to Mary, who, in answer to

his prayer, shows him the Deity in the empyrean, but what he saw was

not for words to utter. Alike are all the saints in enjoying the same

reward of the beatific vision.

Dante was in full harmony with the orthodox faith of his age, and

followed closely the teachings of Thomas Aquinas' great book of

divinity. [995] He accepted all the distinctive tenets of mediaeval

Catholicism--purgatory, the worship of Mary, the intercession of

saints, the efficacy of papal indulgences and the divine institution of

the papacy. He paid deep homage to the monastic life and accords

exalted place to Benedict, St. Francis and Dominic. But he cast aside

all traditions in dealing freely with the successors of Peter in the

Apostolic see. Here, too, he was under the direction of the beloved

Beatrice. The evils in the Church he traced to her temporal power and

he condemned to everlasting punishment Anastasius II. for heresy,

Nicolas III., Boniface VIII. and Clement V. for simony, Coelestine V.

for cowardice in abdicating the pontifical office, and a squad of other

popes for avarice.

Following the theology of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, he put into

hell the whole heathen world except two solitary figures, Cato of

Utica, who sacrificed life for liberty and keeps watch at the foot of

purgatory, and the just emperor, Trajan, who, 500 years after his

death, was believed to have been prayed out of hell by Pope Gregory I.

To the region of the Inferno, also, though on the outer confines of it,

a place is assigned to infants who die in infancy without being

baptized, whether the offspring of Christian or heathen parents. Theirs

is no conscious pain, but they remain forever without the vision of the

blessed. In the same vicinity the worthies of the old dispensation were

detained until Christ descended after his crucifixion and gave them

release. There, John the Baptist had been kept for two years after his

pains of martyrdom, Par. xxxii. 25. In the upper regions of the

hopeless Inferno a tolerably comfortable place is also accorded to the

noble heathen poets, philosophers, statesmen and warriors, while

unfaithful Christians are punished in the lower circles according to

the degrees of their guilt. The heathen, who followed the light of

nature, suffer sorrow without pain. As Virgil says: --

In the right manner they adored not God.

For such defects, and not for other guilt,

Lost are we, and are only so far punished,

That without hope we live on, in desire.

Dante began his poem in Latin and was blamed by Giovanni del Virgilio,

a teacher of Latin literature in Bologna, because he abandoned the

language of old Rome for the vulgar dialect of Tuscany. Poggio also

lamented this course. But the poet defended himself in his unfinished

book, Eloquence in the Vernacular, De vulgari eloquio, [996] and, by

writing the Commedia, the Vita nuova, the Convivio and his sonnets in

his native Florentine tongue, he became the father of Italian

literature and opened the paths of culture to the laity. Within three

years of the poet's death, commentaries began to be written on the

Divina Commedia, as by Graziuolo de' Bambagliolo, 1324, and within 100

years chairs were founded for its exposition at Florence, Venice,

Bologna and Pisa.

A second service which Dante rendered in his poem to the coming culture

was in bringing antiquity once more into the foreground and treating

pagan and Christian elements side by side, though not as of the same

value, and interweaving mythological fables with biblical history,

classical with Christian reminiscences. By this tolerance he showed

himself a man of the new age, while he still held firmly to the

mediaeval theology. [997]

Dante's abiding merit, however, was his inspiring portrayal of the

holiness and love of God. Sin, the perversion of the will, is punished

with sin continuing in the future world and pain. Salvation is through

the "Lamb of God who takes away our sins and suffered and died that we

might live." This poem, like a mighty sermon, now depresses, now

enraptures the soul, or, to use the lines of the most poetic of his

translators, Longfellow,

Thy sacred song is like the trump of doom;

Yet in thy heart what human sympathies,

What soft compassion glows.

Francesco Petrarca, 1304-1374, was the most cultured man of his time.

His Italian sonnets and songs are masterpieces of Italian poetic

diction, but he thought lightly of them and hoped to be remembered by

his Latin writings. [998] He was an enthusiast for the literature of

antiquity and gave a great impulse to its study. His parents, exiled

from Florence, removed to Avignon, then the seat of the papacy, which

remained Francesco's residence till 1333. He was ordained to the

priesthood but without an inward call. He enjoyed several

ecclesiastical benefices as prior, canon and archdeacon, which provided

for his support without burdening him with duties. He courted and

enjoyed the favor of princes, popes and prelates. He abused the papal

residence on the Rhone as the Babylon of the West, urged the popes to

return to Rome and hailed Cola da Rienzo as an apostle of national

liberty. His writings contain outbursts of patriotism but, on the other

hand, the author seems to contradict himself in being quick to accept

the hospitality of the Italian despots of Mantua, Padua, Rimini and

Ferrara, and the viconti of Milan. In 1350, he formed a friendship with

Boccaccio which remained warm until his death.

In spite of his priestly vows, Petrarca lived with concubines and had

at least two illegitimate children, Giovanni and Francesca, the stain

of whose birth was removed by papal bulls. In riper years, and more

especially after his pilgrimage to Rome in the Jubilee year, 1350, he

broke away from the slavery of sin. "I now hate that pestilence," he

wrote to Boccaccio, "infinitely more than I loved it once, so that in

turning over the thought of it in my mind, I feel shame and horror.

Jesus Christ, my liberator, knows that I say the truth, he to whom I

often prayed with tears, who has given to me his hand in pity and

helped me up to himself." He took great delight in the Confessions of

St. Augustine, a copy of which he carried about with him.

In his De contemptu mundi,--the Contempt of the World, written in 1343,

Petrarca confesses as his greatest fault the love of glory and the

desire for the immortality of his name. This, the besetting sin of the

ancient Greeks and Romans, the Humanists inherited. It became with them

a ruling passion. They found it in Cicero, the most read of all the

Latin classics. Dante strove after the poet's laurel and often returned

to the theme of fame as a motive of action--lo grand disio della

eccelenza. [999] Petrarca, after much seeking on his own part, was

offered the poet's crown by the University of Paris and the Roman

senate. He took it from the latter, and was crowned on the Capitoline

Hill at Rome, April 8, 1341, Robert, king of Sicily, being present on

the occasion. This he regarded as the proudest moment of his life, the

excelling glory of his career. In ostentatious piety the poet carried

his crown to St. Peter's, where he laid it on the altar of the Apostle.

Petrarca has been called the first modern scholar and man of letters,

the inaugurator of the Italian Renaissance. Unlike Dante, he despised

scholastic and mystic learning and went further back to the well of

pagan antiquity. He studied antiquity, not as a philologist or

antiquarian, but as a man of taste. [1000] He admired the Greek and

Roman authors for their eloquence, grace and finish of style. Cicero

and Virgil were his idols, the fathers of eloquence, the eyes of the

Latin language. He turned to Plato. He made a distinction between the

religion of the New Testament as interpreted by Augustine and as

interpreted by the Schoolmen. Petrarca also opened the period of search

and discovery of ancient books and works of art. He spared no pains to

secure old manuscripts. In 1345, he found several of Cicero's letters

at Verona, and also a portion of Quintilian which had been unknown

since the 10th century. A copy of Homer he kept with care, though be

could not read its contents. All the Greek he knew was a few rudiments

learned from a faithless Calabrian, Barlaam. He was the first to

collect a private library and had 200 volumes. His first thought in

passing old convents was to hunt up books. He accumulated old coins and

medals and advocated the preservation of ancient monumenta. He seems

also to have outlined the first mediaeval map of Italy. [1001]

Few authors have more fully enjoyed the benefit of their labors than

Petrarca. He received daily letters of praise from all parts of Italy,

from France, Germany and England. He expressed his satisfaction that

the emperor of Byzantium knew him through his writings. Charles IV.

invited him three times to Germany that he might listen to his

eloquence and learn from him lessons of wisdom; and Pope Gregory XI. on

hearing of his death, ordered good copies of all his books. The next

generation honored him, not as the singer of Laura, the wife of

another, whose beauty and loveliness he praised in passionate verse,

[1002] but as the scholar and sage.

The name of Giovanni Boccaccio, 1313-1375, the third of the triumvirate

of the Italian luminaries of the 14th century, has also a distinct

place in the transition from the Middle Ages to the age of the

Renaissance. With his two great predecessors he was closely linked,

with Dante as his biographer, with Petrarca as his warm friend. It was

given to him to be the founder of easy and elegant Italian prose. The

world has had few writers who can equal him in realistic narration.

[1003] There is ground for the saying that Dante is admired, Petrarca

praised, Boccaccio read. He also wrote poetry, but it does not

constitute his claim to distinction.

Certaldo, twenty miles from Florence, was probably Boccaccio's

birthplace. He was the illegitimate son of a Florentine father and a

Parisian mother. After spending six years in business and giving six to

the law,--the whole period being looked upon by him later as lost

time,--he devoted himself to literature. Several years he spent at the

court of Naples, where he fell in love with Maria, the married daughter

of King Robert, who yielded her honor to his advances. Later, he

represented her passion for him in L'amorosa Fiammetta. Thus the three

great Italian literati commemorate the love of women who were bound in

matrimony to others, but there is a wide gulf between the inspiring

passion of Dante for Beatrice and Boccaccio's sensual love. [1004]

Boccaccio was an unmarried layman and freely indulged in irregular

love. His three children of unknown mothers died before him.

In his old age he passed, like Petrarca, through a certain conversion,

and, with a preacher's fervor, warned others against the vanity, luxury

and seductive arts of women. He would fain have blotted out the

immoralities of his writings when it was too late. The conversion was

brought about by a Carthusian monk who called upon him at Certaldo.

Upon the basis of another monk's vision, he threatened Boccaccio with

speedy death, if he did not abandon his godless writing. Terrified with

the prospect, he determined to renounce the pen and give himself up to

penance. Petrarca, on hearing of his state of mind, wrote to him to

accept what was good in the monk's advice, but not to abandon studies

which he pronounced the nutriment of a healthy mind.

In zeal for the ancient classics, Boccaccio vied with his contemporary.

Many of them he copied with his own hand, and bequeathed them to his

father-confessor in trust for the Augustinian convent of the Holy

Spirit in Florence. He learned the elements of Greek and employed a

Greek of Calabria, Leontius Pilatus, to make a literal translation of

the Iliad and Odyssey for learners. An insight into his interest in

books is given to us in his account of a visit to Monte Casino. On

asking to see the library, a monk took him to a dusty room without a

door to it, and with grass growing in its windows. Many of the

manuscripts were mutilated. The monks, as his guide told him, were in

the habit of tearing out leaves to be used by the children as psalters

or to be sold to women for amulets for their arms.

In 1373, the signoria of Florence appointed him to the lectureship on

the Divina Commedia, with a salary of 100 guldens gold. He had gotten

only as far as the 17th canto of the Inferno when he was overtaken by

death.

Boccaccio's Latin works are mostly compilations from ancient

mythology--De genealogia deorum -- and biography, and also treat the

subject of geography--De montium, silvarum, lacuum et marium nominibus.

In his De claris mulieribus, he gave the biographies of 104

distinguished women, including Eve, the fictitious popess, Johanna, and

Queen Johanna of Naples, who was still living. His most popular work is

the Decamerone, the Ten Days' Book--which in later years he would have

destroyed or purged of its immoral and frivolous elements. It is his

poetry in prose and may be called a Commedia Humana, as contrasted with

Dante's Commedia Divina. It contains 100 stories, told by ten young

persons, seven ladies and three men of Florence, during the pestilence

of 1348. After listening to a description of the horrors of the plague,

the reader is transferred to a beautiful garden, several miles from the

city, where the members of the company, amid laughter and tears, relate

the stories which range from moral tales to indecent love intrigues.

One of the well-known stories is of the Jew, Abraham, who, refusing to

comply with the appeals to turn Christian, went to Rome to study the

question for himself. Finding the priestly morals most corrupt,

cardinals with concubines and revelling in riches and luxury, he

concluded Christianity must have a divine origin, or it would not have

survived when the centre of Christendom was so rotten, and he offered

himself for baptism. The Decamerone reveals a low state of morals among

priests and monks as well as laymen and women. It derides marriage, the

confessional, the hypocrisy of monkery and the worship of relics. The

employment of wit and raillery against ecclesiastical institutions was

a new element in literature, and Boccaccio wrote in a language the

people understood. No wonder that the Council of Trent condemned the

work for its immoralities, and still more for its anticlerical and

antimonastic ridicule; but it could not prevent its circulation. A

curious expurgated edition, authorized by the pope, appeared in

Florence in 1573, which retained the indecencies, the impure

personages, but substituted laymen for the priests and monks, thus

saving the honor of the Church. [1005]

Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio led the way to a recognition of the worth

of man's natural endowment by depicting the passions of his heart. To

them also it belonged to have an ardent love for nature and to

reproduce it in description. Thus Petrarca described the mountains and

the gulfs of the sea as well as Rome, Naples and other Italian places

where he loved to be. [1006] His description of his delight in

ascending a mountain near Vaucluse, it has been suggested, was the

first of its kind in literature. In these respects, the appreciation of

man and the world, they stood at the opening of the new era.

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[990] Vita Nuova, 10, 11. See Scartazzini, Handbuch, p. 193.

[991] Vita Nuova, Norton's trsl., p. 2.

[992] Die Kom�die ist der Schwanengesang des Mittelalters, zugleich

aber auch das begeisterte Lied, welches die Herankunft einer neuen Zeit

einleitet. Scartazzini, Dante Alighieri, etc., p. 530. See Geiger, II.

30 sq. Church, p. 2, calls it "the first Christian poem, the one which

opens European literature as the Iliad did that of Greece and Rome."

Dante knew scarcely more than a dozen Greek words, and, on account of

its popular language, he called his great epic and didactic poem a

comedy, or a village poem, deriving it from ko'me, villa, without

apparently being aware of the more probable derivation from komos,

merry-making.

[993] Allen Schmerz, den ich gesungen, all die Qualen, Greu'l und

Wunden Hab' ich schon auf dieser Erden, hab' ich in Florenz gefunden

--Geibel: Dante in Verona. One of the finest poems on Dante is by

Uhland, others by Tennyson, Longfellow, etc.

[994] Strong, p. 142.

[995] "There is in Dante no trace of doctrinal dissatisfaction. He

respects every part of the teaching of the Church in matters of

doctrine, authoritatively laid down ... He gives no evidence of free

inquiry and private judgment."--Moore, Studies, II. 65, 66.

[996] Engl. translation by A. G. F. Howell, London, 1890.

[997] See Burckhardt-Geiger, I. 219.

[998] Of his 317 sonnets and 29 canzoni all are erotic but 31. For the

sake of euphony, the author changed his patronymic Petrarco into

Petrarca. In the English form, Petrarch, the accent is changed from the

second to the first syllable.

[999] "The noble desire of fame,"Par. xi. 85-117. See, on the subject,

Burckhardt-Geiger, I. 154 sq. Pastor, I. 4 sq., calls special attention

to this pursuit of the phantom, fame, by the Humanists at courts and

from the people.

[1000] Robinson, Life, p. 336, says, "Petrarch's love for Cicero and

Virgil springs from what one may call the fundamental Humanistic

impulse, delight in the free play of mind among ideas that are

stimulating and beautiful."

[1001] See Burckhardt-Geiger, II., Excursus LXI.

[1002] For Petrarca's attachment to Laura, see Koerting, p. 686 sq.,

and Symonds, Ital. Lit., I. 92, and The Dantesque and Platonic Ideals

of Love, in Contemp. Rev., Sept., 1890.

[1003] Symonds, Ital. Lit., I. 99, says, "Boccaccio was the first to

substitute a literature of the people for the literature of the learned

classes and the aristocracy," etc.

[1004] The best edition of his La Vita di Dante, with a critical text

and introduction of 174 pages, is by Francesco Marci-Leone, Florence,

1888.

[1005] In an attempt to break the force of the charge that in its

beginnings the Renaissance was wholly an individualistic movement,

independent of the Church, Pastor, I. 6 sqq., lays stress upon the

gracious treatment Petrarca and Boccaccio received from popes and the

repentance of their latter years.

[1006] See Burckhardt-Geiger, II. 18 sqq.

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� 64. Progress and Patrons of Classical Studies in the 15th Century.

The enthusiasm for classical studies and the monuments of antiquity

reached its high pitch in Italy in the middle and latter half of the

15th century. Many distinguished classical students appeared, none of

whom, however, approached in literary eminence the three Italian

literati of the preceding century. Admirable as was their zeal in

promoting an acquaintance with the writers of Greece and Rome, they

were in danger of becoming mere pedants and imitators of the past. The

whole field of ancient literature was searched, poetry and philosophy,

letters and works of geography and history. Italy seemed to be bent on

setting aside all other studies for the ancient classics. Cicero was

taken as the supreme model of style, and his age was referred to as

"that immortal and almost heavenly age." [1007]

The services of the Italian Humanists in reviving an interest in

ancient literature and philosophy were, however, quite enough to give

distinction to their era, though their own writings have ceased to be

read. One new feature of abiding significance was developed in the 15th

century, the science of literary and historical criticism. This was

opened by Salutato, d. 1406, who contended that Seneca could not have

been the author of the tragedies ascribed to him, and culminated in

Laurentius Valla and the doubts that scholar cast upon the authorship

of the Apostles' Creed and the Donation of Constantine. The Fall of

Constantinople in 1453, with which the middle of the century was

signalized, cannot be regarded as more than an incident in the history

of the spread of Greek letters in the West, which would have been

accomplished had the city remained under the Greek emperors.

To the discovery and copying of manuscripts, led by such men as Poggio

or the monk Nicolas of Treves, who in 1429 brought to Rome 12 hitherto

unpublished comedies of Plautus, were added the foundation of princely

libraries in Florence, Rome, Urbino and other cities. Numerous were the

translations of Greek authors made into Latin, and more numerous the

translations from both languages into Italian. By the recovery of a

lost or half-forgotten literature, the Italian Renaissance laid the

modern world under a heavy debt. But in its restless literary activity,

it went still further, imitating the literary forms received from

antiquity. Orations became a marked feature of the time, pompous and

stately. The envoys of princes were called orators and receptions,

given to such envoys, were opened with classical addresses. Orations

were also delivered at the reception of relics, at funerals and--the

epithalamials--and even at the consecration of bishops. At a betrothal,

Filelfo opened his address with the words, "Aristotle, the peripatetic

teacher." The orations of this Latinist, most eminent in his day, are

pronounced by Geiger a disgusting mixture of classic and biblical

quotations. [1008] Not seldom these ornate productions were extended to

two or three hours. Pius II.'s fame for oratory helped him to the papal

throne.

All forms of classic poetry were revived--from the epic to the epigram,

from tragedy to satire. Petrarca's Africa, an epic on Scipio, and

Boccaccio's Theseid led the way. Attempts were even made to continue or

restore ancient literary works. Maffeo Vegio, under Martin V., composed

a 13th book of Virgil, Bruni restored the second decade of Livy. The

poets not only revived the ancient mythologies but peopled Italy with

new gods and nymphs. Especially active were they in celebrating the

glories of the powerful men of their age, princes and popes. A Borgiad

was dedicated to Alexander VI., a Borsead to Borso, duke of Este, a

Sforzias to one of the viconti of Milan and the Laurentias to Lorenzo

de' Medici. The most offensive panegyric of all was the poetical

effusion of Ercole Strozzi at the death of Caesar Borgia. In this

laudation, Roma is represented as having placed her hopes in the

Borgias, Calixtus III. and Alexander VI., and last of all in Caesar,

whose deeds are then glorified.

In historic composition also, a new chapter was opened. The annals of

cities and the careers of individuals were studied and written down.

The histories of Florence, first in Latin by Lionardo Bruni and then

down to 1362 by the brothers Villani, who wrote in Italian, and then by

Poggio to 1455, were followed by other histories down to the valuable

Diaries of Rome by Infessura and Burchard, the History of Venice,

1487-1513, by Bembo, and the works of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, who

wrote in Italian. In 1463, Flavio Biondo compiled his encyclopaedic

work in three parts on the history, customs, topography and monuments

of Rome and Italy, Roma instaurata, Roma triumphans and Italia

illustrata. Lionardo Bruni wrote Lives of Cicero and Aristotle in Latin

and of Dante and Petrarca in Italian. The passion for composition was

displayed in the despatches of Venetian, Mantuan and other ambassadors

at the courts of Rome or Este and by the elaborate letters, which were

in reality finished essays, for the most part written in Latin and

introducing comments on books and matters of literary interest, by

Politian, Bembo and others, a form of writing revived by Petrarca. The

zeal for Latin culture also found exhibition in the habit of giving to

children ancient names, such as Agamemnon and Achilles, Atalanta and

Pentesilea. A painter called his daughter Minerva and his son Apelles.

The habit also took root of assuming Latin names. A Sanseverino,

howbeit of illegitimate birth, proudly called himself Julius Pomponius

Laetus. This custom extended to Germany, where Schwarzerd gave up his

original German patronymic for Melanchthon, Hausschein for

Oecolampadius, Reuchlin for Capnio, Buchmann for Bibliander; Hutten,

Luther, Zwingli, who were more patriotic, adhered to their vernacular

names. Pedants adopted a more serious change when they paganized sacred

terms and substituted mythological for Christian ideas. The saints were

called dii and deae; their statues, simulacra sancta deorum; holy

images of the gods, Peter and Paul, dii titulares Romae or S. Romulus

and S. Remus; the nuns, vestales virgines; heaven, Olympus; cardinals,

augurs, and the College of Cardinals, Senatus sacer; the pope, pontifex

maximus, and his thunders, dirae; the tiara, infula Romulea; and God,

Jupiter optimus Maximus! [1009] Erasmus protested against such absurd

pedantry as characterizing Humanism in its dotage. Another sign of the

cult of the ancients was the imitation of Roman burial usages even in

the churches. At Bruni's death in 1443, the priors of Florence decreed

him a public, funeral "after the manner of the ancients." Before the

laying-away of his body in S. Croce, Manetti pronounced a funeral

oration and placed the crown of laurel on the deceased author's head.

The high veneration of antiquity was also shown in the regard which

cities and individuals paid to the relics of classical writers. Padua

thought she had the genuine bones of Livy, and Alfonso of Naples

considered himself happy in securing one of the arms of the dead

historian. Naples gloried in the real or supposed tomb of Virgil. Parma

boasted of the bones of Cassius. Como claimed both the Plinies, but

Verona proved that the elder belonged to it. Alfonso of Naples, as he

was crossing over the Abruzzi, saluted Sulmona, the birthplace of Ovid.

The larger Italian towns were not without Latin schools. Among the

renowned teachers were Vittorino da Feltre, whom Gonzaga of Mantua

called to his court, and Guarino of Verona. Children of princes from

abroad went to Mantua to sit at the feet of Feltre, who also gave

instruction to as many as 70 poor and talented children at a time.

Latin authors were committed to memory and translated by the pupils,

and mathematics and philosophy were taught. To his literary curriculum

Feltre added gymnastic exercises and set his pupils a good example by

his chastity and temperance. He was represented as a pelican which

nourishes her young with her own blood. Pastor, who calls this teacher

the greatest Italian pedagogue of the Renaissance period, is careful to

notice that he had mass said every morning before beginning the

sessions of the day.

The Humanists were fortunate in securing the encouragement of the rich

and powerful. Literature has never had more liberal and intelligent

patrons than it had in Italy in the 15th century. The munificence of

Maecenas was equalled and surpassed by Cosimo and Lorenzo de'Medici in

Florence and Nicolas V. in Rome. Other cities had their literary

benefactors, but some of these were most noted for combining profligacy

with their real or affected interest in literary culture. Humanists

were in demand. Popes needed secretaries, and princes courted orators

and poets who could conduct a polished correspondence, write addresses,

compose odes for festive occasions and celebrate their deeds. Lionardo

Bruni, Valla, Bembo, Sadoleto and other Humanists were secretaries or

annotators at the papal court under Nicolas V. and his successors.

Cosimo de' Medici, d. 1464, the most munificent promoter of arts and

letters that Europe had seen for more than a thousand years, was the

richest banker of the republic of Florence, scholarly, well-read and,

from taste and ambition, deeply interested in literature. We have

already met him at Constance during the council. He travelled

extensively in France and Germany and ruled Florence, after a temporary

exile, as a republican merchant-prince, for 30 years. He encouraged

scholars by gifts of money and provided for the purchase of

manuscripts, without assuming the air of condescension which spoils the

generosity of the gift, but with a feeling of respect for superior

merit. His literary minister, Nicolo de' Niccoli, 1364-1437, was a

centre of attraction to literary men in Florence and collected and, in

great part, copied 800 codices. Under his auspices, Poggio searched

some of the South German convents and found at St. Gall the first

complete Quintilian. Niccoli's library, through Cosimo's mediation, was

given to S. Marco, and forms a part of the Medicean library. With the

same enlightened liberality, Cosimo also encouraged the fine arts. He

was a great admirer of the saintly painter, Fra Angelico, whom he

ordered to paint the history of the crucifixion on one of the walls of

the chapter-house of S. Marco. Among the scholars protected in Florence

under Cosimo's administration were the Platonist Ficino, Lionardo Bruni

and Poggio. During the last year of his life, Cosimo had read to him

Aristotle's Ethics and Ficino's translation of Plato's The Highest

Good. He also contributed to churches and convents, and by the erection

of stately buildings turned Florence into the Italian Athens.

Cosimo's grandson and worthy successor, Lorenzo de' Medici, d. 1492,

was well educated in Latin and Greek by Landino, Argyropulos and

Ficino. He was a man of polite culture and himself no mean poet, whose

songs were sung on the streets of Florence. His family life was

reputable. He liked to play with his children and was very fond of his

son Giovanni, afterwards Leo X. Michelangelo and Pico della Mirandola

were among the ornaments of his court. By his lavish expenditures he

brought himself and the republic to the brink of bankruptcy in 1490.

Federigo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, d. 1482, and Alfonso of Naples

also deserve special mention as patrons of learning. Federigo, a pupil

of Vittorino da Feltre, was a scholar and an admirer of patristic as

well as classical learning. He also cultivated a taste for music,

painting and architecture, employed 30 and 40 copyists at a time, and

founded, at an expense of 40,000 ducats, a library which, in 1657, was

incorporated in the Vatican.

Alfonso was the special patron of the skeptical Laurentius Valla and

the licentious Beccadelli, 1394-1471, and also had at his court the

Greek scholars, George of Trebizond and the younger Chrysoloras. He

listened with delight to literary, philosophical and theological

lectures and disputes, which were held in his library. He paid large

sums for literary work, giving Beccadelli 1000 gold guldens for his

Hermaphrodita, and Fazio, in addition to his yearly stipend of 500

guldens, 1,500 guldens for his Historia Alphonsi. When he took Manetti

to be his secretary, he is reported to have said he would be willing to

divide his last crust with scholars.

With Nicolas V., 1447-1455, Humanism triumphed at the centre of the

Roman Church. He was the first and best pope of the Renaissance and its

most liberal supporter. However, Humanism never struck as deep root in

Rome as it did in Florence. It was always more or less of an exotic in

the papal city. [1010] Nicolas caught the spirit of the Renaissance in

Florence, where he served as private tutor. For 20 years he acted as

the secretary of Cardinal Niccolo Abergati, and travelled in France,

England, Burgundy, Germany and Northern Italy. On these journeys he

collected rare books, among which were Lactantius, Gregory of

Nazianzus, Irenaeus, 12 epistles of Ignatius and an epistle of

Polycarp. Many manuscripts he copied with his own hand, and he helped

to arrange the books Cosimo collected. His pontificate was a golden era

for architects and authors. With the enormous sums which the year of

Jubilee, 1450, brought to Rome, he was able to carry out his double

passion for architecture and literature. In the bank of the Medici

alone, 100,000 florins were deposited to the account of the papacy.

Nicolas gave worthy scholars employment as transcribers, translators or

secretaries, but he made them work night and day. He sent agents to all

parts of Italy and to other countries, even to Russia and England, in

search of rare books, and had them copied on parchment and luxuriously

bound and clasped with silver clasps. He thus collected the works of

Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius,

Diodorus Siculus, Appian, Philo Judaeus, and the Greek Fathers,

Eusebius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom, Cyril and Dionysius

the Areopagite. He kindled a feverish enthusiasm for the translation of

Greek authors, and was determined to enrich the West with versions of

all the surviving monuments of Hellenic literature. As Symonds puts it,

Rome became a factory of translations from Greek into Latin. Nicolas

paid to Valla 500 scudi for a Latin version of Thucydides and to

Guarino 1,500 for his translation of Strabo. He presented to Nicolas

Perotti for his translation of Polybius a purse of 500 new papal

ducats,--a ducat being the equivalent of 12 francs,--with the remark

that the sum was not equal to the author's merits. He offered 5,000

ducats for the discovery of the Hebrew Matthew and 10,000 gold gulden

for a translation of Homer, but in vain; for Marsuppini and Oratius

only furnished fragments of the Iliad, and Valla's translation of the

first 16 books was a paraphrase in prose. He gave Manetti, his

secretary and biographer, though absent from Rome, a salary of 600

ducats. No such liberal and enlightened friend of books ever sat in the

chair of St. Peter.

Nicolas found an enduring monument in the Vatican Library, which, with

its later additions, is the most valuable collection in the world of

rare manuscripts in Oriental, Greek, Latin and ecclesiastical

literature. Among its richest treasures is the Vatican manuscript of

the Greek New Testament. There had been older pontifical libraries and

collections of archives, first in the Lateran, afterwards in the

Vatican palace, but Nicolas well deserves to be called the founder of

the Vatican Library. He bought for it about 5,000 volumes of valuable

classical and biblical manuscripts,--an enormous collection for those

days,--and he had besides a private library, consisting chiefly of

Latin classics. No other library of that age reached 1,000 volumes.

Bessarion had only 600 volumes, Niccoli in Florence 800, Federigo of

Urbino 772. The Vatican now contains 30,000 manuscripts and about

100,000 printed works. Free access was offered to its archives for the

first time by Leo XIII.

The interest of the later popes of the Renaissance period was given to

art and architecture rather than to letters. The Spaniard, Calixtus

III., according to the doubtful report of Vespasiano, regarded the

accumulation of books by his predecessor as a waste of the treasures of

the Church of God, gave away several hundred volumes to the old

Cardinal Isidore of Kiew and melted the silver ornaments, with which

many manuscripts were bound, into coin for his proposed war against the

Turks.

From the versatile diplomatist and man of letters, Pius II., the

Humanists had a right to expect much, but they got little. This,

however, was not because Eneas Sylvius had reason to fear rivalry.

After being elected pope, he was carried about the city of Rome and to

Tusculum, Alba, Ostia and other localities, tracing the old Roman roads

and water conduits and examining other monuments. He was a poet,

novelist, controversialist, historian, cosmographer. He had a heart for

everything, from the boat-race and hunting-party to the wonders of

great cities, Florence and Rome. His faculty of observation was as keen

as his interests were broad. Nothing seems to have escaped his eye.

Everything that was human had an interest for him, and his description

of cities and men, as in his Frederick III and History of Bohemia, hold

the reader's attention by their clever judgments and their appreciation

of characteristic and entertaining details. [1011] Pius' novels and

odes breathe a low moral atmosphere, and his comedy, Chrisis, in the

style of Terence, deals with women of ill-repute and is equal to the

most lascivious of the Humanistic productions. His orations fill three

volumes, and over 500 of his letters are still extant.

Under Paul II., the Humanists of the papal household had hard times, as

the treatment of Platina shows. Sixtus IV., 1471-1484, has a place in

the history of the Vatican library, which he transferred to four new

and beautiful halls. He endowed it with a permanent fund, provided for

Latin, Greek and Hebrew copyists, appointed as librarians two noted

scholars, Bussi and Platina, and separated the books from the archives.

[1012] The light-hearted Leo X., a normal product of the Renaissance,

honored Bembo and other literati, but combined the patronage of

frivolous with serious literature. In a letter printed in the first

edition of the first six books of the Annals of Tacitus,

1515,--discovered in the Westphalian convent of Corbay, 1508,--he wrote

that "from his earliest years he had been accustomed to think that, if

we except the knowledge and worship of God Himself, nothing more

excellent or more useful had been given by the Creator to mankind than

classical studies which not only lead to the ornament and guidance of

human life, but are applicable and useful to every particular

situation."

As a characteristic development of the Italian Renaissance must be

mentioned the so-called academies of Florence, Rome and Naples. These

institutions corresponded somewhat to our modern scientific

associations. The most noted of them, the Platonic Academy of Florence,

was founded by Cosimo de' Medici, and embraced among its members the

principal men of Florence and some strangers. It celebrated the

birthday of Plato, November 13, with a banquet and a discussion of his

writings. It revived and diffused the knowledge of the sublime truths

of Platonism, and then gave way to other academies in Florence of a

more literary and social character. [1013] Its brightest fame was

reached under Lorenzo.

The academy at Rome, which had Pomponius Laetus for its founder, did

not confine itself to the study of Plato and philosophy, but had a more

general literary aim. The meetings were devoted to classical

discussions and the presentation of orations and plays. Although Laetus

was half a pagan, Alexander VI. was represented at his funeral, 1498,

by members of his court. Cardinal Sadoleto in the 16th century reckoned

the Roman academy among the best teachers of his youth. The academy at

Naples, developed by Jovianus Pontanus, devoted itself chiefly to

matters of style. The Florentine academy has been well characterized by

Professor Jebb as predominantly philosophic, the Roman as antiquarian

and the Neapolitan as literary. [1014]

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[1007] Burckhardt-Geiger, I. 277.

[1008] I. 261 sq.

[1009] Burckhardt-Geiger, I. 274; Symonds, II. 396 sqq.

[1010] Gregorovius, VII, 539; Symonds, Rev. of Learning, II. 215.

[1011] Burckhardt-Geiger, II. 21.

[1012] See Pastor, II. 655 sqq., who dwells at length on this pope's

service to the library.

[1013] R. Rocholl, D. Platonismus d. Renaissancezeit, in Brieger's

Zeitschr. f�r K.-gesch., Leipz., 1892, pp. 47-106.

[1014] Cambr. Hist., I. 560.

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� 65. Greek Teachers and Italian Humanists.

The revival of the study of Greek, which had been neglected for eight

centuries or more, was due, not to an interest in the original text of

the New Testament, but to a passion to become acquainted with Homer,

Plato and other classic Greek authors. Not even had Gregory the Great

any knowledge of the language. The erection of chairs for its study was

recommended by the Council of Vienne, but the recommendation came to

nothing. The revival of the study of the language was followed by the

discovery of Greek manuscripts, the preparation of grammars and

dictionaries and the translation of the Greek classics.

If we pass by such itinerating and uncertain teachers as the

Calabrians, from whom Petrarca and Boccaccio took lessons, the list of

modern teachers of Greek opens with Emanuel Chrysoloras, 1350-1415. He

taught in Florence, Milan, Padua, Venice and Rome and, having conformed

to the Latin Church, was taken as interpreter to the council at

Constance, where he died. He wrote the first Greek grammar, printed in

1484. The first lexicon was prepared by a Carmelite monk, Giovanni

Crastone of Piacenza, and appeared in 1497. Provided as we are with a

full apparatus for the study of Greek, we have little conception of the

difficulty of acquiring a book-knowledge of that language without the

elementary helps of grammar and dictionary.

A powerful impetus was given to Greek studies by the Council of

Ferrara, 1439, with its large delegation from the Eastern Church and

its discussions over the doctrinal differences of Christendom. Its

proceedings appeared in the two languages. Among those who attended the

council and remained in the West for a period or for life, were

Plethon, whose original name was Georgios Gemistos, 1355-1450, and

Bessarion, 1403-1472. Cosimo de' Medici heard Plethon often and was led

by his lectures on Plato to conceive the idea of the Platonic Academy

in Florence.

Bessarion, bishop of Nicaea, became a fixture in the Latin Church and

was admitted to the college of cardinals by Eugenius IV. The objection

made in conclave to his candidacy for the papal chair by the cardinal

of Avignon was that he was a Greek and wore a beard. He died in

Ravenna. Like all Greeks, Bessarion was a philosophical theologian, and

took more interest in the metaphysical mystery of the eternal

procession of the Spirit than the practical work of the Spirit upon the

hearts of men. He vindicated Plato against the charges of immorality

and alleged hostility to orthodox doctrines, pointed to that

philosopher's belief in the creation and the immortality of the soul,

quoted the favorable opinions of him given by Basil, Augustine and

other Fathers, and represented him as a bridge from heathenism to

Christianity. Bessarion's palace in Rome was a meeting-place of

scholars. At an expense of 15,000 ducats or, as Platina says, 30,000,

he collected a valuable library which he gave, in 1468, to the republic

of Venice. [1015]

George of Trebizond, 1395-1484, came to Italy about 1420, conformed to

the papal church, taught eloquence and the Aristotelian philosophy in

Venice and Rome, and was appointed an apostolic scribe by Nicolas V. He

was a conceited, disputatious and irascible man and quarrelled with

Valla, Poggio, Theodore of Gaza, Bessarion and Perotti. The 50 scudi

which Sixtus IV. gave him for the translation of Aristotle's History of

Animals, he contemptuously threw into the Tiber. His chief work was a

comparison of Aristotle and Plato, to the advantage of the former.

Theodore of Gaza, George's rival, was a native of Thessalonica, reached

Italy 1430, taught in Ferrara and then passed into the service of Pope

Nicolas. He was a zealous Platonist, and translated several Greek works

into Latin and some of Cicero's works into Greek and also wrote a Greek

grammar.

John Argyropulos, an Aristotelian philosopher and translator, taught 15

years with great success at Florence, and then at Rome, where Reuchlin

heard him lecture on Thucydides. His death, 1486, was brought about by

excess in eating melons.

The leading Greeks, who emigrated to Italy after the fall of

Constantinople, were Callistus, Constantine Lascaris and his son John.

John Andronicus Callistus taught Greek at Bologna and at Rome,

1454-1469, and took part in the disputes between the Platonists and

Aristotelians. Afterwards he removed to Florence and last to France, in

the hope of better remuneration. He is said to have read all the Greek

authors and imported six chests of manuscripts from Greece. Constantine

Lascaris, who belonged to a family of high rank in the Eastern empire,

gave instruction in the Greek language to Ippolita, the daughter of

Francis Sforza, and later the wife of Alfonso, son of Ferdinand I. of

Naples. He composed a Greek grammar for her, the first book printed in

Greek, 1476. In 1470, he moved to Messina, where he established a

flourishing school, and died near the close of the century. Among his

pupils was Cardinal Bembo of Venice.

His son, John Lascaris, 1445-1535, was employed by Lorenzo de' Medici

to collect manuscripts in Greece, and superintended the printing of

Greek books in Florence. He accompanied Charles VIII. to France. In

1513, he was called by Leo X. to Rome, and opened there a Greek and

Latin school. In 1518, he returned to France and collected a library

for Francis I. at Fontainebleau.

Among those who did distinguished service in collecting Greek

manuscripts was Giovanni Aurispa, 1369-1459, who went to Constantinople

in his youth to study Greek, and bought and sold with the shrewdness of

an experienced bookseller. In 1423, he returned from Constantinople

with 238 volumes, including Sophocles, Aeschylus, Plato, Xenophon,

Plutarch, Lucian. Thus these treasures were saved from ruthless

destruction by the Turks, before the catastrophe of 1453 overtook

Constantinople.

The study of Greek suffered a serious decline in Italy after the close

of the 15th century, but was taken up and carried to a more advanced

stage by the Humanists north of the Alps.

The study of Hebrew, which had been preserved in Europe by Jewish

scholars, notably in Spain, was also revived in Italy in the 15th

century, but its revival met with opposition. When Lionardo Bruni heard

that Poggio was learning the language, he wrote contending that the

study was not only unprofitable but positively hurtful. Manetti, the

biographer of Nicolas V., translated the Psalms out of Hebrew and made

a collection of Hebrew manuscripts for that pontiff. The Camalduensian

monk, Traversari, learned the language and, in 1475, began the printing

of Hebrew books on Italian presses. Chairs for the study of Hebrew were

founded at Bologna, 1488, and in Rome 1514.

Passing from the list of the Greek teachers to the Italian Humanists,

it is possible to select for mention here only a few of the more

prominent names, and with special reference to their attitude to the

Church.

Lionardo Bruni, 1369-1444, a pupil of Chrysoloras, gives us an idea of

the extraordinary sensation caused by the revival of the Greek

language. He left all his other studies for the language of Plato and

Demosthenes. He was papal secretary in Rome and for a time chancellor

of Florence, and wrote letters, orations, histories, philosophical

essays and translations from the Greek, among them Aristotle's Ethics,

Politics and Economies, and Plato's Phaedo, Crito, Apology, Phaedrus

and Gorgias and his Epistles and six of Plutarch's Lives. Foreigners

went to Florence expressly to see his face. He was a pious Catholic.

[1016]

Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, 1380-1459, was secretary of Martin V.,

then of Nicolas V., and lived mostly in Florence and Rome. [1017] He

was the most widely known Humanist of his day and had an unbounded

passion for classical antiquity and for literary controversy. He

excelled chiefly in Latin, but knew also Greek and a little Hebrew. He

was an enthusiastic book-hunter. He went to Constance as papal

secretary and, besides discovering a complete copy of Quintilian's

Institutes, made search in the neighboring Benedictine abbeys of

Reichenau and Weingarten for old manuscripts. In Cluny and other French

convents he discovered new orations of Cicero. He also visited

"barbarous England." Although in the service of the curia for nearly 50

years, Poggio detested and ridiculed the monks and undermined respect

for the church which supported him. In his Dialogue against Hypocrisy,

he gathered a number of scandalous stories of the tricks and frauds

practised by monks in the name of religion. His bold description of the

martyrdom of the heretic Jerome of Prag has already been cited. When

Felix was elected, Poggio exhausted the dictionary for abusive terms

and called the anti-pope another Cerberus, a golden calf, a roaring

lion, a high-priest of malignity; and he did equally well for the

Council of Basel, which had elected Felix. Poggio's self-esteem and

quick temper involved him in endless quarrels, and invectives have

never had keener edge than those which passed between him and his

contestants. To his acrid tongue were added loose habits. He lived with

a concubine, who bore him 14 children, and, when reproached for it, he

frivolously replied that he only imitated the common habit of the

clergy. At the age of 54, he abandoned her and married a Florentine

maiden of 18, by whom he had 4 children. His Facetiae, or Jest-Book, a

collection of obscene stories, acquired immense popularity.

The general of the Camalduensian order, Ambrogio Traversari, 1386-1439,

combined ascetic piety with interest in heathen literature. He

collected 238 manuscripts in Venice and translated from the Greek

Fathers. He was, perhaps, the first Italian monk from the time of

Jerome to his own day who studied Hebrew.

Carlo Marsuppini, of Arezzo, hence called Carlo Aretino, belonged to

the same circle, but was an open heathen, who died without confession

and sacrament. He was nevertheless highly esteemed as a teacher and as

chancellor of Florence, and honorably buried in the church of S. Croce,

1463, where a monument was erected to his memory.

Francesco Filelfo, 1398-1481, was one of the first Latin and Greek

scholars, and much admired and much hated by his contemporaries. He

visited Greece, returned to Italy with a rich supply of manuscripts,

and was professor of eloquence and Greek in the University of Florence.

He combined the worst and best features of the Renaissance. He was

conceited, mean, selfish, avaricious. He thought himself equal if not

superior to Virgil and Cicero. In malignity and indecency of satire and

invective be rivalled Poggio. His poisonous tongue got him into

scandalous literary feuds with Niccolo, Poggio, members of the Medici

family and others. He was banished from Florence, but, recalled in his

old days by Lorenzo, he died a few weeks after his return, aged 83. He

was always begging or levying contributions on princes for his poetry,

and he kept several servants and six horses. His 3 wives bore him 24

children. He was ungrateful to his benefactors and treacherous to his

friends. [1018]

Marsilio Ficino, 1433-1499, one of the circle who made the court of

Lorenzo the Magnificent famous, was an ordained priest, rector of two

churches and canon of the cathedral of Florence. He eloquently preached

the Platonic gospel to his "brethren in Plato," and translated the

Orphic hymns, the Hermes Trismegistos, and some works of Plato and

Plotinus,--a colossal task for that age. He believed that the divine

Plotinus had first revealed the theology of the divine Plato and "the

mysteries of the ancients," and that these were consistent with

Christianity. Yet he was unable to find in Plato's writings the mystery

of the Trinity. He wrote a defence of the Christian religion, which he

regarded as the only true religion, and a work on the immortality of

the soul, which he proved with 15 arguments as against the

Aristotelians. He was small and sickly, and kept poor by dishonest

servants and avaricious relations.

Politian, to his edition of Justinian's Pandects, added translations of

Epictetus, Hippocrates, Galen and other authors, and published among

lecture-courses those on Ovid, Suetonius, Pliny and Quintilian. His

lecture-room extended its influence to England and Germany, and Grocyn,

Linacre and Reuchlin were among his hearers.

Three distinguished Italian Humanists whose lives overlap the first

period of the Reformation were cardinals, Pietro Bembo, 1470-1547,

Giacopo Sadoleto, 1477-1547, and Aleander, 1480-1542. All were masters

of an elegant Latin style. For 22 years Bembo lived in concubinage, and

had three children. Cardinal Sadoleto is best known for his polite and

astute letter calling upon the Genevans to abandon the Reformation, to

which Calvin replied. [1019]

Not without purpose have the two names, Laurentius Valla, 1406-1457,

and Pico della Mirandola, 1463-1494, been reserved for the last. These

men are to be regarded as having, among the Humanists of the 15th

century, the most points of contact with our modern thought,--the one

the representative of critical scholarship, the other of broad human

sympathies coupled with a warm piety.

Laurentius Valla, the only Humanist of distinction born in Rome, taught

at Pavia, was secretary to the king of Naples, and at last served at

the court of Nicolas V. [1020] He held several benefices and was buried

in the Lateran, but was a sceptic and an indirect advocate of Epicurean

morality. He combined classical with theological erudition and attained

an influence almost equal to that enjoyed by Erasmus several

generations later. He was a born critic, and is one of the earliest

pioneers of the right of private judgment. He broke loose from the

bondage of scholastic tradition and an infallible Church authority, so

that in this respect Bellarmin called him a forerunner of Luther.

Luther, with an imperfect knowledge of Valla's works, esteemed him

highly, declaring that in many centuries neither Italy nor the

universal Church could produce another like him. [1021] He narrowly

escaped the Inquisition. He denied to the monks the monopoly of being

"the religious," and attacked their threefold vow. In his Annotations

to the New Testament, published by Erasmus, 1505, he ventured to

correct Jerome's Vulgate. He doubted the genuineness of the writings

attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite and rejected as a forgery

Christ's letter to King Abgarus which Eusebius had accepted as genuine.

When he attacked the Apostolic origin of the Apostles' Creed and, about

1440, exposed the Donation of Constantine as a fiction, he was calling

in question the firm belief of centuries. In pronouncing the latter

"contradictory, impossible, stupid, barbarous and ridiculous," [1022]

he was wrenching a weapon, long used, out of the hand of the hierarchy.

His attack was based on the ground of authentic history, inherent

improbability and the mediaeval character of the language. Not

satisfied with refuting its genuineness, Valla made it an occasion of

an assault upon the whole temporal power of the papacy. He thus struck

at the very bulwarks of the mediaeval theocracy. In boldness and

violence Valla equalled the anti-papal writings of Luther. He went,

indeed, not so far as to deny the spiritual power and divine

institution of the papacy, but he charged the bishop of Rome with

having turned Peter into Judas and having accepted the devil's offer of

the kingdoms of this world. He made him responsible for the political

divisions and miseries of Italy, for rebellions and civil wars, herein

anticipating Machiavelli. He maintained that the princes had a right to

deprive the pope of his temporal possessions, which he had long before

forfeited by their abuse. The purity of Valla's motives are exposed to

suspicion. At the time he wrote the tract he was in the service of

Alfonso, who was engaged in a controversy with Eugenius IV.

Unfortunately, Valla's ethical principles and conduct were no

recommendation to his theology. His controversy with Poggio abounds in

scandalous personalities. In the course of it, Valla was charged with

seduction and pederasty. [1023] His Ciceronian Dialogues on Lust,

written perhaps 1431, are an indirect attack upon Christian morality.

Valla defended the Platonic community of wives. What nature demands is

good and laudable, and the voice of nature is the voice of God. When he

was charged by Poggio with having seduced his brother-in-law's maid, he

admitted the charge without shame.

Pico della Mirandola, the most precocious genius that had arisen since

Duns Scotus, was cut down when he was scarcely 30 years of age. The

Schoolman was far beyond him in dialectic subtlety, but was far

inferior to him in independence of thought and, in this quality, Pico

anticipated the coming age. He studied canon law, theology, philosophy

and the humanities in Ferrara and learned also Hebrew, Chaldee and

Arabic. [1024] In his twenty-third year, he went to Rome and published

900 theses on miscellaneous topics, in which he anticipated some of the

Protestant views; for example, that no image or cross should be adored

and that the words "This is my body" must be understood

symbolically,--significative,--not materially. He also maintained that

the science of magic and the Cabbala confirm the doctrine of the

Trinity and the deity of Christ. These opinions aroused suspicion, and

13 of his theses were condemned by Innocent VIII. as heretical; but, as

he submitted his judgment to the Church, he was acquitted of heresy,

and Alexander VI. cleared him of all charges.

To his erudition, Pico added sincere faith and ascetic tendencies. In

the last years of his short life, he devoted himself to the study of

the Bible with the purpose of preaching Christ throughout the world. He

was an admirer of Savonarola, who blamed him for not becoming a full

monk and thought he went to purgatory. Of all Humanists he had the

loftiest conception of man's dignity and destiny. In his De dignitate

hominis, he maintained that God placed man in the midst of the world

that he might the more easily study all that therein is, and endowed

him with freewill, by which he might degenerate into the condition of

the beast or rise to a godlike existence. He found the highest truth in

the Christian religion. He is the author of the famous sentence:

Philosophia veritatem quaerit, theologia invenit, religio

possidet,--philosophy seeks the truth, theology finds it, religion has

it.

Mirandola had a decided influence on John Reuchlin, who saw him in 1490

and was persuaded by him of the immense wisdom hid in the Cabbala. He

also was greatly admired by Zwingli. He was the only one, says

Burckhardt, "who, in a decided voice, fought for science and the truth

of all the ages against the one-sided emphasis of classic antiquity. In

him it is possible to see what a noble change Italian philosophy would

have undergone, if the counter-Reformation had not come in and put an

end to the whole higher intellectual movement." [1025] Giordano Bruno,

one of the last representatives of the philosophical Renaissance, was

condemned as a heretic by the Roman Inquisition and burnt on the Campo

de' Fiori in 1600. To the great annoyance of Pope Leo XIII., his

admirers erected a statue to his memory on the same spot in 1889.

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[1015] Bessarionis Opera in Migne's Patrol. Graeca, vol. CLXI. Lives of

Bessarion by Henri Vast, Paris, 1878, and H. Rocholl, Leip., 1904.

[1016] Lionardo Bruni Aretini Epistolae, ed. Mehus, 2 vols., Flor.,

1742.

[1017] Opera Poggii, Basel, 1513, and other edds. Epistolae Poggii, ed.

Tonelli, 3 vols., Flor., 1832, 1859, 1861. Shepherd: Life of Poggio.

Pastor's castigation of Poggio, I. 33 sqq., is in his most vigorous

style.

[1018] His life, Rosmini, 3 vols., Milan, 1808, Epistolae Filelfi,

Venet., 1502.

[1019] Sadoleti opp., Moguntiae, 1607; Verona, 1737, 4 vols. In his

Concilium de emendanda Ecclesia, 1538, Sadoleto admitted many abuses

and proposed a reformation of the Church, which he vainly hoped from

the pope

[1020] Valla's Works, Basel, 1540, J. Vahlen; L. Valla, Vienna, 1864,

2d ed., 1870; Voigt, I. 464 sqq. See Benrath in Herzog, XX. 422 sqq.

[1021] Cui nec Italia nec universa ecclesia multis seculis similem

habuit non modo in omni disciplinarum genere sed ex constantia et zelo

fide Christianorum non ficto. See his Respons. ad Lovan. et Colon

theol. of March, 1520, Weimar ed., VI. 183. In this reply to the

Louvain and Cologne theologians who had condemned his writings, Luther

also speaks of the injustice of condemning Pico della Mirandola and

Reuchlin.

[1022] De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione. A

well-written MS. copy in the Vatican is dated 1451. The tract is

printed in Valla's Opera, 761-795, and in Brown's Fasciculus rerum,

Rome, 1690, pp. 132-157, French text, by A. Bonneau, Paris, 1879.

Luther received a copy through a friend, Feb., 1520, and was

strengthened by it in his opposition to popery, which he attacked

unmercifully in the summer of that year in his Address to the German

Nobility, and his Babyl. Captivity of the Church.

[1023] The first issues were Invectivae in Vallam and Antidoti in

Poggium. The coarse controversial language, common to many of the

Humanists, unfortunately Luther and Luther's Catholic assailants

shared, and also Calvin.

[1024] The Theses of Pico, Rome, 1486, and Cologne. His Opera, Bologna,

1496, and together with the works of his nephew, John F. Pico, Basel,

1572, and 1601.--G. Dreydorff: Das System des Joh. Pico von Mir.,

Marb., 1858.--Geiger, 204 sqq.--His Life, by his nephew, J. Fr. Pico.

Trsl. from the Latin by Sir Thos. More, 1510. Ed., with Introd. and

Notes, by J. M. Rigg, Lond., 1890.

[1025] I. 217. See also II. 73, 306 sq.

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� 66. The Artists.

Haec est Italia diis sacra.--Pliny.

Italian Humanism reproduced the past. Italian art was original. The

creative productions of Italy in architecture, sculpture and painting

continue to render it the world's chief centre of artistic study and

delight. Among Italian authors, Dante alone has a place at the side of

Michelangelo, Raphael and Lionardo da Vinci. The cultivation of art

began in the age of Dante with Cimabue and Giotto, but when Italian

Humanism was declining Italian painting and sculpture were celebrating

their highest triumphs. Such a combination and succession of men of

genius in the fine arts as Italy produced, in a period extending over

three centuries, has nowhere else been known. They divided their

triumphs between Florence and Rome, but imparted their magic touch to

many other Italian cities, including Venice, which had remained cold to

the literary movement. Here again Rome drew upon Florence for painters

such as Giotto and Fra Angelico, and for sculptors such as Ghiberti,

Donatello, Brunelleschi and Michelangelo.

While the Italy of the 15th century--or the quattrocento, as the

Italians call it--was giving expression to her own artistic conceptions

in color and marble and churchly dome, masterpieces of ancient

sculpture, restless, in the graves where for centuries they had had

rude sepulture, came forth to excite the admiring astonishment of a new

generation. What the age of Nicolas V. was for the discovery of

manuscripts, the age of Julius II. was for the discovery of classic

Greek statuary. The extensive villa of the Emperor Hadrian at Tivoli,

which extended over several miles and embraced a theatre, lyceum,

temple, basilica, library, and race-course, alone furnished immense

treasures of art. Others were found in the bed of the Tiber or brought

from Greece or taken from the Roman baths, where their worth had not

been discerned. In Alexander VI.'s pontificate the Apollo Belvedere was

found; under Julius II. the torso of Hercules, the Laoco�n group [1026]

and the Vatican Venus. The Greek ideals of human beauty were again

revealed and kindled an enthusiasm for similar achievements.

Petrarca's collections were repeated. Paul II. deposited his rich store

of antiquities in his palace of San Marco. In Florence, Lorenzo de'

Medici was active in securing pieces of ancient art. The museum on the

Capitoline Hill in Rome, where Nicolas V. seems to have restored the

entire palace of the senate, dates from 1471, one of its earliest

treasures being the statue of Marcus Aurelius. The Vatican museum was

the creation of Julius II. To these museums and the museums in Florence

were added the galleries of private collectors.

In architecture, the Renaissance artists never adopted the stern Gothic

of the North. In 1452, Leon Battista Alberti showed to Nicolas V. a

copy of his De re aedificatoria, a work on architecture, based upon his

studies of the Roman monuments. Nicolas opened the line of great

builders in Rome and his plans were on a splendid scale.

The art of the Renaissance blends the glorification of mediaeval

Catholicism with the charms of classical paganism, the history of the

Bible with the mythology of Greece and Rome. The earlier painters of

the 14th and 15th centuries were more simple, chaste and devout than

those of the 16th, who reached a higher distinction as artists. The

Catholic type of piety is shown in the preponderance of the pictures of

the Madonna holding the infant Saviour in her arms or on her lap and in

the portraiture of St. Sebastian and other saints. Heavenly beauty and

earthly sensuality meet side by side, and the latter often draws

attention away from the former. The same illustrious painters, says

Hawthorne, in the Marble Faun, "seem to take up one task or the

other--the disrobed woman whom they called Venus, or the type of

highest and tenderest womanhood in the mother of their Saviour--with

equal readiness, but to achieve the former with far more satisfactory

success." One moment the painter represented Bacchus wedding Ariadne

and another depicted Mary on the hill of Calvary. Michelangelo now

furnished the Piet� for St. Peter's, now designed the Rape of Ganymede

for Vittoria Colonna and the statue of the drunken Bacchus for the

Roman Jacopo Galli. Titian's Magdalen in the Pitti gallery, Florence,

exhibits in one person the voluptuous woman with exposed breasts and

flowing locks and the penitent saint looking up to heaven. Of Sandro

Botticelli, Vasari said that "in many homes he painted of naked women a

plenty." If, however, the Christian religion furnished only to a single

writer, Dante, the subject of his poem, it furnished to all the

painters and sculptors many subjects from both Testaments and also from

Church history, for the highest productions of their genius.

In looking through the long list of distinguished sculptors, painters

and architects who illuminated their native Italy in the Renaissance

period, one is struck with the high age which many of them reached and,

at the same time, with the brief period in which some of them acquired

undying fame. Michelangelo lived to be 89, while Correggio died before

he was 44. Titian, had he lived one year longer, would have rounded out

a full century, while death took the brush out of Raphael's hand before

he was 37, a marvellous example of production in a short period, to be

compared with Mozart in the department of music and Blaise Pascal in

letters. And again, several of the great artists are remarkable

examples of an extraordinary combination of talents. Lionardo da Vinci

and Michelangelo excelled alike as architects, sculptors, painters and

poets. Lionardo was, besides being these, a chemist, engineer,

musician, merchant and profound thinker, yea, "the precocious

originator of all modern wonders and ideas, a subtle and universal

genius, an isolated and insatiate investigator," and is not unjustly

called, on his monument at Milan, "the restorer of the arts and

sciences." [1027] His mural picture of the Last Supper in Milan, best

known by the engraving of Raphael Morghen, in spite of its defaced

condition, is a marvellous reproduction of one of the sublimest events,

adapted to the monks seated around their refectory table (instead of

the reclining posture on couches), and every head a study. As for

Michelangelo, he has been classed by Taine with Dante, Shakespeare and

Beethoven among the four great intellects in the world of art and

literature.

Distinguishing in the years between 1300-1550 two periods, the earlier

Renaissance to 1470 and the high Renaissance, from that date forward,

we find that Italian art had its first centre in Florence, and its most

glorious exhibition under Julius II. and Leo X. in Rome. [1028] The

earlier period began with Cimabue, who died about 1302, and Giotto,

1276-1336, the friend of Dante. According to the story, Cimabue found

Giotto, then ten years old, drawing sheep on a stone with a piece of

charcoal and, with his father's consent, took the lad to Florence.

These two artists employed their genius in the decoration of the

cathedral erected to the memory of St. Francis in Assisi. The visitor

to S. Croce and other sacred places in Florence looks upon the frescos

of Giotto. His Dante, like Guido Reni's Beatrice Cenci, once seen can

never be forgotten. Symonds has remarked that it may be said, without

exaggeration, that Giotto and his scholars, within the space of little

more than half a century, painted upon the walls of the churches and

the public places of Italy every great conception of the Middle Ages.

[1029] Fra Angelico da Fiesole, 1387-1455, is the most religious of the

painters of this period, and his portraiture of saints and angels is so

pure as to suggest no other impression than saintliness.

The mind is almost stunned by the combination of brilliant artistic

achievement, of which the pontificate of Julius II. may be taken as the

centre. There flourished in that age Perugino, 1446-1524,--Raphael's

teacher,--Lionardo da Vinci, 1452-1519, Raphael, 1483-1520,

Michelangelo, 1475-1564, Correggio, 1493-1534, Andrea del Sarto,

1487-1531, and Titian, 1477-1576, all Italians.

Of Raphael, his German biographer has said his career is comprised in

four words, "he lived, he loved, he worked, he died young." [1030] He

was an attractive and amiable character, free from envy and jealousy,

modest, magnanimous, patient of criticism, as anxious to learn as to

teach, always ready to assist poor artists. Michelangelo and he labored

in close proximity in the Vatican, Michelangelo in the Sistine chapel,

Raphael in the stanze and loggie. Their pupils quarrelled among

themselves, each depreciating the rival of his master; but the masters

rose above the jealousy of small minds. They form a noble pair, like

Schiller and Goethe among poets. Raphael seemed almost to have

descended from a higher world. Vasari says that he combined so many

rare gifts that he might be called a mortal god rather than a simple

man. The portraits, which present him as an infant, youth and man, are

as characteristic and impressive as Giotto's Dante and Guido Reni's

Beatrice Cenci.

Like Goethe, Raphael was singularly favored by fortune and was free

from the ordinary trials of artists--poverty, humiliation and neglect.

He held the appointment of papal chamberlain and had the choice between

a cardinal's hat and marriage to a niece of Cardinal Bibbiena, with a

dowry of three thousand gold crowns. But he put off the marriage from

year to year, and preferred the dangerous freedom of single life. His

contemporary and admirer, Vasari, says, when Raphael felt death

approaching, he "as a good Christian dismissed his mistress from his

house, making a decent provision for her support, and then made his

last confession."

The painter's best works are devoted to religious characters and

events. On a visit to Florence after the burning of Savonarola, he

learned from his friend Fra Bartolomeo to esteem the moral reformer and

gave him, as well as Dante, a place among the great teachers of the

Church in his fresco of the Theologia in the Vatican. His Madonnas

represent the perfection of human loveliness and purity. In the Madonna

di San Sisto at Dresden, so called because Sixtus IV. is introduced

into the picture, the eye is divided between the sad yet half-jubilant

face of the Virgin Mother, the contemplative gaze of the cherubs and

the pensive and sympathetic expression of the divine child.

Grimm says, Raphael's Madonnas are not Italian faces but women who are

lifted above national characteristics. The Madonnas of da Vinci,

Correggio, Titian, Murillo and Rubens contain the features of the

nationality to which these painters belonged. Raphael alone has been

able to give us feminine beauty which belongs to the European type as

such. [1031]

The last, the greatest, and the purest of Raphael's works is the

Transfiguration in the Vatican. While engaged on it, he died, on Good

Friday, his birthday. It was suspended over his coffin and carried to

the church of the Pantheon, where his remains repose in his chosen spot

near those of his betrothed bride, Maria di Bibbiena. In that picture

we behold the divinest figure that ever appeared on earth, soaring high

in the air, in garments of transparent light, and with arms outspread,

adored by Moses on the right hand and by Elijah on the left, who

represent the Old Covenant of law and promise. The three favorite

disciples are lying on the ground, unable to face the dazzling splendor

from heaven. Beneath this celestial scene we see, in striking contrast,

the epileptic boy with rolling eyes, distorted features, and spasmodic

limbs, held by his agonized father and supported by his sister; while

the mother imploringly appeals to the nine disciples who, in their

helplessness, twitted by scribes, point up to the mountain where Jesus

had gone. In connecting the two scenes, the painter followed the

narrative of the Gospels, Matt. xvii. 1-14; Mark ix. 2-14; Luke ix.

28-37. The connection is being continually repeated in Christian

experience. Descending from the Mount of Transfiguration, we are

confronted with the misery of earth and, helpless in human strength, we

look to heaven as the only source of help.

Earth has no sorrow that heaven cannot heal.

Michelangelo Buonarroti was 10 years older than Raphael, and survived

him 44 years. He drew the inspiration for his sculptures and pictures

from the Old Testament, from Dante and from Savonarola. He praised

Dante in two sublime sonnets and heard Savonarola's thrilling sermons

against wickedness and vice, and witnessed his martyrdom. Vasari and

Condivi both bear witness to his spotless morality. He deplored the

corruptions of the papal court.

For Rome still slays and sells Christ at the court,

Where paths are closed to virtue's fair increase. [1032]

The artist's works have colossal proportions, and refuse to be judged

by ordinary rules. They are divided between painting, as the frescos in

the Sistine chapel of St. Peter's, architecture as in St. Peter's dome,

and works of statuary, as Moses in Rome and David in Florence. His

Piet� in St. Peter's, a marble group representing the Virgin Mary

holding the crucified Saviour in her arms, raised him suddenly to the

rank of the first sculptor of Italy. [1033] His Last Judgment, on the

altar wall of the Sistine chapel, represents the dominant conception of

the Middle Ages of Christ as an angry judge, and is as Dantesque as

Dante's Inferno itself. [1034] The artist's last work in marble was the

unfinished Piet�, in the cathedral of Florence; his last design a

picture of the crucifixion. In his last poems, he took farewell of the

fleeting pleasures of life, turned to God as the only reality and found

in the crucified Saviour his only comfort. This is the core of the

evangelical doctrine of justification rightly understood.

The day of Michelangelo's death was the day of Galileo Galilei's birth

in Florence. The golden age of art had passed: the age of science was

at hand.

Among the greater churches of Italy,--the cathedrals of Milan, Venice,

Pisa, Siena, Florence and Rome,--St. Peter's stands pre-eminent in

dimensions, treasures of art and imposing ecclesiastical associations.

[1035] This central cathedral of Christendom was not dedicated till

1626 by Urban VIII. Its reconstruction was planned on a colossal scale

by Nicolas V., but little was done till Julius II. took up the work.

Among the architects who gave to the building their thought, Bramante

and Michelangelo did most. On April 18, 1506, Julius II. laid the first

stone according to Bramante's design. A mass being said by Cardinal

Soderini, the old pope descended by a ladder into the trench which had

been dug at the spot where the statue of St. Veronica now stands. There

was much fear, says Paris de Grassis, that the ground would fall in and

the pope, before consecrating the foundations, cried out to those above

not to come too near the edge. Under Leo X., Raphael was appointed sole

architect, and was about to deviate from Bramante's plan, when death

stayed his hand. Michelangelo, taking up the task in 1535, gave to the

structure its crowning triumph in the dome, the noblest in Western

Europe, and the rival of the dome of St. Sophia.

That vast and wondrous dome,

To which Diana's marvel was a cell, --

Christ's mighty shrine above his martyr's tomb. [1036]

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[1026] The discovery of the Laoco�n in a vineyard in Rome was "like a

Jubilee." Michelangelo was one of the first to see it. Sadoleto praised

it in Latin verses. See description in Klaczko, W. 93-96.

[1027] Taine, Lectures on Art, I. 16.--L�bke, Hist. of Art, II. 280 sq.

says: Lionardo was one of those rare beings in whom nature loves to

unite all conceivable human perfections,--strikingly handsome, and at

the same time of a dignified presence and of an almost incredible

degree of bodily strength; while mentally he possessed such various

endowments as are rarely united in a single person,"etc. See also

Symonds, III. 314.

[1028] Julius ordered a colossal tomb wrought for himself, but he could

not be depended upon as a paymaster, as Michelangelo complained. See

Klaczko, p. 62.

[1029] The Renaissance, III. 191.

[1030] Seine Geschichte ist in den vier Begriffen enthalten: leben,

lieben, arbeiten und jung sterben

[1031] Raphael, p. 428 sqq.

[1032] Symonds, III. 516.

[1033] See Grimm's description, I. 186 sqq.

[1034] Grimm, II. 224, speaks of the expression on Christ's face as

indescribably repelling, but says, if a last judgment has to be painted

with Christ as the judge, such an aspect must be given him.

[1035] Pastor, III. 54-9, following Redtenbacher, gives a list of the

more important pieces of ecclesiastical architecture in Italy,

1401-1518.

[1036] With these lines of Byron may be coupled those of Schiller:--

Und ein zweiter Himmel in den Himmel Steigt Sanct Peter's wundersamer

Dom.

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� 67. The Revival of Paganism.

The revival of letters and the cultivation of art brought no

purification of morals to Italy nor relief from religious formalism.

The great modern historians of the period,--Voigt, Burckhardt,

Gregorovius, Pastor, Creighton and Symonds,--agree in depicting the

decline of religion and the degeneracy of morals in dark colors,

although Pastor endeavors to rescue the Church from the charge of total

neglect of its duty and to clear the mediaeval hierarchy and theology

from the charge of being responsible for the semi-paganism of the

Renaissance.

The mediaeval theology had put the priesthood in the place of the

individual conscience. Far from possessing any passion to rescue Italy

from a religious formalism which involved the seeds of stagnation of

thought and moral disintegration, the priesthood was corrupt at heart

and corrupt in practice in the highest seats of Christendom. [1037]

Finding the clerical mind of Italy insincere and the moral condition of

the Church corrupt, Humanism not only made no serious effort to amend

this deplorable state but, on the contrary, it contributed to the

further decadence of morals by a revival of paganism, now Epicurean,

now Stoical, attested both in the lives and the writings of many of its

chief leaders. Gregorovius has felt justified in pronouncing the

terrible sentence that the sole end of the Italian Renaissance was

paganism. [1038]

The worship of classical forms led to the adoption of classical ideas.

There were not wanting Humanists and artists who combined culture with

Christian faith, and devoted their genius to the cause of truth and

virtue. Traversari strictly observed the rules of his monastic order;

Manetti, Lionardo Bruni, Vittorino da Feltre, Ficino, Sadoleto, Fra

Angelico, Fra Bartolomeo, Michelangelo and others were devout Christian

believers. Traversari at first hesitated to translate classic authors

and, when he did, justified himself on the ground that the more the

Pagan writers were understood, the more would the excellence of the

Christian system be made manifest. But Poggio, Filelfo, Valla and the

majority of the other writers of the Renaissance period, such as

Ariosto, Aretino, Machiavelli, were indifferent to religion, or

despised it in the form they saw it manifested. Culture was substituted

for Christianity, the worship of art and eloquence for reverence for

truth and holiness. The Humanists sacrificed in secret and openly to

the gods of Greece and Rome rather than to the God of the Bible. Yet,

they were not independent enough to run the risk of an open rupture

with orthodoxy, which would have subjected them to the Inquisition and

death at the stake. [1039] Yea, those who were most flagrant in their

attacks upon the ecclesiastics of their time often professed repentance

for their writings in their last days, as Boccaccio and Bandello, and

applied for extreme unction before death. So it was with Machiavelli,

who died with the consolations of the Church which he undermined with

his pen, with the half-Pagan Pomponius Laetus of Rome and the infamous

Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini, who joined to his patronage of culture

the commission of every crime.

Dangerous as it may be to pronounce a final judgment upon the moral

purity of a generation, even though, as in the case of the 15th

century, it reveals itself clearly in its literature and in the lives

of the upper classes, literary men, popes and princes, nevertheless

this it is forced upon us to do. The Renaissance in Italy produced no

Thomas � Kempis. No devout mystics show signs of a reform movement in

her convents and among her clergy, though, it is true, there were

earnest preachers who cried out for moral reform, as voices crying in

the wilderness. Nor are we unmindful of the ethical disintegration of

the Church and society at other periods and in other countries, as in

France under Louis XIV., when we call attention to the failure of

religion in the country of the popes and at a time of great literary

and artistic activity to bear fruits in righteousness of life.

The Humanists were the natural enemies of the monks. For this they

cannot be blamed. As a class, the monks hated learning, boasted of

superior piety, made a display of their proud humility and yet were

constantly quarrelling with each other. Boccaccio and the novelists

would not have selected monks and nuns as heroes and heroines of their

obscene tales if monastic life had not been in a degenerate state.

Poggio, Filelfo, Valla, Bandello, Machiavelli, Ariosto, Aretino and

Erasmus and the writers of the Epistolae virorum obscurorum chastised

with caustic irony and satire the hypocrisy and vices of the monastic

class, or turned its members into a butt of ridicule. To the charges of

unchastity and general hypocrisy was added the imposition of false

miracles upon the ignorant and credulous. It was common rumor that the

nuns were the property of the monks. [1040] The literature of the 15th

century teems with such charges, and Savonarola was never more intense

than when he attacked the clergy for their faithlessness and sins.

Machiavelli openly declared "we Italians are of all most irreligious

and corrupt," and he adds, "we are so because the representatives of

the Church have shown us the worst example." Pastor has suggested that

Humanists, who were themselves leading corrupt lives, were ill-fitted

to sit in judgment upon the priesthood. This in a sense is true, and

their representations, taken alone, would do no more than create an

unfavorable presumption, but their statements are confirmed by the

scandals of the papal court and the social conditions in Rome; and Rome

was not worse than Venice, Florence and other Italian towns. The same

distinguished historian seeks to parry the attacks of Humanistic

writers and to offset the lives of the hierarchy by a long list of 89

saints of the calendar who lived 1400-1520. [1041] The number is

imposing, but outside of Bernardino da Siena, Fra Angelico, Jacopo

della Marca and John of Capistrano, few of the names are known to

general history, and the last two showed traits which the common

judgment of mankind is not inclined to regard as saintly. Pastor also

adduces the wills of the dying, in which provision was made for

ecclesiastical objects, but these may indicate superstitious fear as

well as intelligent piety. After all is said, it remains true that the

responsibility and the guilt were with the clergy, who were rightly

made the targets of the wits, satirists and philosophers of the time.

But while the Humanists were condemning the clerical class, many, yea,

the most of them, lived in flagrant violation of the moral code

themselves and inclined to scepticism or outright paganism. In their

veneration of antiquity, they made the system of Plato of equal

authority with the Christian system, or placed its authority above the

Christian scheme. They advocated a return to the dictates of nature,

which meant the impulses of the natural and sensuous man. The

watchword, sequere naturam, "follow nature," was launched as a

philosophical principle. The hard-fought controversy which raged over

the relative merits of the two Greek thinkers, Aristotle and Plato, was

opened by Plethon, who accused Aristotle of atheism. The battle was

continued for many years, calling forth from contestants the bitterest

personal assaults. In defending Plato, Ficino set the philosopher so

high as to obscure the superior claims of the Christian religion, and

it was seriously proposed to combine with the Scripture readings of the

liturgy excerpts from Plato's writings. [1042]

The immortality of the soul was formally questioned by Pietro

Pomponazzi, a popular teacher of the Aristotelian philosophy in Padua

and Bologna. His tract, published in 1516, was burnt by the Franciscans

at Venice, but was saved from a like fate in Rome and Florence by the

intervention of Bembo and Julius de' Medici. So widespread was the

philosophy of materialism that the Fifth Lateran three years before,

Dec. 19, 1513, deemed it necessary to reaffirm the doctrine of the

soul's immortality and to instruct professors at the universities to

answer the arguments of the materialists. In the age of Julius II. and

Leo X., scepticism reigned universally in Rome, and the priests laughed

among themselves over their religious functions as the augurs once did

in the ancient city. [1043]

The chief indictment against Humanism is, that it lacked a serious

moral sense, which is an essential element of the Christian system. Nor

did it at any time show a purpose of morally redeeming itself or seek

after a regenerative code of ethics. It declined into an intellectual

and aesthetic luxury, a habit of self-indulgence for the few, with no

provision for the betterment of society at large and apparently no

concern for such betterment. The Humanists were addicted to arrogance,

vanity, and lacked principle and manly dignity. They were full of envy

and jealousy, engaged in disgraceful personal quarrels among themselves

and stooped to sycophancy in the presence of the rich and powerful.

Politian, Filelfo and Valla agreed in begging for presents and places

in terms of abject flattery. While they poured contempt upon the

functionaries of religion, they failed to imitate the self-denying

virtues which monasticism enjoined and that regard for the rights of

others which Christian teaching commands. Under the influence of the

Renaissance was developed that delusive principle, called honor, which

has played such an extensive r�le in parts of Europe and under which a

polished culture may conceal the most refined selfishness. [1044]

No pugilistic encounter could be more brutal than the literary feuds

between distinguished men of letters. Poggio and Filelfo fought with

poisoned daggers. To sully these pages, says Symonds, "with Poggio's

rank abuse would be impossible." Poggio, not content with thrusts at

Filelfo's literary abilities, accused him of the worst vices, and

poured out calumnies on Filelfo's wife and mother. In Poggio's contest

with George of Trebizond, the two athletes boxed each other's ears and

tore one another's hair. George had accused Poggio of taking credit for

translations of Xenophon and Diodorus which did not belong to him.

Between Valla and Fazio eight books of invectives were exchanged.

Bezold is forced to say that such feuds revealed perhaps more than the

cynicism of the Italian poetry the complete moral decay. [1045]

To the close of the period, the Renaissance literature abounds in

offences against morality and decency. Poggio was already 70 years of

age when he published his filthy Facetiae, Jest-book, which appeared 26

times in print before 1500 and in 3 Italian translations. Of Poggio's

works, Burckhardt says, "They contain dirt enough to create a prejudice

against the whole class of Humanists." Filelfo's epigrams, De jocis et

seriis, are declared by his biographer, Rosmini, to contain "horrible

obscenities and expressions from the streets and the brothels."

Beccadelli and Aretino openly preached the emancipation of the flesh,

and were not ashamed to embellish and glorify licentiousness in

brilliant verses, for which they received the homage of princes and

prelates. Beccadelli's Hermaphroditus was furiously attacked by the

monks in the pulpit, but applauded by the Humanists. Cosimo allowed the

indecent work to be dedicated to himself, and the author was crowned by

the Emperor Sigismund in Siena, 1433, and died old and popular at

Naples, 1471. The critics of his obscenities, Beccadelli pointed to the

ancient writers. Nicolas was loaned a copy of his notorious production,

kept it for nine days and then returned the work without condemning it.

Pietro Aretino, d. 1557, the most obscene of the Italian poets, was

called il divino Aretino, honored by Charles V., Francis I. and Clement

VII., and even dared to aspire to a cardinal's hat, but found a

miserable end. Bandello, d. 1562, in his Facetiae, paints society in

dissolution. Moral badness taints every one's lips. Debauchery in

convents is depicted as though it were a common occurrence. And he was

a bishop! [1046]

Machiavelli, the Florentine politician and historian, a worshipper of

ability and power, and admirer of Caesar Borgia, built upon the basis

of the Renaissance a political system of absolute egotism; yet he

demands of the prince that he shall guard the appearance of five

virtues to deceive the ignorant. [1047] Under the cover of Stoicism,

many Humanists indulged in a refined Epicureanism.

The writers of novels and plays not only portrayed social and domestic

immorality without a blush, but purposely depicted it in a dress that

would call forth merriment and laughter. Tragedy was never reached by

the Renaissance writers. The kernel of this group of works was the

faithlessness of married women, for the unmarried were kept under such

close supervision that they were with difficulty reached. The skill is

enlarged upon with which the paramour works out his plans and the

outwitted husband is turned into an object of ridicule. Here we are

introduced to courtesans and taken to brothels. [1048]

In the Mandragola by Machiavelli, Callimaco, who has been in Paris,

returns to Florence determined to make Lucrezia, of whose charms he has

heard, his mistress. Assuming the roll of a physician, he persuades her

husband, who is anxious for an heir, to allow him to use a potion of

mandragora, which will relieve his wife of sterility and at the same

time kill the paramour. Working upon the husband's mind through the

mother-in-law and Lucrezia's confessor, who consents to the plot for a

bribe, he secures his end. Vice and adultery are glorified. And this

was one of the plays on which Leo X. looked with pleasure! In 1513, in

face of the age-long prohibition of the theatre by the Church, this

pontiff opened the playhouse on the Capitol. A few years later he

witnessed the performance of Ariosto's comedy the Suppositi. The

scenery had been painted by Raphael. The spectators numbered 2,000, Leo

looking on from a box with an eye-glass in his hand. The plot centres

around a girl's seduction by her father's servant. One of the first of

the cardinals to open his palace to theatrical representations was

Raffaele Riario.

Intellectual freedom in Italy assumed the form of unrestrained

indulgence of the sensual nature. In condemning the virginity extolled

by the Church, Beccadelli pronounced it a sin against nature. Nature is

good, and he urged men to break down the law by mixing with nuns.

[1049] The hetaerae were of greater service to mankind than monastic

recluses. Illegitimacy, as has already been said, was no bar to high

position in the state or the Church. Aeneas Sylvius declared that most

of the rulers in Italy had been born out of wedlock, [1050] and when,

as pope, he arrived in Ferrara, 1459, he was met by eight princes, not

a single one of them the child of legitimate marriage. The appearance

of the Gallic disease in Italy at the close of the 15th century may

have made men cautious; the rumor went that Julius II., who did not

cross his legs at public service on a certain festival, was one of its

victims. [1051] Aretino wrote that the times were so debauched that

cousins and kinsfolk of both sexes, brothers and sisters, mingled

together without number and without a shadow of conscientious scruple.

[1052]

What else could be expected than the poisoning of all grades of society

when, at the central court of Christendom, the fountain was so corrupt.

The revels in the Vatican under Alexander VI. and the levity of the

court of Leo X. furnished a spectacle which the most virtuous

principles could scarcely be expected to resist. Did not a harlequin

monk on one occasion furnish the mirth at Leo's table by his

extraordinary voracity in swallowing a pigeon whole, and consuming

forty eggs and twenty capons in succession! Innocent VIII.'s son was

married to a daughter of the house of the Medici, and Alexander's son

was married into the royal family of France and his daughter Lucrezia

into the scarcely less proud family of Este. Sixtus IV. taxed and

thereby legalized houses of prostitution for the increase of the

revenues of the curia. The 6,800 public prostitutes in Rome in 1490, if

we accept Infessura's figures, were an enormous number in proportion to

the population. This Roman diarist says that scarcely a priest was to

be found in Rome who did not keep a concubine "for the glory of God and

the Christian religion." All parts of Italy and Spain contributed to

the number of courtesans. They lived in greater splendor in Rome than

the hetaerae in Athens, and bore classical names, such as Diana,

Lucrezia, Camilla, Giulia, Costanza, Imperia, Beatrice. They were

accompanied on their promenades and walks to church by poets, counts

and prelates, but usually concluded their gilded misery in hospitals

after their beauty had faded away. [1053]

The almost nameless vice of the ancient world also found its way into

Italy, and Humanists and sons of popes like the son of Paul III.,

Pierluigi Farnese, if not popes themselves, were charged with

pederasty. In his 7th satire, Ariosto, d. 1533, went so far as to say

it was the vice of almost all the Humanists. For being addicted to it,

a Venetian ambassador lost his position, and the charge was brought

against the Venetian annalist, Sanuto. Politian, Valla and Aretino and

the academicians of Rome had the same accusation laid at their door.

The worst cannot be told, so abhorrent to the prime instincts of

humanity do the crimes against morality seem. No wonder that Symonds

speaks of "an enervation of Italian society in worse than heathen

vices." [1054]

To licentiousness were added luxury, gaming, the vendetta or the law of

blood-revenge, and murder paid for by third parties. Life was cheap

where revenge, a licentious end or the gain of power was a motive.

Cardinals added benefice to benefice in order to secure the means of

gratifying their luxurious tastes. [1055] In the middle of the 16th

century, Italy, says Burckhardt, was in a moral crisis, out of which

the best men saw no escape. In the opinion of Symonds, who has written

seven volumes on the Renaissance, it is "almost impossible to

overestimate the moral corruption of Rome at the beginning of the 16th

century. And Gregorovius adds that "the richest intellectual life

blossomed in a swamp of vices." [1056]

Of open heresy and attacks upon the papal prerogatives, popes were

intolerant enough, as was quickly proved, when Luther appeared and

Savonarola preached, but not of open immorality and secret infidelity.

In the hierarchical interest they maintained the laws of sacerdotal

celibacy, but allowed them to be broken by prelates in their confidence

and employ, and openly flaunted their own bastard children and

concubines. And unfortunately, as has been said, not only did the

Humanists, with some exceptions, fall in with the prevailing

licentiousness: there even was nothing in their principles to prevent

its practice. As a class, the artists were no better than the scholars

and, if possible, even more lax in regard to sexual license. Such

statements are made not in the spirit of bitterness toward the Church

of the Middle Ages, but in deference to historic fact, which ought at

once to furnish food for reflection upon the liability of an

ecclesiastical organization to err and even to foster vice as well as

superstition by its prelatical constitution and unscriptural canons,

and also to afford a warning against the captivating but fallacious

theory that literature and art, not permeated by the principles of the

Christian faith, have the power to redeem themselves or purify society.

They did not do it in the palmy days of Greece and Rome, nor did they

accomplish any such end in Italy.

In comparing our present century with the period of the Renaissance,

there is at least one ground for grateful acknowledgment. [1057] The

belief in astrology, due largely to the rise of astronomical science,

has been renounced. Thomas Aquinas had decided that astrology was a

legitimate art when it is used to forecast natural events, such as

drought and rain, but when used to predict human actions and destiny it

is a daemonic cult. [1058] At an early period it came to be classed

with heresy, and was made amenable to the Inquisition. In 1324, Cecco

d'Ascoli, who had shown that the position of libra rendered the

crucifixion of Christ inevitable, was obliged to abjure, and his

astrolabe and other instruments were burnt, 1327, by the tribunal at

Florence. In spite of Petrarca's ridicule, the cult continued. The

Chancellor D'Ailly gave it credit. Scarcely a pope or Italian prince or

republic of the latter part of the Renaissance period who did not have

his astrologer or yield to the delusion in a larger or smaller measure,

as, for example, Sixtus IV., Julius II. and Leo X., as well as Paul

III. at a period a little later. Julius II. delayed his coronation

several weeks, to Nov. 26, 1503, the lucky day announced by the

astrologer. Ludovico of Milan waited upon favorable signs in the

heavens before taking an important step. [1059]

On the other hand, Savonarola condemned the belief, and was followed by

Pico della Mirandola and Erasmus. [1060] To the freedom of human action

astrology opposed a fatalistic view of the world. This was felt at the

time, and Matteo Villani said more than once that "no constellation is

able to compel the free-will of man or thwart God's decree." Before the

15th century had come to a close, the cult was condemned to extinction

in France, 1494, but in Germany, in spite of the spread of the

Copernican system, it continued to have its followers for more than a

century. The great Catholic leader in the Thirty Years' War,

Wallenstein, continued, in the face of reverses, to follow the supposed

indications of the heavenly bodies, and Schiller puts into his mouth

the words:

The stars he not; what's happened

Has turned out against the course of star and fate;

Art does not play us false. The false heart

'Tis, which drags falsehood into the truth-telling heavens.

The revolt against the ascendancy of mediaeval priestcraft and

scholastic dialectic was a great and necessary movement demanded by the

sane intents of mankind. The Italian Renaissance led the revolt. It

gave liberty to the individual and so far its work was wholesome, but

it was liberty not bound by proper restraints. It ran wild in an excess

of indulgence, so that Machiavelli could say, "Italy is the corruption

of the world." When the restraint came, it came from the North as it

had come centuries before, in the days of the Ottos, in the 10th

century. When studies in Italy set aside the ideals of Christianity,

when religion seemed to be in danger of expiring and social virtue of

altogether giving way, then the voice was raised in Wittenberg which

broke with monastic asceticism and scholasticism and, at the same time,

asserted an individualism under the control of conscience and reverence

for God.

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[1037] See Burckhardt-Geiger, II. 178 sqq.

[1038] VII. 536.

[1039] Voigt, II. 213.

[1040] Geiger, II. 182-4.

[1041] � Pastor, I. 44 sqq., III. 66-8. It would be scarcely possible

to furnish a more offensive portrait of a priest than the living

person, Don Nicolo de Pelagait di Firarola. He had become the leader of

a robber band and, in 1495, was confined in an iron cage in the open

air in Ferrara. He had committed murder the day he celebrated his first

mass and was absolved in Rome. Afterwards he killed four men and

married two women who went about with him, violated women without

number and led them captive, and carried on wholesale murder and

pillage. But how much worse was this priest than John XXIII., charged

by a Christian council with every crime, and Alexander VI., whose papal

robes covered monstrous vice?

[1042] See Pastor, III. 117; Symonds, II. 208, etc.

[1043] Gregorovius, VIII. 300. For an excellent account of Pomponazzi

and his views, see Owen: Skeptics, pp. 184-240.

[1044] See Burckhardt-Geiger, II. 155 sqq. and his quotation from

Rabelais.

[1045] Bezold, p. 200, die vollendete sittliche Verkommenheit

[1046] He furnished the text to a series of obscene pictures by Giulio

Romano. Symonds, Ital. Lit., II. 383 sqq. Reumont, Hist. of Rome, III.,

Part II. 367, calls Aretino "die Schands�ule der Literatur."

[1047] The principles of his Principe an fully discussed by Villari in

his Machiavelli, II. 403-473, and by Symonds, Age of the Despots, p.

306 sqq.

[1048] See Symonds, Ital. Lit., II. 174 sqq.

[1049] Non est nefas se virginibus sanctimonialibus immiscere. Pastor,

I. 21.

[1050] Frederick III., Ilgen's trsl., II. 135 sqq.

[1051] Burckhardt-Geiger, II. 161, 343 sqq. Symonds, II. 477. The mal

franzese is said to have appeared in Naples in 1495. It spread like

wildfire. During the Crusades the syphilitic disease, so ran the

belief, was spread in the East through the French.

[1052] Cortigiana, as quoted by Symonds, Ital. Lit., II. 191.

[1053] Reumont, III., Pt. II. 461 sqq.; Gregorovius, viii, 306 sqq.;

Burckhardt-Geiger, II. 331-336.

[1054] Rev. of Learning, 407; Geiger, II. 176; Excursus II., 348 sqq.;

Pastor, III. 101 sqq.; Voigt, II. 471; Gregorovius, viii, 308, says."we

should inspire disgust did we attempt to depict the unbounded vice of

Roman society in the corrupt times of Leo X. The moral corruption of an

age, one of the best of whose productions has the title of Syphilis, is

sufficiently known." Bandello, as quoted by Burckhardt, says: "Nowadays

we see a woman poison her husband to gratify her lusts, thinking that a

widow may do whatever she desires. Another, fearing the discovery of an

illicit amour, has her husband murdered by her lover. And though

fathers, brothers and husbands arise to extirpate the shame with

poison, with the sword, and by every other means, women still continue

to follow their passions, careless of their honor and their lives."

Another time, in a milder strain, he exclaims: "Would that we were not

daily forced to hear that one man has murdered his wife because he

suspected her of infidelity; that another has killed his daughter, on

account of a secret marriage; that a third has caused his sister to be

murdered, because she would not marry as he wished! It is great cruelty

that we claim the right to do whatever we list, and will not suffer

women to do the same."

[1055] Burckhardt-Geiger, II. 172 sqq.; Pastor, III. 128.

[1056] Burckhardt-Geiger, II. 153; Symonds, Rev. of Learning, p. 406;

Gregorovius, viii, 282.

[1057] See Burckhardt-Geiger, II. 235 sqq.; Art. Astrologie in

Wetzer-Welte, I. 1526 sqq., by Pastor; and Lea, Inquisition, III. 437

sqq.

[1058] Summa, II. 2, 95; Migne's ed., III. 729-731.

[1059] Villari, Machiavelli, I. 275.

[1060] Villari, Life and Times of Savonarola, p. 183. Savonarola, in a

sermon, said: "Wouldst thou see how the Church is ruled by the hands of

astrologers? There is no prelate or great lord that hath not intimate

dealings with some astrologer, who fixeth the hour and the moment in

which he is to ride out or undertake some piece of business. For these

great lords venture not to stir a step save at their astrologer's

bidding." See the remarks of Baudrillart, p. 507, on the powerlessness

of culture to restrain the delusion of astrology.

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� 68. Humanism in Germany.

Humanistic studies were late in finding entrance into Germany. They

were opposed not so much by priestly ignorance and prejudice, as was

the case in Italy, as by the scholastic theology which reigned at the

universities. German Humanism may be dated from the invention of the

printing-press about 1450. Its flourishing period began at the close of

the 15th century and lasted only till about 1520, when it was absorbed

by the more popular and powerful religious movement, the Reformation,

as Italian Humanism was superseded by the papal counter-Reformation.

Marked features distinguished the new culture north of the Alps from

the culture of the Italians. The university and school played a much

more important part than in the South. The representatives of the new

scholarship were teachers, even Erasmus, who taught in Cambridge, and

was on intimate terms with the professors at Basel. During the progress

of the movement new universities sprang up, from Basel to Rostock.

Again, in Germany, there were no princely patrons of arts and learning

to be compared in intelligence and munificence to the Renaissance popes

and the Medici. Nor was the new culture here exclusive and

aristocratic. It sought the general spread of intelligence, and was

active in the development of primary and grammar schools. In fact, when

the currents of the Italian Renaissance began to set toward the North,

a strong, independent, intellectual current was pushing down from the

flourishing schools conducted by the Brothers of the Common Life. In

the Humanistic movement, the German people was far from being a slavish

imitator. It received an impulse from the South, but made its own path.

Had Italy been careful to take lessons from the pedagogy of the North,

it is probable her people would to-day be advanced far beyond what they

are in intelligence and letters.

In the North, Humanism entered into the service of religious progress.

German scholars were less brilliant and elegant, but more serious in

their purpose and more exact in their scholarship than their Italian

predecessors and contemporaries. In the South, the ancient classics

absorbed the attention of the literati. It was not so in the North.

There was no consuming passion to render the classics into German as

there had been in Italy. Nor did Italian literature, with its loose

moral teachings, find imitators in the North. Boccaccio's Decameron was

first translated into German by the physician, Henry Stainh�wel, who

died in 1482. North of the Alps, the attention was chiefly centred on

the Old and New Testaments. Greek and Hebrew were studied, not with the

purpose of ministering to a cult of antiquity, but to more perfectly

reach the fountains of the Christian system. In this way, preparation

was made for the constructive work of the Protestant Reformation.

And what was true of the scholarship of Germany was also true of its

art. The painters, Albrecht D�rer, who was born and died at N�rnberg,

1471-1528, Lukas Kranach, 1472-1553, and for the most part Hans

Holbein, 1497-1543, were free from the pagan element and contributed to

the spread of the Reformation. Kranach lived in Wittenberg after 1504

and painted portraits of Luther, Melanchthon and other leaders of the

German Reformation. Holbein gave illustrations for some of the new

writings and painted portraits of Erasmus and Melanchthon. His Madonna,

now at Darmstadt, has a German face and wears a crown on her head,

while the child in her arms reflects his concern for the world in the

sadness of his countenance.

If any one individual more than another may be designated as the

connecting link between the learning of Italy and Germany, it is Aeneas

Sylvius. By his residence at the court of Frederick III. and at Basel,

as one of the secretaries of the council, he became a well-known

character north of the Alps long before he was chosen pope. The

mediation, however, was not effected by any single individual. The fame

of the Renaissance was carried over the pathways of trade which led

from Northern Italy to Augsburg, N�rnberg, Constance and other German

cities. The visits of Frederick III. and the campaigns of Charles VIII.

and the ascent of the throne of Naples by the princes of Aragon carried

Germans, Frenchmen and Spaniards to the greater centres of the

peninsula. A constant stream of pilgrims itinerated to Rome and the

Spanish popes drew to the city throngs of Spaniards. As the fame of

Italian culture spread, scholars and artists began to travel to Venice,

Florence and Rome, and caught the inspiration of the new era.

To the Italians Germany was a land of barbarians. They despised the

German people for their ignorance, rudeness and intemperance in eating

and drinking. Aeneas found that the German princes and nobles cared

more for horses and dogs than for poets and scholars and loved their

wine-cellars better than the muses. Campanus, a witty poet of the papal

court, who was sent as legate to the Diet of Regensburg by Paul II.,

and afterwards was made a bishop by Pius II., abused Germany for its

dirt, cold climate, poverty, sour wine and miserable fare. He lamented

his unfortunate nose, which had to smell everything, and praised his

ears, which understood nothing. Such impressions were soon offset by

the sound scholarship which arose in Germany and Holland. And, if Italy

contributed to Germany an intellectual impulse, Germany sent out to the

world the printing-press, the most important agent in the history of

intellectual culture since the invention of the alphabet.

Before the first swell of the new movement was felt, the older German

universities were already established: Prag in 1347, Vienna 1365,

Heidelberg 1386, Cologne 1388, Erfurt 1392, W�rzburg 1402, Leipzig 1409

and Rostock 1419. During the last half of the 15th century, there were

quickly added to this list universities at Greifswald and Freiburg

1456, Treves 1457, Basel 1459, Ingolstadt 1472, T�bingen and Mainz

1477, and Wittenberg 1502. Ingolstadt lost its distinct existence by

incorporation in the University of Munich, 1826, and Wittenberg by

removal to Halle. Most of these universities had the four faculties,

although the popes were slow to give their assent to the sanction of

the theological department, as in the case of Vienna and Rostock, where

the charter of the secular prince authorized their establishment.

Strong as the religious influences of the age were, the social and

moral habits of the students were by no means such as to call for

praise. Parents, Luther said, in sending their sons to the

universities, were sending them to destruction, and an act of the

Leipzig university, dating from the close of the 15th century, stated

that students came forth from their homes obedient and pious, but "how

they returned, God alone knew." [1061] In 1510, the student-body at

Erfurt were so turbulent that the citizens and the peasant-folk turned

cannons upon the collegiate building and, after the students had fled,

battered down its walls and did great damage to university archives and

library.

The theological teaching was ruled by the Schoolmen, and the dialectic

method prevailed in all departments. In clashing with the scholastic

method and curricula, the new teaching met with many a repulse, and in

no case was it thoroughly triumphant till the era of the Reformation

opened. Erfurt may be regarded as having been the first to give the new

culture a welcome. In 1466, it received Peter Luder of Kislau, who had

visited Greece and Asia Minor, and had been previously appointed to a

chair in Heidelberg, 1456. He read on Virgil, Jerome, Ovid and other

Latin writers. There Agricola studied and there Greek was taught by

Nicolas Marschalck, under whose supervision the first Greek book

printed in Germany issued from the press, 1501. There John of Wesel

taught. It was Luther's alma mater and, among his professors, he

singled out Trutvetter for special mention as the one who directed him

to the study of the Scriptures. [1062]

Heidelberg, chartered by the elector Ruprecht I. and Pope Urban VI.,

showed scant sympathy with the new movement. However, the

elector-palatine, Philip, 1476-1508, gathered at his court some of its

representatives, among them Reuchlin. Ingolstadt for a time had

Reuchlin as professor and, in 1492, Konrad Celtis was appointed

professor of poetry and eloquence.

In 1474, a chair of poetry was established at Basel. Founded by Pius

II., it had among its early teachers two Italians, Finariensis and

Publicius. Sebastian Brant taught there at the close of the century and

among its notable students were Reuchlin and the Reformers, Leo Jud and

Zwingli. In 1481, T�bingen had a stipend of oratoria. Here Gabriel Biel

taught till very near the close of the century. The year after Biel's

death, Heinrich Bebel was called to lecture on poetry. One of Bebel's

distinguished pupils was Philip Melanchthon, who studied and taught in

the university, 1512-1518. Reuchlin was called from Ingolstadt to

T�bingen, 1521, to teach Hebrew and Greek, but died a few months later.

Leipzig and Cologne remained inaccessible strongholds of scholasticism,

till Luther appeared, when Leipzig changed front. The last German

university of the Middle Ages, Wittenberg, founded by Frederick the

Wise and placed under the patronage of the Virgin Mary and St.

Augustine, acquired a world-wide influence through its professors,

Luther and Melanchthon. Not till 1518, did it have instruction in

Greek, when Melanchthon, soon to be the chief Greek scholar in Germany,

was called to one of its chairs at the age of 21. According to Luther,

his lecture-room was at once filled brimful, theologians high and low

resorting to it.

As seats of the new culture, N�rnberg and Strassburg occupied, perhaps,

even a more prominent place than any of the university towns. These two

cities, with Basel and Augsburg, had the most prosperous German

printing establishments. At the close of the 15th century, N�rnberg,

the fountain of inventions, had four Latin schools and was the home of

Albrecht D�rer the painter and Willibald Pirkheimer, a patron of

learning.

Popular education, during the century before the Reformation, was far

more advanced in Germany than in other nations. The chief schools,

conducted by the Brothers of the Common Life, were located at Zwolle,

Deventer, Herzogenbusch and Li�ge. All the leading towns had schools.

[1063] The attendance at Deventer ran as high as 2,200. Melanchthon

attended the Latin school at Pforzheim, now in Baden. Here Reuchlin

found his young grand-nephew and gave him a Greek grammar, promising

him a Vocabulary, provided Melanchthon would have ready some verses in

Latin on his return. It is needless to say that the boy was ready and

received the book. The town of Schlettstadt in Alsace was noted as a

classical centre. Here Platter found Sapidus teaching, and he regarded

it as the best school he had found. In 1494, there were five pedagogues

in Wesel, teaching reading, writing, arithmetic and singing. One

Christmas the clergy of the place entertained the pupils, giving them

each cloth for a new coat and a piece of money. [1064] The primary or

trivial schools, as they were called from teaching the

trivium,--grammar, rhetoric and dialectic,--gradually extended their

courses and, before the Reformation, such schools as Li�ge and

Schlettstadt had eight classes. [1065] Greek was begun with the 4th

class.

Among the noted schoolmasters was Alexander Hegius, who taught at

Deventer for nearly a quarter of a century, till his death in 1498. At

the age of 40 he was not ashamed to sit at the feet of Agricola. He

made the classics central in education and banished the old text-books.

Trebonius, who taught Luther at Eisenach, belonged to a class of worthy

men. The penitential books of the day called upon parents to be

diligent in keeping their children off the streets and sending them to

school. [1066] It remained for Luther to issue a stirring appeal to the

magistrates of the Saxon towns to establish schools for both girls and

boys and he called for a curriculum, which included not only history

and Latin but vocal and instrumental music.

The chief Humanists of Germany were Rudolph Agricola, Reuchlin and

Erasmus. To the last two a separate treatment is given as the

pathfinders of biblical learning, the venerabiles inceptores of modern

biblical research.

Agricola, whose original name was Roelef Huisman, was born near

Groningen, 1443, and died 1485. He enjoyed the highest reputation in

his day as a scholar and received unstinted praise from Erasmus and

Melanchthon. He has been regarded as doing for Humanism in Germany what

was done for Italy by Petrarca, the first life of whom, in German,

Agricola prepared. He was far in advance of the Italian poet in the

purity of his life. After studying in Erfurt, Louvain and Cologne,

Agricola went to Italy, spending some time at the universities in Pavia

and Ferrara. He declined a professor's chair in favor of an appointment

at the court of Philip of the Palatinate in Heidelberg. He made Cicero

and Quintilian his models. In his last years, he turned his attention

to theology and studied Hebrew. Like Pico della Mirandola, he was

buried in the cowl of a monastic order. The inscription on his tomb in

Heidelberg stated that he had studied what is taught about God and the

true faith of the Saviour in the books of Scripture.

Another Humanist was Jacob Wimpheling, 1450-1528, of Schlettstadt, who

taught in Heidelberg. He was inclined to be severe on clerical abuses

but, at the close of his career, wanted to substitute for the study of

Virgil and Horace, Sedulius and Prudentius. The poetic Sebastian Brant,

1457-1521, the author of the Ship of Fools, began his career as a

teacher of law in Basel. Mutianus Rufus, d. at Gotha 1526, in his

correspondence, went so far as to declare that Christianity is as old

as the world and that Jupiter, Apollo, Ceres and Christ are only

different names of the one hidden God. [1067]

A name which deserves a high place in the German literature of the last

years of the Middle Ages is John Trithemius, 1462-1505, abbot of a

Benedictine convent at Sponheim, which, under his guidance, gained the

reputation of a learned academy. He gathered a library of 2,000 volumes

and wrote a patrology, or encyclopaedia of the Fathers, and a catalogue

of the renowned men of Germany. Prelates and nobles visited him to

consult and read the Latin and Greek authors he had collected. These

men and others contributed their part to that movement of which

Reuchlin and Erasmus were the chief lights and which led on easily to

the Protestant Reformation. [1068]

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[1061] Schmid, II. 83.

[1062] K�stlin, Leben Luthers, I. 45. Rashdall, II., pp. 245, speaks of

Erfurt as the first university formed after the model of Paris in which

the organization by nations does not appear. It was abolished 1816. The

endowments of the German universities came largely through the

appropriation of prebends.

[1063] Bezold, p. 204.

[1064] Janssen, I. 27.

[1065] Schmid, II. 112.

[1066] It seems to have been the custom to apply the rod without mercy.

Luther speaks of the number of floggings he got a day. No case is more

famous than that of Hans Butzbach. As a little fellow he was accustomed

to play truant. When the teacher, an Erfurt B. A., found it out, he

took off the child's clothes and, binding him to a post, flogged him

till the blood covered his body. His mother, hearing the cries, hurried

to the school, and bursting the door open and seeing her child, fell

fainting to the floor. Schmid, II. 125.

[1067] Bezold, p. 226.

[1068] Among the other German Humanists were Crotus Rubeanus,

1480-1540, Georg Spalatin, 1484-1545, Beatus Rhenanus, 1485-1547, Eoban

Hesse or Hessus, 1488-1540, Vadianus, 1484-1551, Glareanus or Loriti of

Glarus, 1488-1563, and Bonifacius Amerbach, 1495-1562, the last three

from German Switzerland.

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� 69. Reuchlin and Erasmus.

In his fresco of the Reformation on the walls of the Berlin museum,

Kaulbach has given a place of great prominence to Reuchlin and Erasmus.

They are represented in the group of the Humanists, standing side by

side, with books under their arms and clad in scholar's cap and gown,

their faces not turned toward the central figure on the platform,

Martin Luther. The artist has presented the truth of history. These two

most noteworthy German scholars prepared the way for the Reformation

and the modern study of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, but remained

and died in the Roman Church in which they were born. Rightly did

Ulrich von Hutten call them "the two eyes of Germany." To them, and

more especially to Erasmus, did all the greater Reformers owe a debt,

Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Melanchthon and Beza.

John Reuchlin, 1455-1522, known also by the Latin name Capnion, [1069]

was born in Pforzheim and studied at Schlettstadt, Freiburg, Paris,

Basel, Orleans, Poictiers, Florence and Rome. He learned Greek from

native Greeks, Hebrew from John Wessel and from Jewish rabbis in

Germany and Italy. He bought many Hebrew and rabbinical books, and

marked down the time and place of purchase to remind him of the

happiness their first acquaintance gave him. A lawyer by profession, he

practised law in Stuttgart and always called himself legum doctor. He

was first in the service of Eberhard, count of W�rtemberg, whom he

accompanied to Italy in 1482 as he later accompanied his son, 1490. He

served on diplomatic missions and received from the Emperor Maximilian

the rank of a count of the Palatinate. At Eberhard's death he removed

to Heidelberg, 1496, where he was appointed by the elector Philip chief

tutor in his family. His third visit to Rome, 1498, was made in the

elector's interest. Again he returned to Stuttgart, from which he was

called in 1520 to Ingolstadt as professor of Greek and Hebrew at a

salary of 200 gulden. In 1521, he was driven from the city by the

plague and was appointed lecturer in T�bingen. His death occurred the

following spring at Liebenzell in the Black Forest.

Reuchlin recommended Melanchthon as professor of Greek in the

University of Wittenberg, and thus unconsciously secured him for the

Reformation. He was at home in almost all the branches of the learning

of his age, but especially in Greek and Hebrew. He translated from

Greek writings into Latin, and a part of the Iliad and two orations of

Demosthenes into German. His first important work appeared at Basel

when he was 20, the Vocabularius breviloquus, a Latin lexicon which

went through 25 editions, 1475-1504. He also prepared a Greek Grammar.

His chief distinction, however, is as the pioneer of Hebrew learning

among Christians in Northern Europe. He gave a scientific basis for the

study of this language in his Hebrew Grammar and Dictionary, the De

rudimentis hebraicis, which he published in 1506 at his own cost at

Pforzheim. Its circulation was slow and, in 1510, 750 copies of the

edition of 1,000 still remained unsold. The second edition appeared in

1537. The author proudly concluded this work with the words of Horace,

that he had reared a monument more enduring than brass. [1070] In 1512,

he issued the Penitential Psalms with a close Latin translation and

grammatical notes, a work used by Luther. The printing of Hebrew books

had begun in Italy in 1475.

Reuchlin pronounced Hebrew the oldest of the tongues--the one in which

God and angels communicated with man. In spite of its antiquity it is

the richest of the languages and from it other languages drew, as from

a primal fountain. He complained of the neglect of the study of the

Scriptures for the polite study of eloquence and poetry. [1071]

Reuchlin studied also the philosophy of the Greeks and the Neo-Platonic

and Pythagorean mysticisms. He was profoundly convinced of the value of

the Jewish Cabbala, which he found to be a well of hidden wisdom. In

this rare branch of learning he acknowledged his debt to Pico della

Mirandola, whom he called "the greatest scholar of the age." He

published the results of his studies in two works--one, De verbo

mirifico, which appeared at Basel in 1494, and passed through eight

editions; and one, De arte cabbalistica, 1517. "The wonder-working word

"is the Hebrew tetragrammaton Ihvh, the unpronounceable name of God,

which is worshipped by the celestials, feared by the infernals and

kissed by the soul of the universe. The word Jesu, Ihsvh, is only an

enlargement of Ihvh by the letter s. The Jehovah- and Jesus-name is the

connecting link between God and man, the infinite and the finite. Thus

the mystic tradition of the Jews is a confirmation of the Christian

doctrine of the trinity and the divinity of Christ. Reuchlin saw in

every name, in every letter, in every number of the old Testament, a

profound meaning. In the three letters of the word for create, bara,

Gen. 1:1, he discerned the mystery of the Trinity; in one verse of

Exodus, 72 inexpressible names of God; in Prov. 30:31, a prophecy that

Frederick the Wise, of Saxony, would follow Maximilian as emperor of

Germany, a prophecy which was not fulfilled. We may smile at these

fantastic vagaries; but they stimulated and deepened the zeal for the

hidden wisdom of the Orient, which Reuchlin called forth from the

grave.

Through his interest in the Jews and in rabbinical literature, Reuchlin

became involved in a controversy which spread over all Europe and

called forth decrees from Cologne and other universities, the

archbishop of Mainz, the inquisitor-general of Germany, Hoogstraten,

the emperor, Maximilian, and Pope Leo X. The monks were his chief

opponents, led by John Pfefferkorn, a baptized Jew of Cologne. The

controversy was provoked by a tract on the misery of the Jews, written

by Reuchlin, 1505--Missive warumb die Juden so lang im Elend sind. Here

the author made the obstinacy of the Jews in crucifying Christ and

their persistence in daily blaspheming him the just cause of their

sorrows, but, instead of calling for their persecution, he urged a

serious effort for their conversion. In a series of tracts, Pfefferkorn

assaulted this position and demanded that his former coreligionists, as

the sworn enemies of Christ, should be compelled to listen to Christian

preaching, be forbidden to practise usury and that their false Jewish

books should be destroyed. [1072] The flaming anti-Semite prosecuted

his case with the vigor with which a few years later Eck prosecuted the

papal case against Luther. Maximilian, whose court he visited three

times to present the matter, Hoogstraten and the University of Cologne

took Pfefferkorn's side, and the emperor gave him permission to burn

all Jewish books except, of course, the Old Testament. Called upon to

explain his position by the archbishop of Mainz, with whom Maximilian

left the case, Reuchlin exempted from destruction the Talmud, the

Cabbala and all other writings of the Jews except the Nizahon and the

Toledoth Jeshu, which, after due examination and legal decision, might

be destroyed, as they contained blasphemies against Christ, his mother

and the Apostles. He advised the emperor to order every university in

Germany to establish chairs of Hebrew for ten years. [1073]

Pfefferkorn, whom Reuchlin had called a "buffalo or an ass," replied in

a violent attack, the Handmirror--Handspiegel wider und gegen die Juden

-- 1511. Both parties appeared before the emperor, and Reuchlin replied

in the Spectacles--Augenspiegel,--which in its turn was answered by his

antagonist in the Burning Glass--Brandspiegel. The sale of the

Spectacles was forbidden in Frankfurt. Reuchlin followed in a Defense

against all Calumniators, 1513, and after the manner of the age

cudgelled them with such epithets as goats, biting dogs, raving wolves,

foxes, hogs, sows, horses, asses and children of the devil. [1074] An

appeal he made to Frederick the Wise called forth words of support from

Carlstadt and Luther. The future Reformer spoke of Reuchlin as a most

innocent and learned man, and condemned the inquisitorial zeal of the

Cologne theologians who "might have found worse occasions of offence on

all the streets of Jerusalem than in the extraneous Jewish question."

The theological faculty of Cologne, which consisted mostly of

Dominicans, denounced 43 sentences taken from Reuchlin as heretical,

1514. The Paris university followed suit. Cited before the tribunal of

the Inquisition by Hoogstraten, Reuchlin appealed to the pope.

Hoogstraten had the satisfaction of seeing the Augenspiegel publicly

burnt at Cologne, Feb. 10, 1514. The young bishop of Spires, whom Leo

X. appointed to adjudicate the case, cleared Reuchlin and condemned

Hoogstraten to silence and the payment of the costs, amounting to 111

gulden, April 24, 1514. [1075] But the indomitable inquisitor took

another appeal, and Leo appointed Cardinal Grimani and then a

commission of 24 to settle the dispute. All the members of the

commission but Sylvester Prierias favored Reuchlin, who was now

supported by the court of Maximilian, by the German "poets" as a body

and by Ulrich von Hutten, but opposed by the Dominican order. When a

favorable decision was about to be rendered, Leo interposed, June 23,

1520, and condemned Reuchlin's book, the Spectacles, as a work friendly

to the Jews, and obligated the author to pay the costs of trial and

thereafter to keep silence. The monks had won and Pfefferkorn, with

papal authority on his side, could celebrate his triumph over

scholarship and toleration in a special tract, 1521.

With the Reformation, which in the meantime had broken out at

Wittenberg, the great Hebrew scholar showed no sympathy. He even turned

away from Melanchthon and cancelled the bequest of his library, which

he had made in his favor, and gave it to his native town, Pforzheim. He

prevented, however, Dr. Eck, during his brief sojourn at Ingolstadt,

from burning Luther's writings. His controversy with Pfefferkorn had

shown how strong in Germany the spirit of obscurantism was, but it had

also called forth a large number of pamphlets and letters in favor of

Reuchlin. The Hebrew pathfinder prepared a collection of such

testimonies from Erasmus, Mutianus, Peutinger, Pirkheimer, Busch,

Vadianus, Glareanus, Melanchthon, �colampadius, Hedio and others,--in

all, 43 eminent scholars who were classed as Reuchlinists.

Among the writings of the Reuchlinists against the opponents of the new

learning, the Letters of Unfamed Men--Epistolae virorum obscurorum --

occupy the most prominent place. These epistles are a fictitious

correspondence of Dominican monks who expose their own old-fogyism,

ignorance and vulgarity to public ridicule in their barbarous

German-Latin jargon, which is called kitchen-Latin, K�chenlatein, and

which admits of no adequate translation. They appeared anonymously, but

were chiefly written by Ulrich von Hutten and Crotus Rubeanus whose

German name was Johannes Jaeger. The authors were friends of Luther,

but Crotus afterwards fell out with the Reformation, like Erasmus and

other Humanists.

Ulrich von Hutten, 1488-1523, after breaking away from the convent in

which his father had placed him six years before, pursued desultory

studies in the University of Cologne, developed a taste for the

Humanistic culture and travelled in Italy. In 1517, he returned to

Germany and had a position at the court of the pleasure-loving

Albrecht, archbishop of Mainz, a patron of the new learning. He was

crowned with the poet's crown by Maximilian and was hailed as the

future great epic poet of Germany by Erasmus, but later incurred the

hostility of that scholar who, after Hutten's death, directed against

his memory the shafts of his satire. He joined Franz von Sickingen in

standing ready to protect Luther at Worms. Placed under the ban, he

spent most of his time after 1520, till his death, in semi-concealment

at Schlettstadt, Basel and at Z�rich under the protection of Zwingli.

Hutten's life at Cologne and in Rome gave him opportunity enough to

find out the obscurantism of the Dominicans and other foes of progress

as well as the conditions prevailing at the papal court. In 1517, he

edited Valla's tract on the spurious Donation of Constantine and, with

inimitable irony, dedicated it to Leo X. In ridicule and contempt it

excelled everything, Janssen says, that had been written in Germany up

to that time against the papacy. As early as 1513, Hutten issued

epigrams from Italy, calling Julius II. "the corrupter of the earth,

the plague of mankind." [1076] His Latin poem, the Triumph of Reuchlin,

1518, defended the Hebrew scholar, and called for fierce punishment

upon Pfefferkorn. It contained a curious woodcut, representing

Reuchlin's triumphal procession to his native Pforzheim, and his

victory over Hoogstraten and Pfefferkorn with their four idols of

superstition, barbarism, ignorance and envy. [1077]

The 10 Epistles of the Unfamed Men, written first in Latin and then

translated by Hutten into German, with genial and not seldom coarse

humor, demanded the restriction of the pope's tyranny, the dissolution

of the convents, the appropriation of annates and lands of abolished

convents and benefices for the creation of a fund for the needy. The

amorous propensities of the monks are not spared. The author called the

holy coat of Treves a lousy old rag, and declared the relics of the

three kings of Cologne to be the bodies of three Westphalian peasants.

In the 4th letter, entitled the Roman trinity, things are set forth and

commented upon which were found in three's in Rome. Three things were

considered ridiculous at Rome: the example of the ancients, the papacy

of Peter and the last judgment. There were three things of which they

had a superabundance in the holy city: antiquities, poison and ruins;

three articles were kept on sale: Christ, ecclesiastical places and

women; three things which gave the Romelings pain: the unity among the

princes, the growing intelligence of the people and the revelation of

their frauds; three things which they disliked most to hear about: a

general council, a reformation of the clerical office and the opening

of the eyes of the Germans; three things held as most precious:

beautiful women, proud horses and papal bulls. These were some of the

spectacles which Rome offered. Had not Hutten himself been in Rome,

when the same archbishop's pall was sold twice in a single day! The

so-called "gracious expectations," which the pope distributed, were a

special mark of his favor to the Germans. [1078] Hutten's wit reached

the popular heart, drew laughter from the educated and stirred up the

wrath of the self-satisfied advocates of the old ways. As a knight, he

touched a new chord, the national German pride, a chord on which Luther

played as a master.

What Reuchlin did for Hebrew learning, Erasmus, who was twelve years

his junior, accomplished for Greek learning and more. He established

the Greek pronunciation which goes by his name; he edited and

translated Greek classics and Church Fathers and made them familiar to

northern scholars, and he furnished the key to the critical study of

the Greek Testament, the magna charta of Christianity. He was the

contemporary of the Protestant Reformers and was an invaluable aid to

the movement led by them through his edition of the New Testament, his

renunciation of scholastic subtlety in its interpretation and his

attacks on the ceremonial religiosity of his age. But, when the time

came for him to take open sides, he protested his aversion to the

course which the Reformers had taken as a course of violence and

revolution. He died in isolation, without a party. The Catholics would

not claim him; the Protestants could not. [1079]

Desiderius Erasmus, 1466-1536, was born at Rotterdam out of wedlock,

his father probably a priest at the time. [1080] His school life began

at Deventer when he was nine years old, Hegius then being in charge.

His parents died when he was 13 and, in 1481, he was in the school at

Herzogenbusch where he spent three years, a period he speaks of as lost

time. His letters of after years refer to his school experiences

without enthusiasm or gratitude. After wandering about, he was

persuaded against his will to enter a convent at Steyn. This step, in

later years, he pronounced the most unfortunate calamity of his life.

To his experience in the convent he ascribed the physical infirmity of

his manhood. But he certainly went forth with the great advantage of

having become acquainted with conventual life on its inside, and

wholesome moral influence must have been exerted from some quarter in

his early life to account for the moral discrimination of his later

years. His ability secured for him the patronage of the bishop of

Cambray, who intended taking him as his interpreter to Italy, where he

hoped to receive the cardinal's hat. So far as Italy went, the young

scholar was disappointed, but the bishop sent him to Paris, without,

however, providing him with much financial assistance. He was able to

support himself from the proceeds of instruction he gave several young

Englishmen and, through their mediation, Erasmus made his first visit

to England, 1499. This visit seems to have lasted only two or three

months. [1081]

At Oxford, the young scholar met Colet and Sir Thomas More and, through

the influence of the former, was induced to give more attention to the

Greek than he had been giving. The next years he spent in France and

Holland writing his book of Proverbs,--Adagia,--issued 1500, and his

Manual of the Christian soldier, --Enchiridion militis

Christiani,--issued in 1502. In 1505, he was back in England, remaining

there for three years. He then embraced an opportunity to travel in

Italy with the two sons of Henry VII.'s Genoese physician, Battista

Boerio. At Turin, he received the doctor's degree, spent a number of

months in Venice, turning out work for the Aldine presses, and visited

Bologna, Rome and other cities. There is no indication in his

correspondence that he was moved by the culture, art or natural scenery

of Italy, nor does he make a single reference to the scenery of the

Alps which he crossed.

Expecting lucrative appointment from Henry VIII., Erasmus returned to

England, 1509, remaining there five years. On his way, he wrote for

diversion his Praise of Folly,--Encomium moriae,--a book which received

its title from the fact that he was thinking of Sir Thomas More when

its conception took form in his mind. The book was completed in More's

house and was illustrated with life-like pictures by Holbein. [1082]

During part of this sojourn in England, Erasmus was entered as "Lady

Margaret's Professor of Divinity" at Cambridge and taught Greek. The

salary was 65 dollars a year, which Emerton calls "a respectable sum."

He was on intimate terms with Colet, now dean of St. Paul's, More,

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Archbishop Warham and other Englishmen.

Lord Mountjoy provided him with an annuity and Archbishop Warham with

the living of Aldington in 1411, which Erasmus retained for a while and

then exchanged for an annuity of �20 from the archbishop. [1083]

From 1515-1521, he had his residence in different cities in the

Lowlands, and it was at this time he secured complete dispensation from

the monastic vow which had been granted in part by Julius II. some

years earlier. [1084] Erasmus' fame now exceeded the fame of any other

scholar in Europe. Wherever he went, he was received with great honors.

Princes joined scholars and prelates in doing him homage. Melanchthon

addressed to him a poem, "Erasmus the best and greatest," Erasmum

optimum, maximum. His edition of the Greek New Testament appeared in

1516, and in 1518 his Colloquies, a collection of familiar relations of

his experiences with men and things.

When persecution broke out in the Netherlands after Leo's issuance of

his bull against Luther, Erasmus removed to Basel, where some of his

works had already been printed on the Froben presses. At first be found

the atmosphere of his new home congenial, and published one edition

after the other of the Fathers,--Hilary 1523, Irenaeus 1526, Ambrose

1527, Augustine 1528, Epiphanius 1529, Chrysostom 1530. But when the

city, under the influence of Oecolampadius, went Protestant and Erasmus

was more closely pushed to take definite sides or was prodded with

faithlessness to himself in not going with the Reformers, he withdrew

to the Catholic town of Freiburg in Breisgau, 1529. The circulation of

his Colloquies had been forbidden in France and burnt in Spain, and his

writings were charged by the Sorbonne with containing 82 heretical

teachings. On the other hand, he was offered the red hat by Paul III.,

1535, but declined it on account of his age.

After the death of Oecolampadius, he returned to Basel, 1535, broken

down with the stone and catarrh. The last work on which he was engaged

was an edition of Origen. He died calling out, "Oh, Jesus Christ, thou

Son of God, have mercy on me," but without priest or extreme

unction,--sine lux, sine crux, sine Deus, as the Dominicans of Cologne

in their joy and bad Latin expressed it. He was buried in the

Protestant cathedral of Basel, carried to the grave, as his friend and

admirer, Beatus Rhenanus, informs us, on the shoulders of students. The

chief magistrate of the city and all the professors and students were

present at the burial.

Erasmus was the prince of Humanists and the most influential and useful

scholar of his age. He ruled with undisputed sway as monarch in the

realm of letters. He combined brilliant genius with classical and

biblical learning, keen wit and elegant taste. He rarely wrote a dull

line. His extensive travels made him a man of the world, a genuine

cosmopolitan, and he stood in correspondence with scholars of all

countries who consulted him as an oracle. His books had the popularity

and circulation of modern novels. When the rumor went abroad that his

Colloquies were to be condemned by the Sorbonne, a Paris publisher

hurried through the press an edition of 24,000 copies. To the income

from his writings and an annuity of 400 gulden which he received as

counsellor of Charles V.--a title given him in 1516--were added the

constant gifts from patrons and admirers. [1085]

Had Erasmus confined himself to scholarly labors, though he secured

eminence as the first classicist of his age, his influence might have

been restricted to his time and his name to a place with the names of

Politian of Italy and Budaeus of France, whose works are no longer

read. But it was otherwise. His labors had a far-reaching bearing on

the future. He was a leading factor in the emancipation of the mind of

Europe from the bondage of ignorance and superstition, and he uncovered

a lifeless formalism in religion. He unthawed the frost-bitten

intellectual soil of Germany. The spirit of historical criticism which

Laurentius Valla had shown in the South, he represented north of the

Alps, and of Valla he spoke as "unrivalled both in the sharpness of his

intelligence and the tenacity of his memory." [1086] But the sweep of

his influence is due to the mediation of his pupils and admirers,

Zwingli, Oecolampadius and Luther.

Erasmus' break with the old mediaeval ecclesiasticism was shown in a

fourfold way. He scourged the monks for their ignorance, pride and

unchastity, and condemned that ceremonialism in religion which is

without heart; he practised the critical method in the treatment of

Scripture; he issued the first Greek New Testament; be advocated the

translation of the Bible into the languages spoken in his day.

In almost every work that he wrote, Erasmus, in a vein of satire or in

serious statement, inveighed against the hypocritical pretension of the

monkery of his time and against the uselessness of hollow religious

rites. In his edition of the New Testament, he frequently returns to

these subjects. For example, in a note on Matt. 19:12 he speaks of the

priests "who are permitted to fornicate and may freely keep concubines

but not have a wife." [1087] Nowhere is his satire more keen on the

clergy than in the Praise of Folly. In this most readable book, Folly

represented as a female, delivers an oration to an audience of all

classes and conditions and is most explicit and elaborate when she

discourses on the priests, monks, theologians and the pope. After

declaring with consummate irony that of all classes the theologians

were the least dependent upon her, Folly proceeds to exhibit them as

able to give the most exquisite solutions for the most perplexing

questions, how in the wafer accidents may subsist without a subject,

how long a time it required for the Saviour to be conceived in the

Virgin's womb, whether God might as easily have become a woman, a

devil, a beast, an herb or a stone as a man. In view of such wonderful

metaphysics, the Apostles themselves would have needed a new

illuminating spirit could they have lived again.

As for the monks, whose name signifies solitude, they were to be found

in every street and alley. They were most precise about their girdles

and hoods and the cut of their crowns, yet they easily provoked

quarrels, and at last they would have to search for a new heaven, for

entrance would be barred them to the old heaven prepared for such as

are true of heart. As for the pope, Luther's language never pictured

more distinctly the world-wide gulf between what the successor of St.

Peter should be and really was, than did the biting sentences of

Erasmus. Most liberal, he said, were the popes with the weapons of the

Spirit,--interdicts, greater and lesser excommunications, roaring bulls

and the like,--which they launch forth with unrestrained vehemence when

the authority of St. Peter's chair is attacked. These are they who by

their lusts and wickedness grieve the Holy Spirit and make their

Saviour's wounds to bleed afresh. [1088] In the Enchiridion, he says,

"Apostle, pastor and bishop" are names of duties not of government, and

papa, pope, and abbas, abbot, are titles of love. The sale of

indulgences, saint worship and other mediaeval abuses came in for

Erasmus' poignant thrusts.

In addition to his own Annotations and Paraphrases of the New

Testament, he edited the first printed edition of Valla's Annotations,

which appeared in Paris, 1505. It was his great merit to call attention

to the plain meaning of Scripture and to urge men "to venerate the

living and breathing picture of Christ in the sacred books, instead of

falling down before statues of wood and stone of him, adorned though

they were with gold. What were Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and

Ockam compared with him, whom the Father in heaven called His beloved

Son!" As for the Schoolmen, he said, "I would rather be a pious divine

with Jerome than invincible with Scotus. Was ever a heretic converted

by their subtleties!" [1089]

The appearance of Erasmus' edition of the Greek Testament at Basel,

1516, marked an epoch in the study and understanding of the Scriptures.

It was worth more for the cause of religion than all the other literary

works of Erasmus put together, yea, than all the translations and

original writings of all the Renaissance writers. The work contained a

dedication to Leo X., a man whom Erasmus continued to flatter, as in

the epistle dedicating to him his edition of Jerome, but who of all men

was destined to oppose the proclamation of the true Gospel. The volume,

672 pages in all, contained the Greek text in one column and Erasmus'

own Latin version in the other, together with his annotations. It was

hurried through the press in order to anticipate the publication of the

New Testament of the Complutensian Polyglot, which was actually printed

in 1514, but was not given to the public till 1520. The editor used

three manuscripts of the 12th century, which are still preserved in the

university library of Basel and retain the marginal notes of Erasmus

and the red lines of the printer to indicate the corresponding pages of

the printed edition. Erasmus did not even take the trouble to copy the

manuscripts, but sent them, with numerous marginal corrections, to the

printer. [1090] The manuscript of the Apocalypse was borrowed from

Reuchlin, and disappeared, but was rediscovered, in 1861, by Dr.

Delitzsch in the library of Oettingen-Wallerstein at Mayhingen,

Bavaria. It was defective on the last leaf and supplemented by Erasmus,

who translated the last six verses from the Vulgate into indifferent

Greek, for he was a better Latinist than Hellenist.

In all, Erasmus published five editions of the Greek Testament-1516,

1519, 1522, 1527 and 1535. Besides, more than 30 unauthorized reprints

appeared in Venice, Strassburg, Basel, Paris and other cities. He made

several improvements, but his entire apparatus never exceeded eight

MSS. The 4th and the 5th editions were the basis of the textus

receptus, which ruled supreme till the time of Lachmann and Tregelles.

His notes and paraphrases on the New Testament, the Apocalypse

excepted, were translated into English, and a copy given to every

parish in 1547. Zwingli copied the Pauline Epistles from the 1st Greek

edition with his own hand in the convent at Einsiedeln, 1516. From the

2d edition of 1519, Luther prepared his German translation on the

Wartburg, 1522, and Tyndale his English version, 1526.

Thus Erasmus directly contributed to the preparation of the vernacular

versions which he so highly commended in his Preface to the 1st edition

of his Greek Testament. He there expressed the hope that the Scriptures

might be translated into every tongue and put into the hands of every

reader, to give strength and comfort to the husbandman at his plough,

to the weaver at his shuttle, to the traveller on his journey and to

the woman at her distaff. He declared it a miserable thing that

thousands of educated Christians had never read the New Testament. In

editing the Greek original, it was his purpose, so he says, to enable

the theologians to study Christianity at its fountain-head. It was high

praise when Oecolampadius confessed he had learned from Erasmus that

"in the Sacred Books nothing was to besought but Christ," nihil in

sacris scripturis praeter Christum quaerendum. [1091]

It was a common saying, to which Erasmus himself refers, that he laid

the egg which Luther hatched. His relations to the Wittenberg Reformer

and to the movement of the Reformation is presented in the 6th volume

of this series. Here it is enough to say that Erasmus desired a

reformation by gradual education and gentle persuasion within the

limits of the old Church system. He disapproved of the violent measures

of Luther and Zwingli, and feared that they would do much harm to the

cause of learning and refined culture, which he had more at heart than

religion.

He and Luther never met, and he emphatically disavowed all

responsibility for Luther's course and declared he had had no time to

read Luther's books. And yet, in a letter to Zwingli, he confessed that

most of the positions taken by Luther he had himself taken before

Luther's appearance. The truth is that Erasmus was a critical scholar

and not a man of action or of deep fervor of conviction. At best, he

was a moralist. He went through no such religious experiences as

Luther, and Luther early wrote to Lange that he feared Erasmus knew

little of the grace of God. The early part of the 16th century was a

period when the critic needed to be supplemented. Erasmus had no mind

for the fray of battle. His piety was not deep enough to brave a

rupture with the old order. He courted the flattery of the pope, though

his pen poured forth ridicule against him. And nowhere is the

difference of the two men shown in clearer light than in their

treatment of Leo X., whom, when it was to his advantage, Erasmus lauded

as a paragon of culture. [1092] He did not see that something more was

needed than literature and satire to work a change. The times required

the readiness for martyrdom, and Erasmus' religious conviction was not

sufficient to make him ready to suffer for principle. On most

controverted points, Emerton well says he had one opinion for his

friends and another for the world. He lacked both the candor and the

courage to be a religious hero. "Erasmus is a man for himself" was the

apt characterization often repeated in the Letters of Unfamed Men.

Luther spoke to the German people and fought for them. Erasmus awakened

the admiration of the polite by his scholarship and wit. The people

knew him not. Luther spoke in German: Erasmus boasted that he knew as

little Italian as Indian and that he was little conversant with German,

French or English. He prided himself on his pure Latinity.

Erasmus never intended to separate from Rome any more than his English

friends, John Colet and Thomas More. He declared he had never departed

from the judgment of the Church, nor could he. "Her consent is so

important to me that I would agree with the Arians and Pelagians if the

Church should approve what they taught." This he wrote in 1526 after

the open feud with Luther in the controversy over the freedom of the

will. The Catholic Church, however, never forgave him. All his works

were placed on the Index by two popes, Paul IV. in 1559 and Sixtus V.,

1590, as intentionally heretical. In 1564, by the final action of the

Council of Trent, this sweeping judgment was revoked and all the

writings removed from the Index except the Colloquies, Praise of Folly,

Christian Marriage and one or two others, a decision confirmed by

Clement VIII., 1596. And there the matter has rested since. [1093]

The Catholic historian of the German people, Janssen, in a dark picture

of Erasmus, presents him as vain and conceited, ungrateful to his

benefactors, always ready to take a neutral attitude on disputed

questions and, for the sake of presents, flattering to the great.

Janssen calls attention to his delight over the gold and silver vessels

and other valuables he had received in gifts. My drawers, Erasmus

wrote, "are filled with presents, cups, bottles, spoons, watches, some

of them of pure gold, and rings too numerous to count." In only one

respect, says Janssen, did he go beyond his Italian predecessors in his

attack upon the Church. The Italians sneered and ridiculed, but kept

their statements free from hypocritical piety, which Erasmus often

resorted to after be had driven his dagger into his opponent's breast.

[1094] In England, the old Puritan, Tyndale, also gave Erasmus no

quarter, but spoke of him as one "whose tongue maketh little gnats

great elephants and lifteth up above the stars whosoever giveth him a

little exhibition." [1095] But no one has ever understood Erasmus and

discerned what was his mission better than Luther. That Reformer, who

had once called him "our ornament and hope--decus nostrum et

spes,"--expressed the whole truth when, in a letter to Oecolampadius,

1523, he said: "Erasmus has done what he was ordained to do. He has

introduced the ancient languages in place of the pernicious scholastic

studies. He will probably die like Moses in the land of Moab .... He

has done enough to overcome the evil, but to lead to the land of

promise is not, in my judgment, his business."

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[1069] From ka'pnion, i.e. little smoke, the Greek equivalent for

Reuchlin, the diminutive of Rauch, smoke.

[1070] "Stat [exegi] monumentum aere perennius." Reuchlin also

explained the difficult theory of Hebrew accentuation, in De accentibus

et orthographia lingum hebr., 1518. Comp. Geiger, Das Studium der hebr.

Sprache in Deutschland v. Ende des 15ten bis zur Mitte des 16ten

Jahrh., Breslau, 1870, and his Reuchlin, 161, etc.

[1071] See quotation in Janssen, II. 40.

[1072] Judenspiegel; Judenbeichte; Osternbuch; Judenfeind, 1507-'09.

[1073] "Rathschlag, ob man den ruden alle ihre B�cher nehmen, abthun

und verbrennen soll," Stuttgart, Nov. 6, 1510.

[1074] Janssen, II. 51, in justifying the inquisitorial process and the

action of the Un. of Cologne against Reuchlin, makes a great deal of

these epithets.

[1075] For an account of Hoogstraten, d. 1527, who came from Brabant,

see Paulus: Die deutschen Dominikaner, etc., pp. 86-106. Among other

writings, he wrote a book on witchcraft and two books, 1525, 1526,

against Luther's tracts, the Babylonian Captivity and Christian

Freedom, Paulus, p. 105.

[1076] Strauss, I. 99 sqq.

[1077] B�cking, III. 413-448. Geiger: Reuchlin, p. 522, gives a

facsimile of the picture.

[1078] Strauss: Hutten's Gespr�che, pp. 121-3, etc., 143.

[1079] Volume VI. of this History gives an extended survey of Erasmus'

career, writings and theological opinions. He belongs to the Middle

Ages as much as to the modem period if not more, and the salient

features of his life and historical position must be given here, even

if there be a partial repetition of the treatment of vol. VI.

[1080] In the compendium which he wrote of his life, Erasmus distinctly

states that he was born out of wedlock and seems to imply that his

father was a priest at the time. See Nichols, Letters, I. 14. The other

view that the father became a priest later is taken by Froude, p. 2,

and most writers.

[1081] Nichols, 1. 224.

[1082] Nichols, II. 2 sqq., 262.

[1083] See Emerton's remarks on this matter, p. 184 sqq.

[1084] Nichols, II. 148 sq., 462.

[1085] See Drummond, II. 268.

[1086] Nichols, I. 64.

[1087] For a number of quotations, see Froude, 123 sqq.

[1088] Compare Erasmus' disparaging remarks on the papacy on the

occasion of the pageant of Julius II. at Bologna when an arch bore the

inscription, "To Julius II, Conqueror of the Tyrant," Faulkner, p. 82

sqq.

[1089] Paraclesis ad lectorem, prefixed to Erasmus' New Testament.

[1090] Praecipitatum fuit verius quam editum, says Erasmus himself in

the Preface. The 2d edition also contains several pages of errors, some

of which have affected Luther's version. The 3d edition first inserts

the spurious passage of the three heavenly witnesses, 1 John 5:7, to

remove any occasion of offence, ne cui foret ansa calumniandi.

[1091] Nichols, II. 535.

[1092] Nichols, II. 198, 314, 522.

[1093] See Emerton, pp. 454-5.

[1094] Janssen, II. 9 sqq. The inventory of his goods contains a list

of his furniture, wardrobe, napkins, nightcaps, cushions, goblets,

silver vessels, gold rings and money (722 gold gulden, 900 gold crowns,

etc.). See Sieber, Inventarium �ber die Hinterlassenschaft des Erasmus

vom 22 Juli, 1536, Basel, 1889.

[1095] Pref. to Pentateuch, Parker Soc. ed., p. 395.

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� 70. Humanism in France.

Humanism in France found its way from Italy, but did not become a

distinct movement until the 16th century was well on its way. Budaeus,

1467-1540, was the chief representative of classical studies; Faber

Stapulensis, or, to use his French name, Lef�vre d'Etaples, of

Christian culture, 1469-1536, both of them living well into the period

of the Reformation. [1096] In France, as in Germany, the pursuit of the

classics never went to the point of intoxication as it did in Italy. In

France, the Renaissance did not reach its maturity till after the

Reformation was well advanced in Germany, the time at which the springs

of the movement in the Italian peninsula were dried up.

On the completion of the 100 years' war between France and England, the

intellectual currents began to start. In 1464, Peter Raoul composed for

the duke of Bourgogne a history of Troy. At that time the French still

regarded themselves as descendants of Hector. If we except Paris, none

of the French universities took part in the movement. Individual

writers and printing-presses at Paris, Lyons, Rouen and other cities

became its centres and sources. William Fichet and Gaguin are usually

looked upon as the first French Humanists. Fichet introduced "the

eloquence of Rome" at Paris and set up a press at the Sorbonne. He

corresponded with Bessarion and had in his library volumes of Petrarca,

Guarino of Verona and other Italians. Gaguin copied and corrected

Suetonius in 1468 and other Latin authors. Poggio's Jest-book and some

of Valla's writings were translated into French. In the reign of Louis

XI., who gloried in the title "the first Christian king," French poets

celebrated his deeds. The homage of royalty took in part the place

among the literary men of France that the cult of antiquity occupied in

Italy. [1097]

Greek, which had been completely forgotten in France, had its first

teachers in Gregory Tifernas, who reached Paris, 1458, John Lascaris,

who returned with Charles VIII., and Hermonymus of Sparta, who had

Reuchlin and Budaeus among his scholars. An impetus was given to the

new studies by the Italian, Aleander, afterwards famous for his

association with Luther at Worms. He lectured in Paris, 1509, on Plato

and issued a Latino-Greek lexicon. In 1512 his pupil, Vatable,

published the Greek grammar of Chrysoloras. William Budaeus, perhaps

the foremost Greek scholar of his day, founded the Coll�ge de France,

1530, and finally induced Francis I. to provide for instruction in

Hebrew and Greek. The University of Paris at the close of the 14th

century was sunk into a low condition and Erasmus bitterly complained

of the food, the morals and the intellectual standards of the college

of Montague which he attended. Budaeus urged the combination of the

study of the Scriptures with the study of the classics and exclaimed of

the Gospel of John, "What is it, if not the almost perfect sanctuary of

the truth!" [1098] He persisted in setting himself against the

objection that the study of the languages of Scripture led on to

Lutheranism.

Lef�vre studied in Paris, Pavia, Padua and Cologne and, for longer or

shorter periods, tarried in the greater Italian cities. He knew Greek

and some Hebrew. From 1492-1506 he was engaged in editing the works of

Aristotle and Raymundus Lullus and then, under the protection of

Bri�onnet, bishop of Meaux, he turned his attention to theology. It was

his purpose to offset the Sentences of Peter the Lombard by a system of

theology giving only what the Scriptures teach. In 1509, he published

the Psalterum quintuplex, a combination of five Latin versions of the

Psalms, including a revision and a commentary by his own hand. In 1512,

he issued a revised Latin translation of the Pauline Epistles with

commentary. In this work, he asserted the authority of the Bible and

the doctrine of justification by faith, without appreciating, however,

the far-reaching significance of the latter opinion. [1099] He also

called in question the merit of good works and priestly celibacy. In

his Preface to the Psalms Lef�vre said, "For a long time I followed

Humanistic studies and I scarcely touched my books with things divine,

but then these burnt upon me with such light, that profane studies

seemed to be as darkness in comparison." Three years after the

appearance of Luther's New Testament, Lef�vre's French translation

appeared, 1523. It was made from the Vulgate, as was his translation of

the Old Testament, 1528. In 1522 and 1525, appeared his commentaries on

the four Gospels and the Catholic Epistles. The former was put on the

Index by the Sorbonne. The opposition to the free spirit of inquiry and

to the Reformation, which the Sorbonne stirred up and French royalty

adopted, forced him to flee to Strassburg and then to the liberal court

of Margaret of Angoul�me.

Among those who came into contact with Lef�vre were Farel and Calvin,

the Reformers of Geneva. In the meantime Clement Marot, 1495-1544, the

first true poet of the French literary revival, was composing his

French versification of the Psalms and of Ovid's Metamorphoses. The

Psalms were sung for pleasure by French princes and later for worship

in Geneva and by the Huguenots. When Calvin studied the humanities and

law at Bourges, Orleans and Paris, about 1520, he had for teachers

Cordier and L'Etoile, the canonists, and Melchior Wolmar, teacher of

Greek, whose names the future Reformer records with gratitude and

respect. He gave himself passionately to Humanistic studies and sent to

Erasmus a copy of his work on Seneca's Clemency, in which he quoted

frequently from the ancient classics and the Fathers. Had he not

adopted the new religious views, it is possible he would now be known

as an eminent figure in the history of French Humanism.

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[1096] Imbart, II. 382. In his Skeptics of the French Renaissance,

Lond., 1893, Owen treats of Montaigne, Peter Ramus, Pascal and other

men who were imbued with the spirit of free inquiry and lived after the

period included in this volume.

[1097] Imbart, II. 364-372. Louis XI. was eulogized as being greater

than Achilles, Alexander and Scipio, and the mightiest since

Charlemagne.

[1098] Imbart, II. 545.

[1099] Imbart, II. 394, says, Il va donner un singulier �clat � la

doctrine de la justification par la foi, sans, cependant, sacrifier les

oeuvres. This author draws a comparison between Lef�vre and Erasmus.

See, however, Lef�vre's Preface itself, and Bonet-Maury in Herzog, V.

715.

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� 71. Humanism in England.

Use well temporal things: desire eternal things.

--John Colet.

Humanism reached England directly from Italy, but was greatly advanced

by Erasmus during his three sojourns at Oxford and Cambridge and by his

close and abiding friendship with the leading English representatives

of the movement. Its history carries us at once to the universities

where the conflict between the new learning and the old learning was

principally fought out and also to St. Paul's school, London, founded

by Colet. It was marked with the usual English characteristics of

caution and reserve, and never manifested any of the brilliant or

paganizing traits of the Italian literary movement, nor did it reach

the more profound classical scholarship of the German Humanists. In the

departments of the fine arts, if we except printing, it remained

unresponsive to the Continental leadership. English Humanism, like the

theology of the English Reformation, adopted the work of others. It was

not creative. On the other hand, it laid more distinctive emphasis upon

the religious and ethical elements than the Humanistic circles of

Italy, though not of Germany. Its chief leaders were John Colet and Sir

Thomas More, with whom Erasmus is also to be associated. It had patrons

in high places in Archbishop Warham of Canterbury, Cardinal Wolsey and

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester. [1100]

The English revival of letters was a direct precursor of the English

Reformation, although its earliest leaders died in the Catholic Church.

Its first distinct impetus was received in the last quarter of the 15th

century through English students who visited Italy. It had been the

custom for English archdeacons to go to Italy for the study of the

canon law. Richard de Bury and Peter de Blois had shown interest in

books and Latin profane authors. Italians, Poggio and Polidore Virgil

[1101] among them, tarried and some of them taught in England, but the

first to introduce the new movement were William Sellyng, Thomas

Linacre and William Grocyn.

Sellyng, of All Souls' College, Oxford, and afterwards prior of Christ

Church, Canterbury, 1471-1495, made a visit to Italy in 1464 and at

Bologna was a pupil of Politian. From this tour, or from a later one,

he brought back with him some Greek MSS. and he introduced the studying

of Greek in Canterbury. Linacre, d. 1524, the most celebrated medical

man of his day in England, studied under Sellyng at Christ Church and

then in Oxford, where he took Greek under Cornelio Vitelli, the first

to publicly teach that language in England in the later Middle Ages. He

then went to Florence, Rome and Padua, where he graduated in medicine.

On returning to England, he was ordained priest and later made

physician to Henry VIII. He translated the works of Galen into English.

[1102]

While Linacre was studying in Florence, Grocyn arrived in that city. He

was teaching Greek in Oxford before 1488 and, on his return from the

Continent, he began, 1491, to give Greek lectures in that university.

With this date the historian, Green, regards the new period as opening.

Grocyn lectured on pseudo-Dionysius and, following Laurentius Valla,

abandoned the tradition that he was the Areopagite, the pupil of St.

Paul. He and Linacre were close friends of Erasmus, and that scholar

couples them with Colet and More as four representatives of profound

and symmetrical learning. [1103]

At the close of the 15th century, the English were still a "barbarous"

people in the eyes of the Italians. [1104] According to Erasmus, who

ought to have known what a good school was, the schoolteachers of

England were "shabby and broken down and, in cases, hardly in their

senses." At the universities, the study of Duns Scotus ruled and the

old method and text-books were in use. The Schoolmen were destined,

however, soon to be displaced and the leaves of the Subtle Doctor to be

scattered in the quadrangles of Oxford and trodden under foot.

As for the study of Greek, there were those, as Wood says, who preached

against it as "dangerous and damnable" and, long after the new century

had dawned, Sir Thomas More wrote to the authorities at Oxford

condemning them for opposition to Greek. [1105] A course of sermons, to

which More refers, had been preached in Lent not only against the study

of the Greek classics but also the Latin classics. What right, he went

on to say, "had a preacher to denounce Latin of which he knew so little

and Greek of which he knew nothing? How can he know theology, if he is

ignorant of Hebrew, Greek and Latin? "In closing the letter, More

threatened the authorities with punishment from Warham, Wolsey and even

the king himself, if they persisted in their course. Of the clergy's

alarm against the new learning, More took notice again and again. To

Lily, the headmaster of St. Paul's school, he wrote, "No wonder your

school raises a storm; it is like the wooden horse for the ruin of

barbarous Troy." But, if there were those who could see only danger

from the new studies, there were also men like Fisher of Rochester who

set about learning Greek when he was 60. For the venerable Sentences of

the Lombard, the Scriptures were about to be instituted as the

text-book of theology in the English universities.

The man who contributed most to this result was John Colet. Although

his name is not even so much as mentioned in the pages of Lingard, he

is now recognized, as he was by Tyndale, Latimer and other Reformers of

the middle of the 16th century, as the chief pioneer of the new

learning in England and as an exemplar of noble purposes in life and

pure devotion to culture.

The son of Sir Henry Colet, several times lord mayor of London, the

future dean of St. Paul's was one of 22 children. He survived all the

members of his family except his mother, to whom he referred, when he

felt himself growing old, with admiration for her high spirits and

happy old age. As we think of her, we may be inclined to recall the

good mother of John Wesley. After spending 3 years at Oxford,

1493-1496, [1106] young Colet, "like a merchantman seeking goodly

wares," as Erasmus put it, went to Italy. For the places where he

studied, we are left to conjecture, but Archbishop Parker two

generations later said that he studied "a long time in foreign

countries and especially the Sacred Scriptures." On his return to

Oxford, although not yet ordained to the priesthood, he began

expounding St. Paul's Greek epistles in public, the lectures being

given gratuitously. At this very moment the Lady Margaret professor of

divinity was announcing for his subject the Quodlibets of Duns Scotus.

Later, Colet expounded also the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

At this period, he was not wholly freed from the old academic canons

and was inclined to reject the reading of classic authors whose

writings did not contain a "salutatory flavor of Christ and in which

Christ is not set forth .... Books, in which Christ is not found, are

but a table of devils." [1107] Of the impression made by his

exposition, a proof is given in Colet's own description of a visit he

had from a priest. The priest, sitting in front of Colet's fire, drew

forth from his bosom a small copy of the Epistles, which he had

transcribed with his own hand, and then, in answer to his request, his

host proceeded to set forth the golden things of the 1st chapter of

Romans. [1108] His expositions abound in expressions of admiration for

Paul.

At Oxford, in 1498, Colet met Erasmus, who was within a few months of

being of the same age, and he also came into contact with More, whom he

called "a rare genius." The fellowship with these men confirmed him in

his modern leanings. He lectured on the Areopagite's Hierarchies, but

he soon came to adopt Grocyn's view of their late date. The high

estimate of Thomas Aquinas which prevailed, he abandoned and pronounced

him "arrogant for attempting to define all things" and of "corrupting

the whole teaching of Christ with his profane philosophy." [1109] Some

years later, writing to Erasmus, he disparaged the contemporary

theologians as spending their lives in mere logical tricks and

dialectic quibbles. Erasmus, replying to him, pronounced the theology

which was once venerable "become, almost dumb, poor and in rags."

As dean of St. Paul's, an appointment he received in 1504, Colet stands

forth as a reformer of clerical abuses, a bold preacher and a liberal

patron of education. The statutes he issued for the cathedral clergy

laid stress upon the need of reformation "in every respect, both in

life and religion." The old code, while it was particular to point out

the exact plane the dean should occupy in processions and the choir,

did not mention preaching as one of his duties. Colet had public

lectures delivered on Paul's Epistles, but it was not long till he was

at odds with his chapter. The cathedral school did not meet his

standard, and the funds he received on his father's death he used to

endow St. Paul's school, 1509. [1110] The original buildings were burnt

down in the London fire, and new buildings reared in 1666. The statutes

made the tuition free, and set the number of pupils at 153, since

increased threefold. They provided for instruction in "good literature,

both Latin and Greek," but especially for Christian authors that "wrote

their wisdom with clean and chaste Latin." The founder's high ideal of

a teacher's qualifications, moral as well as literary, set forth in his

statutes for the old cathedral school, was "that he should be an

upright and honorable man and of much and well-attested learning."

Along with chaste literature, he was expected "to imbue the tender

minds of his pupils with holy morals and be to them a master, not of

grammar only, but of virtue." [1111]

St. Paul's has the distinction of being the first grammar-school in

England where Greek was taught. The list of its masters was opened by

William Lily, one of the few Englishmen of his age capable of teaching

Greek. After studying at Oxford, he made a journey to Jerusalem, and

returned to England by way of Italy. He died in 1522. By his will,

Colet left all his books, "imprinted and in paper," to poor students of

the school.

As a preacher, the dean of St. Paul's was both bold and Scriptural.

Among his hearers were the Lollards. Colet himself seems to have read

Wyclif's writings as well as other heretical works. [1112] Two of his

famous sermons were delivered before convocation, 1511, and on Wolsey's

receiving the red hat. The convocation discourse, which has come down

to us entire, is a vigorous appeal for clerical reform. [1113] The text

was taken from Rom. xii:2. "Be ye not conformed to this world but be ye

reformed." The pride and ambition of the clergy were set forth and

their quest of preferment in Church and state condemned. Some

frequented feasts and banquetings and gave themselves to sports and

plays, to hunting and hawking. [1114] If priests themselves were good,

the people in their turn would be good also. "Our goodness," exclaimed

the preacher, "would urge them on in the right way far more

efficaciously than all your suspensions and excommunications. They

should live a good and holy life, be properly learned in the Scriptures

and chiefly and above all be filled with the fear of God and the love

of the heavenly life."

According to the canons of the age, the preacher went beyond the limits

of prudence and Fitz-James, bishop of London, cited him for trial but

the case was set aside by the archbishop. The charges were that Colet

had condemned the worship of images and declared that Peter was a poor

man and enjoyed no episcopal revenues and that, in condemning the

reading of sermons, Colet had meant to give a thrust to Fitz-James

himself, who was addicted to that habit. Latimer, who was at Cambridge

about that time, said in a sermon some years later, that, in those days

Doctor Colet was in trouble and should have been burned, if God had not

turned the king's heart to the contrary."

When Erasmus' Greek Testament appeared, Colet gave it a hearty welcome.

In a letter to the Dutch scholar acknowledging the receipt of a copy,

he expressed his regret at not having a sufficient knowledge of Greek

to read it and his desire to be his disciple in that tongue. It was

here he made the prediction that "the name of Erasmus will never

perish." Erasmus had written to Colet that he had dipped into Hebrew

but gone no further, "frightened by the strangeness of the idiom and in

view of the insufficiency of the human mind to master a multitude of

subjects." [1115] A much younger scholar at T�bingen, Philip

Melanchthon, had put his tribute to the Novum instrumentum in Greek

verse which was transmitted to Erasmus by Beatus Rhenanus. Fox, bishop

of Winchester, pronounced the book more instructive to him than 10

commentaries.

Not long before his death, Colet determined to retire to a religious

retreat at Shene, a resolution based upon his failing health and the

troubles in which his freedom of utterance had involved him. He did not

live to carry out his resolution. He was buried in St. Paul's. It is

noteworthy that his will contained no benefactions to the Church or

provision for masses for his soul. Erasmus paid the high tribute to his

friend, while living, that England had not "another more pious or one

who more truly knew Christ." And, writing after Colet's death to a

correspondent, he exclaimed, "What a man has England and what a friend

I have lost!" Colet had often hearkened to Erasmus' appeals in times of

stringency. [1116] No description in the Colloquies has more interest

for the Anglo-Saxon people than the description of the journey which

the two friends made together to the shrines of Thomas � Becket and of

Our Lady of Walsingham. And the best part of the description is the

doubting humor with which they passed criticism upon Peter's finger,

the Virgin's milk, one of St. Thomas' shoes and other relics which were

shown them.

Far as Colet went in demanding a reform of clerical habits, welcoming

the revival of letters, condemning the old scholastic disputation and

advocating the study of the Scriptures, it is quite probable he would

not have fallen in with the Reformation. [1117] He was fifty when it

broke out. The best word that can be spoken of him is, that he seems to

have conformed closely to the demand which he made of Christian men to

live good and upright lives for, of a surety, he said, "to do mercy and

justice is more pleasant to God, than to pray or do sacrifice to Him."

[1118] What higher tribute could be paid than the one paid by Donald

Lupton in his History of Modern Protestant Divines, 1637, "This great

dean of St. Paul's taught and lived like St. Paul." [1119]

Sir Thomas More, 1478-1535, not only died in the Catholic Church, but

died a martyr's death, refusing to acknowledge the English king's

supremacy so far as to impugn the pope's authority. After studying in

Oxford, be practised law in London, rising to be chancellor of the

realm. It is not for us here to follow his services in his profession

and to the state, but to trace his connection with the revival of

learning and the religious movement in England. More was a pattern of a

devout and intelligent layman. He wore a hair shirt next to his skin

and yet he laughed at the superstition of his age. On taking office, he

stipulated that, he should first look to God and after God to the

king." At the same time, he entered heartily with his close friends,

Erasmus and Colet, into the construction of a new basis for education

in the study of the classics, Latin and Greek. He was firmly bound to

the Church, with the pope as its head, and yet in his Utopia he

presented a picture of an ideal society in which religion was to be in

large part a matter of the family, and confession was not made to the

priest nor absolution given by the priest.

With the exception of the Utopia, all of More's genuine works were

religious and the most of them were controversial treatises, intended

to confute the new doctrines of the Reformation which had found open

advocates in England long before More's death. More was beheaded in

1535 and, if we recall that Tyndale's English New Testament was

published in 1526, we shall have a standard for measuring the duration

of More's contact with the Protestant upheaval. Tyndale himself was

strangled and burnt to death a year after More's execution. In answer

to Simon Fish's work, The Supplication of Beggars, a bitter attack

against purgatory, More sent forth the Supplication of Souls or Poor

Seely (simple) Souls pewled out of Purgatory. Here souls are

represented as crying out not to be left in their penal distress by the

forgetfulness of the living. Fish was condemned to death and burnt,

1533. As the chief controversialist on the old side, More also wrote

against John Fryth, who was condemned to the stake 1533, and against

Tyndale, pronouncing his translation of the New Testament "a false

English translation newly forged by Tyndale." He also made the strange

declaration that "Wyclif, Tyndale and Friar Barnes and such others had

been the original cause why the Scripture has been of necessity kept

out of lay people's hands." [1120] More said heretical books were

imported from the Continent to England, in vats full." He called Thomas

Hylton, a priest of Kent, one of the heretics whom he condemned to the

flames, "the devil's stinking pot." Hylton's crime was the denial of

the five sacraments and he was burnt 1530. [1121] As was the custom of

the time, More's controversial works abound in scurrilous epithets. His

opponents he distinguishes by such terms as "swine," "hellhounds that

the devil hath in his kennel," "apes that dance for the pleasure of

Lucifer." [1122] In his works against Tyndale and Fryth, he commended

pilgrimages, image-worship and indulgences. He himself, so the

chancellor wrote, had been present at Barking, 1498, when a number of

relics were discovered which "must have been hidden since the time when

the abbey was burnt by the infidels," and he declared that the main

thing was that such relics were the remains of holy men, to be had in

reverence, and it was a matter of inferior import whether the right

names were attached to them or not." [1123]

And yet, More resisted certain superstitions, as of the Franciscan monk

of Coventry who publicly preached, that "whoever prayed daily through

the Psalter to the Blessed Virgin could not be damned." He denied the

Augustinian teaching that infants dying without baptism were consigned

to eternal punishment and he could write to Erasmus, that Hutten's

Epistolae obscurorum virorum delighted every one in England and that

"under a rude scabbard the work concealed a most excellent blade."

[1124] His intimacy with Colet and Erasmus led to an attempt on the

part of the monks, in 1519, to secure his conversion.

More was beatified by Leo XIII., 1886, and with St. Edmund, Bishop

Fisher and Thomas � Becket is the chief English martyr whom English

Catholics cultivate. He died "unwilling to jeopardize his soul to

perpetual damnation" and expressing the hope that, "as St. Paul and St.

Stephen met in heaven and were friends, so it might be with him and his

judges." Gairdner is led to remark that "no man ever met an unjust doom

in a more admirable spirit." [1125] We may concur in this judgment and

yet we will not overlook the fact that More, gentleman as he was in

heart, seems to us to have been unrelenting to the men whom he

convicted as heretics and, in his writings, piled upon them epithets as

drastic as Luther himself used. Aside from this, he is to be accorded

praise for his advocacy of the reform in education and his commendation

of Erasmus' Greek Testament. He wrote a special letter to the Louvain

professor, Dorpius, upbraiding him for his attack upon the critical

studies of Erasmus and upon the revision of the old Latin text as

unwarranted.

More's Utopia, written in Latin and published in 1516 with a preface by

Budaeus, took Europe by storm. It was also called Nusquama or Nowhere.

With Plato's Republic as a precedent, the author intended to point out

wherein European society and especially England was at fault. In More's

ideal commonwealth, which was set up on an island, treaties were

observed and promises kept, and ploughmen, carpenters, wagoners,

colliers and other artisans justly shared in the rewards of labor with

noblemen, goldsmiths and usurers, who are called the unproductive

classes. "The conspiracy of the rich procuring their own commodities

under the name and title of the commonwealth" was not allowed. In

Utopia, a proper education was given to every child, the hours of

physical labor were reduced to six, the streets were 20 feet wide and

the houses backed with gardens and supplied with freshwater. The

slaughtering was done outside the towns. All punishment was for the

purpose of reform and religion, largely a matter of family. The old

religions continued to exist on the island, for Christianity had but

recently been introduced, but More, apparently belying his later

practice as judge, declared that "no man was punished for his

religion." Its priests were of both sexes and "overseers and orderers

of worship" rather than sacerdotal functionaries. Not to them but to

the heads of families was confession made, the wife prostrate on the

ground confessing to her husband, and the children to both parents. The

priests were married.

Little did More suspect that, within ten years of the publication of

his famous book, texts would be drawn from it to support the Peasants'

Revolt in Germany. [1126] In it are stated some of the sociological

hopes and dreams of this present age. The author was voicing the

widespread feeling of his own generation which was harassed with laws

restricting the wages of labor, with the enclosures of the commons by

the rich, the conversion of arable lands into sheep farms and with the

renewed warfare on the Continent into which England was drawn. [1127]

John Fisher, who suffered on the block a few months before More for

refusing to take the oath of supremacy, and set aside the succession of

Catherine of Aragon's offspring, was 79 years old when he died. Dean

Perry has pronounced him "the most learned, the most conscientious and

the most devout of the bishops of his day." In 1511, he recommended

Erasmus to Cambridge to teach Greek. On the way to the place of

beheadal, this good man carried with him the New Testament, repeating

again and again the words, "This is life eternal to know Thee and Jesus

Christ whom thou hast sent." "That was learning enough for him," he

said.

To Grocyn, Colet, More and Fisher the Protestant world gives its

reverent regard. It is true, they did not fully apprehend the light

which was spreading over Europe. Nevertheless, they went far as

pioneers of a more rational system of education than the one built up

by the scholastic method and they have a distinct place in the history

of the progress of religious thought. [1128]

In Scotland, the Protestant Reformation took hold of the nation before

the Renaissance had much chance to exercise an independent influence.

John Major, who died about 1550, wrote a commentary on the Sentences of

Peter the Lombard and is called "the last of the Schoolmen." He is,

however, a connecting link with the new movement in literature through

George Buchanan, his pupil at St Andrews. Major remained true to the

Roman communion. Buchanan, after being held for six months in prison as

a heretic in Portugal, returned to Scotland and adopted the

Reformation. According to Professor Hume-Brown, his Latin paraphrase of

the Psalms in metre "was, until recent years, read in Scotland in every

school where Latin was taught." [1129] Knox's History of the

Reformation was the earliest model of prose literature in Scotland.

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[1100] Wolsey applied the proceeds of 20 monasteries, which he closed,

to the endowment of a school at Ipswich and of Cardinal College,

Oxford. In 1516, Fox, bishop of Winchester, founded Corpus Christi

College at the same university to teach the new learning.

[1101] He wrote a History of England and revenged himself by

disparaging Wolsey, who had refused to give him his favor.

[1102] For his services to medicine, see W. Osler; Thos. Linacre,

Cambr., 1908, pp. 23-27.

[1103] Nichols: Erasmus' Letters, I. 226. Sir Thomas More, writing to

Colet, Nov., 1504, said: "I shall spend my time with Grocyn, Linacre

and Lily. The first, as you know, is the director of my life in your

absence, the second the master of my studies, the third my most dear

companion."

[1104] Seebohm, p. 283.

[1105] See the letter. Froude: Erasmus, 139.

[1106] Probably at Magdalen Hall. See Lupton, 23 sqq., and the same

cautious author for Colet's school life in London. For the facts of

Colet's career, our best authority is Erasmus' letter to Justus Jonas.

[1107] Quoted by Lupton, p. 76.

[1108] For the letter to the abbot of Winchcombe, in which Colet

describes the priest's visit, see Lupton, p. 90 sqq., and Seebohm, p.

42 sqq.

[1109] Seebohm, p. 107.

[1110] Seebohm gives 1510. For date and the original name, see

correspondence in London Times, July 7, 20, 1909, between M. E. J.

McDonnell and Gardiner, surmaster and honorable librarian of St.

Paul's. The school was sometimes called Jesus' School by Colet. The

buildings were finished, August, 1510. The present location of the

school is Hammersmith.

[1111] The statutes are given by Lupton, Appendix A., p. 271 sqq. For

the Accidence which Colet prepared for the school, see Lupton, Appendix

B. In contrasting the recent Latin with the Latin of classic authors,

profane and patristic, Colet called the former "blotterature rather

than literature." One of the rules required the boys to furnish their

own candles, stipulating they should be of wax and not of tallow. For

the bishop who preached against St. Paul's school as "a home of

idolatry," see Colet's letter to Erasmus, Nichols, II. 63.

[1112] The former is an inference from Erasmus' statement in his

account of the visit to Walsingham, and the latter Erasmus' plain

statement in his letter to Jonas.

[1113] The text in Lupton, Appendix C.

[1114] Lupton, p. 183, says Colet might aptly have referred to the case

of the archdeacon who, in the course of his visitation, went to

Bridlington Priory with 97 horses, 21 dogs and 8 hawks. For Colet's

description in the Hierarchies of Dionysius of what a priest should be,

see Lupton, p. 71; Seebohm, p. 76.

[1115] Nichols, I. 376, II. 287. At a later time, to take More's

statement, Colet prosecuted the study, Nichols, II. 393.

[1116] Nichols, H. 25, 35 sqq., 72, 258, etc.

[1117] Gasquet: The Eve of the Reformation, p. 6, insists that the

contrary view is "absolutely false and misleading."

[1118] A Right Fruitful Admonition concerning the Order of a Good

Christian Man's Life. A tract by Colet reprinted in Lupton's Life, p.

305 sqq., from an ed. of 1534.

[1119] Lupton: Life of Colet, p. 143.

[1120] See Gasquet: Eve of the Reform., p. 215 sqq.

[1121] What estimate was put upon the life of a heretic in some

quarters in England may be gathered from a letter written to Erasmus,

1511, by Ammonius, Latin secretary to Henry VIII. The writer said, he

did "not wonder wood was so scarce and dear, the heretics necessitated

so many holocausts." At the convocation of 1512, an old priest arguing

for the burning of heretics repeated the passage louder and louder

haereticum hominem devita (avoid) and explained it as if it were de

vita tolli, to be removed from life, and thus turned the passage into a

positive command to execute heretics. For Morels denial of having used

cruelty towards heretics, see hisEngl. Works, p. 901 sqq. The

martyrologist, Foxe, pronounced More "a bitter persecutor of good men

and a wretched enemy against the truth of the Gospel."

[1122] Dr. Lindsay in Cambr. Hist. of Engl. Lit., III. 19.

[1123] Gasquet: The Eve of the Reformation, p. 378.

[1124] � Nichols, II. 428. See also Seebohm, pp. 408, 416, 470.

[1125] Hist. of the Engl. Church in the 16th Cent., etc., p. 160. Among

the affecting scenes in the last experiences recorded of men devoted to

martyrdom was the scene which occurred on Morels way to the Tower,

reported by Morels first biographer, Roper (Lumby's ed., p. liii). His

favorite daughter, Margaret, longing once more to show her affection,

pressed through the files of halberdiers and, embracing her father,

kissed him and received his blessing. When she was again outside the

ranks of the guards, she forced her way through a second time for a

father's embrace.

[1126] Cambr. Hist. of Engl. Lit., p. 20. For an excellent summary of

the Utopia, see Seebohm, pp. 346-365, and also W. B. Guthrie, in

Socialism before the French Revol., pp. 54-132, N. Y., 1907. For the

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reprint of the Lat. ed., 1518, and the Engl. ed., 1551.

[1127] See Lumby's Introd., p. xiv, and Guthrie, p. 96 sq.

[1128] There is, of course, no standing ground except that of generous

toleration as between the view taken by the author and the view of

Abbot Gasquet, who can find nothing praiseworthy in the Protestant

Reformation and closes his chapter on the Revival of Letters in

England, in The Eve of the Reform., p. 46, with the words, "What put a

stop to the Humanist movement in England, as it certainly did in

Germany, was the rise of the religious difficulties which were opposed

by those most conspicuous for their championship of true learning,

scholarship and education," meaning Colet, Erasmus, Fisher and More.

For good remarks on the bearing of English Humanism on the Protestant

movement, see Seebohm, pp. 494 sqq., 510.

[1129] See chapter Reformation and Renascence in Scotl., by Hume-Brown

in Cambr. Hist. of Eng. Lit., III. 156-186. For the gifted Alesius, who

spent the best part of his life as a professor in Germany, see A. F.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE PULPIT AND POPULAR PIETY.

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of J�terbock, etc. Much material is given by W. K�hler: Dokumente zum

Ablassstreit, T�b., 1902, and A. Schulte: D. Fugger in Rom, 2 vols.,

Leipz., 1904. Vol. II contains documents.--The authoritative Cath. work

is Fr. Beringer: Die Abl�sse, ihr Wesen u. Gebrauch, pp. 860 and 64,

13th ed., Paderb., 1906.--Also Nic. Paulus: J. Tetzel, der

Ablassprediger, Mainz, 1899.--Best Prot. treatments, H. C. Lea: Hist.

of Auric. Conf. and Indulgences in the Lat. Ch., 3 vols., Phil.,

1896.--T. Brieger, art. Indulgenzen in Herzog, IX. 76-94, and

Schaff-Herzog, V. 485 sqq. and D. Wesen d. Ablasses am Ausgange d. MA,

a university address. Brieger has promised an extended treatment in

book form.--Schaff: Ch. Hist., V., I. p. 729 sqq., VI. 146 sqq.

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� 73. The Clergy.

Both in respect of morals and education the clergy, during the period

following the year 1450, showed improvement over the age of the Avignon

captivity and the papal schism. Clerical practice in that former age

was so lo that it was impossible for it to go lower and any appearance

of true religion remain. One of the healthy signs of this latter period

was that, in a spirit of genuine religious devotion, Savonarola in

Italy and such men in Germany as Busch, Thomas Murner, Geiler of

Strassburg, Sebastian Brant and the Benedictine abbot, Trithemius, held

up to condemnation, or ridicule, priestly incompetency and worldliness.

The pictures, which they joined Erasmus in drawing, were dark enough.

Nevertheless, the clergy both of the higher and lower grades included

in its ranks many men who truly sought the well-being of the people and

set an example of purity of conduct.

The first cause of the low condition, for low it continued to be, was

the impossible requirement of celibacy. The infraction of this rule

weakened the whole moral fibre of the clerical order. A second cause is

to be looked for in the seizure of the rich ecclesiastical endowments

by the aristocracy as its peculiar prize and securing them for the sons

of noble parentage without regard to their moral and intellectual

fitness. To the evils arising from these two causes must be added the

evils arising from the unblushing practice of pluralism. No help came

from Rome. The episcopal residences of Toledo, Constance, Paris, Mainz,

Cologne and Canterbury could not be expected to be models of domestic

and religious order when the tales of Boccaccio were being paralleled

in the lives of the supreme functionaries of Christendom at its centre.

The grave discussions of clerical manners, carried on at the Councils

of Constance and Basel, revealed the disease without providing a cure.

The proposition was even made by Cardinal Zabarella and Gerson, in case

further attempts to check priestly concubinage failed, to concede to

the clergy the privilege of marriage. [1130] In the programme for a

reformation of the Church, offered by Sigismund at Basel, the

concession was included and Pius II., one of the attendants on that

synod, declared the reasons for restoring the right of matrimony to

priests to be stronger in that day than were the reasons in a former

age for forbidding it. The need of a relaxation of the rigid rule found

recognition in the decrees of Eugenius IV., 1441, and Alexander VI.,

1496, releasing some of the military orders from the vow of chastity.

Here and there, priests like Lallier of Paris at the close of the 15th

century, dared to propose openly, as Wyclif had done a century before,

its full abolition. But, for making the proposal, the Sorbonne denied

to Lallier the doctorate.

In Spain, the efforts of synods and prelates to put a check upon

clerical immorality accomplished little. Finally, the secular power

intervened and repeated edicts were issued by Ferdinand and Isabella

against priestly concubinage, 1480, 1491, 1502, 1503. So energetic was

the attempt at enforcement that, in districts, clerics complained that

the secular officials made forcible entrance into their houses and

carried off their women companions. [1131] In his History of the

Spanish Inquisition, Dr. Lea devotes a special chapter to clerical

solicitation at the confessional. Episcopal deliverances show that the

priests were often illiterate and without even a knowledge of Latin.

The prelates were given to worldliness and the practice of pluralism.

The revenues of the see of Toledo were estimated at from 80,000 to

100,000 ducats, with patronage at the disposal of its incumbent

amounting to a like sum. A single instance must suffice to show the

extent to which pluralism in Spain was carried. Gonzalez de Mendoza,

while yet a child, held the curacy of Hita, at twelve was archdeacon of

Guadalajara, one of the richest benefices of Spain, and retained the

bishopric of Seguenza during his successive administrations of the

archbishoprics of Seville and Toledo. Gonzalez was a gallant knight

and, in 1484, when he led the army which invaded Granada, he took with

him his bastard son, Rodrigo, who was subsequently married in great

state in the presence of Ferdinand and Isabella to Ferdinand's niece.

In 1476, when the archbishopric of Saragossa became vacant, king Juan

II. applied to Sixtus IV. to appoint his son, Alfonzo, a child of six,

to the place. Sixtus declined, but after a spirited controversy

preserved the king's good-will by appointing the boy perpetual

administrator of the see.

In France, the bishop of Angers, in an official address to Charles

VIII., 1484, declared that the religious orders had fallen below the

level of the laity in their morals. [1132] To give a case of

extravagant pluralism, John, son of the duke of Lorraine, 1498-1550,

was appointed bishop-coadjutor of Metz, 1501, entering into full

possession seven years later, and, one after the other, he united with

this preferment the bishoprics of Toul, 1517, and T�rouanne, 1518,

Valence and Die, 1521, Verdun, 1523, Alby, 1536, Macon soon after,

Agen, 1541 and Nantes, 1542. To these were added the archbishoprics of

Narbonne, 1524, Rheims, 1533, and Lyons, 1537. He also held at least

nine abbeys, including Cluny. He resigned the sees of Verdun and Metz

to a nephew, but resumed them in 1548 when this nephew married

Marguerite d'Egmont. [1133] In 1518, he received the red hat. During

the 15th century one boy of 10 and another of 17 filled the bishopric

of Geneva. A loyal Romanist, Soeur Jeanne de Jussie, writing after the

beginning of the 16th century, testifies to the dissoluteness of the

bishops and clergy of the Swiss city and charged them with living in

adultery. [1134]

In Germany, although as a result of the labors of the Mystics the

ecclesiastical condition was much better, the moral and intellectual

unfitness was such that it calls forth severe criticism from Catholic

as well as Protestant historians. The Catholic, Janssen, says that "the

profligacy of the clergy at German cathedrals, as well as their

rudeness and ignorance, was proverbial. The complaints which have come

down to us from the 15th century of the bad morals of the German clergy

are exceedingly numerous." Ficker, a Protestant, speaks of "the

extraordinary immorality to which priests and monks yielded

themselves." And Bezold, likewise a Protestant, says that "in the 15th

century the worldliness of the clergy reached a height not possible to

surpass." [1135] The contemporary Jacob Wimpheling, set forth probably

the true state of the case. He was severe upon the clergy and yet spoke

of many excellent prelates, canons and vicars, known for their piety

and good works. He knew of a German cleric who held at one time 20

livings, including 8 canonries. To the archbishopric of Mainz, Albrecht

of Hohenzollern added the see of Halberstadt and the archbishopric of

Magdeburg. For his promotion to the see of Mainz he paid 30,000 gulden,

money he borrowed from the Fuggers.

The bishops were charged with affecting the latest fashions in dress

and wearing the finest textures, keeping horses and huntings dogs,

surrounding themselves with servants and pages, allowing their beards

and hair to grow long, and going about in green- and red-colored shoes

and shoes punctured with holes through which ribbons were drawn. They

were often seen in coats of mail, and accoutred with helmets and

swords, and the tournament often witnessed them entered in the lists.

[1136]

The custom of reserving the higher offices of the Church for the

aristocracy was widely sanctioned by law. As early as 1281 in Worms and

1294 in Osnabruck, no one could be dean who was not of noble lineage.

The office of bishop and prebend stalls were limited to men of noble

birth by Basel, 1474, Augsburg, 1475, M�nster and Paderborn, 1480, and

Osnabruck, 1517. The same rule prevailed in Mainz, Halberstadt,

Meissen, Merseburg and other dioceses. At the beginning of the 16th

century, it was the established custom in Germany that no one should be

admitted to a cathedral chapter who could not show 16 ancestors who had

joined in the tournament and, as early as 1474, the condition of

admission to the chapter of Cologne was that the candidate should show

32 members of his family of noble birth. Of the 228 bishops who

successively occupied the 32 German sees from 1400-1517, all but 13

were noblemen. The eight occupants of the see of M�nster, 1424-1508,

were all counts or dukes. So it was with 10 archbishops of Mainz,

1419-1514, the 7 bishops of Halberstadt, 1407-1513, and the 5

archbishops of Cologne, 1414-1515. [1137] This custom of keeping the

high places for men of noble birth was smartly condemned by Geiler of

Strassburg and other contemporaries. Geiler declared that Germany was

soaked with the folly that to the bishoprics, not the more pious and

learned should be promoted but only those who, "as they say, belong to

good families." It remained for the Protestant Reformation to reassert

the democratic character of the ministry.

A high standard could not be expected of the lower ranks of the clergy

where the incumbents of the high positions held them, not by reason of

piety or intellectual attainments but as the prize of birth and

favoritism. The wonder is, that there was any genuine devotion left

among the lower priesthood. Its ranks were greatly overstocked. Every

family with several sons expected to find a clerical position for one

of them and often the member of the family, least fitted by physical

qualifications to make his way in the world, was set apart for

religion. Here again Geiler of Strassburg applied his lash of

indignation, declaring that, as people set apart for St. Velten the

chicken that had the pox and for St. Anthony the pig that was affected

with disease, so they devoted the least likely of their children to the

holy office.

The German village clergy of the period were as a rule not university

bred. The chronicler, Felix Faber of Ulm, in 1490 declared that out of

1000 priests scarcely one had ever seen a university town and a

baccalaureate or master was a rarity seldom met with. With a sigh,

people of that age spoke of the well-equipped priest of, the good old

times."

From the Alps to Scandinavia, concubinage was widely practised and in

parts of Germany, such as Saxony, Bavaria, Austria and the Tirol, it

was general. The region, where there was the least of it, was the

country along the Rhine. In parts of Switzerland and other localities,

parishes, as a measure of self-defence, forced their young pastors to

take concubines. Two of the Swiss Reformers, Leo Jud and Bullinger,

were sons of priests and Zwingli, a prominent priest, was given to

incontinence before starting on his reformatory career. It was a common

saying that the Turk of clerical sensualism within was harder to drive

out than the Turk from the East.

How far the conscientious effort, made in Germany in the last years of

the Middle Ages to reform the convents, was attended with success is a

matter of doubt. John Busch labored most energetically in that

direction for nearly fifty years in Westphalia, Thuringia and other

parts. The things that he records seem almost past belief. Nunneries,

here and there, were no better than brothels. In cases, they were

habitually visited by noblemen. The experience is told of one nobleman

who was travelling with his servant and stopped over night at a

convent. After the evening meal, the nuns cleared the main room and,

dressed in fine apparel, amused their visitor by exhibitions of

dancing. [1138] Thomas Murner went so far as to say that convents for

women had all been turned into refuges for people of noble birth.

[1139] The dancing during the sessions of the Diet of Cologne, 1505,

was opened by the archbishop and an abbess, and nuns from St. Ursula's

and St. Mary's, the king Maximilian looking on. Preachers, like Geiler

of Strassburg, cried out against the moral dangers which beset persons

taking the monastic vow. [1140] The cloistral life came to be known as

"the compulsory vocation." As the time of the Reformation approached,

there was no lessening of the outcry against the immorality of the

clergy and convents, as appears from the writings of Ulrich von Hutten

and Erasmus.

The practice of priestly concubinage, uncanonical though it was,

bishops were quite ready to turn into a means of gain, levying a tax

upon it. In the diocese of Bamberg, a toll of 5 gulden was exacted for

every child born to a priest and, in a single year, the tax is said to

have brought in the considerable sum of 1,500 gulden. In 1522, a

similar tax of 4 gulden brought into the treasury of the bishop of

Constance, 7,500 gulden. The same year, complaint was made to the pope

by the Diet of N�rnberg of the reckless lawlessness of young priests in

corrupting women and of the annual tax levied in most dioceses upon all

the clergy without distinction whether they kept concubines or not.

[1141] It is not surprising, in view of these facts, that Luther called

upon monks and nuns unable to avoid incontinence of thought, to come

forth from the monasteries and marry. On the other hand, it must not be

forgotten that no plausible charge of incontinence was made against the

Reformer.

If we turn to England, we are struck with the great dearth of

contemporary religious literature, 1450-1517, as compared with Germany.

[1142] Few writings have come down to us from which to form a judgment

of the condition of the clergy. Our deductions must be drawn in part

from the testimonies of the English Humanists and Reformers and from

the records of the visitations of monasteries and also their

suppression under Henry VIII. In a document, drawn up at the request of

Henry V. by the University of Oxford, 1414, setting forth the need of a

reformation of the Church, one of the articles pronounced the

"undisguised profligacy of the clergy to be the scandal of the Church."

[1143] In the middle of the century, 1455, Archbishop Bourchier's

Commission for Reforming the Clergy spoke of the marriage and

concubinage of the secular clergy and the gross ignorance which, in

quarters, marked them. In the latter part of the century, 1489, the

investigation of the convents, undertaken by Archbishop Morton,

uncovered an unsavory state of affairs. The old abbey of St. Albans,

for example, had degenerated till it was little better than a house of

prostitution for monks. In two priories under the abbey's jurisdiction,

the nuns had been turned out to give place to avowed courtesans. The

Lollards demanded the privilege of wedlock for priests. When, in 1494,

30 of their number were arraigned by Robert Blacater, archbishop of

Glasgow, one of the charges against them was their assertion that

priests had wives in the primitive Church. [1144] Writing at the very

close of the 15th century, Colet exclaimed, "Oh, the abominable impiety

of those miserable priests, of whom this age of ours contains a great

multitude, who fear not to rush from the arms of some foul harlot into

the temple of the Church, to the altar of Christ, to the mysteries of

God." [1145] The famous tract, the Beggars' Petition, written on the

eve of the British Reformation, accused the clergy of having no other

serious occupation than the destruction of the peace of family life and

the corruption of women. [1146]

As for the practice of plural livings, it was perhaps as much in vogue

in England as in Germany. Dr. Sherbourne, Colet's predecessor as dean

of St. Paul's, was a notable example of a pluralist, but in this

respect was exceeded by Morton and Wolsey. As for the ignorance of the

English clergy, it is sufficient to refer to the testimony of Bishop

Hooper who, during his visitation in Gloucester, 1551, found 168 of 811

clergymen unable to repeat the Ten Commandments, 40 who could not tell

where the Lord's Prayer was to be found and 31 unable to give the

author. [1147]

In Scotland, the state of the clergy in pre-Reformation times was

probably as low as in any other part of Western Europe. [1148] John

IV.'s bastard son was appointed bishop of St. Andrews at 16 and the

illegitimate sons of James V., 1513-1542, held the five abbeys of

Holyrood, Kelso, St. Andrews, Melrose and Coldingham. Bishops lived

openly in concubinage and married their daughters into the ranks of the

nobility. In the marriage document, certifying the nuptials of Cardinal

Beaton's eldest daughter to the Earl of Crawford, 1546, the cardinal

called her his child. On the night of his murder, he is said to have

been with his favorite mistress, Marion Ogilvie.

Side by side with the decline of the monastic institutions, there

prevailed among the monks of the 15th century a most exaggerated notion

of the sanctifying influence of the monastic vow. According to Luther,

the monks of his day recognized two grades of Christians, the perfect

and the imperfect. To the former the monastics belonged. Their vow was

regarded as a second baptism which cleared those who received it from

all stain, restored them to the divine image and put them in a class

with the angels. Luther was encouraged by his superiors to feel, after

he had taken the vow, that he was as pure as a child. This second

regeneration had been taught by St. Bernard and Thomas Aquinas. Thomas

said that it may with reason be affirmed that any one "entering

religion," that is, taking the monastic vow, thereby received remission

of sins. [1149]

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[1130] Lea: Cler. Celibacy, II. 25. Gerson: Dial. naturae et sophiae de

castitate ecclesiasticorum. Du Pin's ed., II. 617-636.

[1131] Lea: Inq. of Spain, I. 15 sqq.

[1132] For further testimonies, see Lea: Cler. Celibacy, II. 8 sqq.

[1133] See Lea in Cambr. Mod. Hist., I. 660.

[1134] Quoted by Lindsay: The Reformation, II. 90. Of the Italian

convents, Savonarola declared that the nuns had become worse than

harlots.

[1135] Janssen, I. 681, 687, 708; Ficker, p. 27; Bezold, pp. 79, 83.

[1136] See Hefele-Hergenr�ther: Conciliengesch., VIII., under Kleidung,

and Butzbach: Satirae elegiacae quoted by Janssen, I. 685 sqq.

[1137] Janssen, I. 689-696, gives a full list of these bishops.

[1138] Janssen, I. 726. Bezold, p. 83, certainly goes far, when he

makes the unmodified statement, that the convents were high schools of

the most shameful immorality--Hochschulen der gr�uelichsten

Unsittlichkeit

[1139] Sind jetzt allgemein Edelleute Spital, Janssen, I. 724.

[1140] Die jungen M�nchlein, he said, und N�nnlein die du machest, die

werden Huren und Buben. The young monks and nuns will become harlots

and rascals. I have not spoken of that custom of mediaeval lust, the

jus primae noctis or droit de marquette as it was called, whereby the

feudal lord had the privilege of spending the first night with all

brides. Spiritual lords in Southern France, having domains, did not

shrink, in cases, from demanding the same privilege. Lea: Celibacy, I.

441.

[1141] Lea, II. 59.

[1142] Gee and Hardy: in Documents, etc., gives only two ecclesiastical

acts between 1402-1532.

[1143] Wilkins: Concil., III. 360-365.

[1144] Capes: Engl. Ch. in the 14th and 15th Centt., p. 259, says that

many of the clergy were actually married.

[1145] Seebohm, p. 76. For Hutton's summary of the Norwich visitation,

see Traill: Social Engl., II. 467 sqq. He concludes that "if the

religious did little good, they did no harm." But see same volume, p.

565, for the charge against the priests of Gloucester.

[1146] Froude puts the composition of this tract in 1528. The 16th

complaint runs: "Who is she that will set her hands to work to get 3

pence a day and may have at least 20 pence a day to sleep an hour with

a friar, a monk or a priest. Who is she that would labor for a groat a

day and may have at least 12 pence a day to be a bawd to a priest, monk

or friar?"

[1147] See James Gairdner in Engl. Hist. Rev., Jan., 1905.

[1148] Dr. Tulloch says in his Luther and other Leaders of the

Reformation, "Nowhere else had the clergy reached such a pitch of

flagrant and disgraceful iniquity and the Roman Catholic religion such

an utter corruption of all that is good as in Scotland."

[1149] Bernard in Migne, 182:889, Th. Aq. Summa, II. 2, q. 189.

Denifle, Luther und Lutherthum, I. 208, makes the monstrous charge of

deliberate lying and knavery against Luther for his treatment of

monkish baptism. Kolde: Denifle's Beschimpfung M. Luthers, Leipz.,

1904, pp. 33-49, shows the justice of Luther's representations. Their

truth is not affected by the statement of Joseph Ries: Das geistiche

Leben nach der Lehre d. hl. Bernard, p. 86, namely that Bernard and the

Church held that outside the convents there may be some who are in the

state of perfection while inside cloistral walls there maybe those who

are in the imperfect state.

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� 74. Preaching.

The two leading preachers of Europe during the last 50 years of the

Middle Ages were Jerome Savonarola of Florence and John Geiler of

Strassburg. Early in the 15th century, Gerson was led by the ignorance

of the clergy to recommend a reduction of preaching, [1150] but in the

period just before the Reformation there was a noticeable revival of

the practice of preaching in Germany and a movement in that direction

was felt in England. Erasmus, as a cosmopolitan scholar made an appeal

for the function of the pulpit, which went to all portions of Western

Europe.

In Germany, the importance of the sermon was emphasized by synodal

decrees and homiletic manuals. Such synods were the synods of

Eichst�dt, 1463, Bamberg, 1491, Basel, 1503, Meissen, 1504. Surgant's

noted Handbook on the Art of Preaching praised the sermon as the

instrument best adapted to lead the people to repentance and inflame

Christian love and called it "the way of life, the ladder of virtue and

the gate of paradise." [1151] It was pronounced as much a sin to let a

word from the pulpit fall unheeded as to spill a drop of the

sacramental wine. In the penitential books and the devotional manuals

of the time, stress was laid upon the duty of attending preaching, as

upon the mass. Those who left church before the sermon began were

pronounced deserving excommunication. Wolff's penitential manual of

1478 made the neglect of the sermon a violation of the 4th commandment.

The efficacy of sermons was vouched for in the following story. A good

man met the devil carrying a bag full of boxes packed with salves.

Holding up a black box, the devil said that he used it to put people to

sleep during the preaching service. The preachers, he continued,

greatly interfered with his work, and often by a single sermon snatched

from him persons he had held in his power for 30 or 40 years. [1152]

By the end of the 15th century, all the German cities and most of the

larger towns had regular preaching. [1153] It was a common thing to

endow pulpits, as in Mainz, 1465, Basel, 1469, Strassburg, 1478,

Constance, Augsburg, Stuttgart and other cities. The popular preachers

drew large audiences. So it was with Geiler of Strassburg, whose

ministry lasted 30 years. 10,000 are said to have gathered to hear the

sermons of the barefooted monk, Jacob Mene of Cologne, when he held

forth at Frankfurt, the people standing in the windows and crowding up

against the organ to hear him. It was Mene's practice to preach a

sermon from 7-8 in the morning, and again after the noon meal. On a

certain Good Friday he prolonged his effort five hours, from 3-8 P. M.

According to Luther, towns were glad to give itinerant monks 100 gulden

for a series of Lenten discourses.

Other signs of the increased interest felt in sermons were the

homiletic cyclopaedias of the time furnishing materials derived from

the Bible, the Fathers, classic authors and from the realm of tale and

story. To these must be added the plenaria, collections from the

Gospels and Epistles with glosses and comments. The plenarium of

Guillermus, professor in Paris, went through 75 editions before 1500.

Collections of model sermons were also issued, some of which had an

extensive circulation. The collection of John Nider, d. 1439, passed

through 17 editions. His texts were invariably subjected to a threefold

division. The collection of the Franciscan, John of Werden, who died at

Cologne about 1450, passed through 25 editions. John Herolt's volume of

Sermons of a Disciple -- Sermones discipuli -- went through 41 editions

before 1500 and is computed to have had a circulation of no less than

40,000 copies. [1154] One of the most popular of the collections called

Parati sermones--The Ready Man's Sermons -- appeared anonymously. Its

title was taken from 1 Peter 4:6, "ready--paratus -- to judge the quick

and the dead" and Ps. 119:60, "I made haste [ready] and delayed not to

observe thy commandments." In setting forth the words "Be not unwise

but understanding what the will of the Lord is" the author says that

such wisdom is taught by the animals. 1. By the lion who brushes out

his paw-prints with his tail so that the hunter is thrown off the

track. So we should with penance erase the marks of our sins that the

devil may not find us out. 2. The serpent which closes both ears to the

seducer, one ear with his tail and the other by holding it to the

ground. Against the devil we should shut our ears by the two thoughts

of death and eternity. 3. The ant from which we learn industry in

making provision for the future. 4. A certain kind of fish which sucks

itself fast to the rock in times of storm. So we should adhere closely

to the rock, Christ Jesus, by thoughts of his passion and thus save

ourselves from the surging of the waves of the world. Such materials

show that the homiletic instinct was alert and the preachers anxious to

catch the attention of the people and impart biblical truth.

The sermons of the German preachers of the 15th century were written

now in Latin, now in German. The more famous of the Latin sermonizers

were Gabriel Biel, preacher in Mainz and then professor in T�bingen, d.

1495, and Jacob J�terbock, 1883-1465, Carthusian prior in Erfurt and

professor in the university in that city. [1155] Among the notable

preachers who preached in German were John Herolt of Basel, already

mentioned; the Franciscan John Gritsch whose sermons reached 26

editions before 1500; the Franciscan, John Meder of Basel whose Lenten

discourses on the Prodigal Son of the year 1494 reached 36 editions and

Ulrich Krafft, pastor in Ulm, 1500 to 1516, and author of the two

volumes, The Spiritual Battle and Noah's Ark.

More famous than all others was Geiler of Strassburg, usually called

from his father's birthplace, Geiler of Kaisersberg, born in

Schaffhausen, 1445, died in Strassburg, 1510. He and his predecessor,

Bertholdt of Regensburg, have the reputation of being the most powerful

preachers of mediaeval Germany. For more than a quarter of a century he

stood in the cathedral pulpit of Strassburg, the monarch of preachers

in the North. After pursuing his university studies in Freiburg and

Basel, Geiler was made professor at Freiburg, 1476. His pulpit efforts

soon made him a marked man. In accepting the call as preacher in the

cathedral at Strassburg, he entered into a contract to preach every

Sunday and on all festival and fast days. He continued to fill the

pulpit till within two months of his death and lies interred in the

cathedral where he preached. [1156]

"The Trumpet of Strassburg," as Geiler was called, gained his fame as a

preacher of moral and social reforms. He advocated no doctrinal

changes. Called upon, 1500, to explain his public declaration that the

city councillors were "all of the devil," he issued 21 articles

demanding that games of chance be prohibited, drinking halls closed,

the Sabbath and festival days observed, the hospitals properly cared

for and monkish mendicancy regulated.

He was a preacher of the people and now amused, now stung them, by

anecdotes, plays on words, descriptions, proverbs, sallies of wit,

humor and sarcasm. [1157] He attacked popular follies and fashions and

struck at the priests "many of whom never said mass," and at the

convents in which "neither religion nor virtue was found and the living

was lax, lustful, dissolute and fall of all levity." [1158] Mediaeval

superstition he served up to his hearers in good doses. He was a firm

believer in astrology, ghosts and witches.

Geiler's style may seem rude to the polite age in which we live, but it

reached the ear of his own time. The high as well as the low listened.

Maximilian went to hear Geiler when he was in Strassburg. No one could

be in doubt about the preacher's meaning. In a series of 65 passion

sermons, he elaborated a comparison between Christ and a ginger

cake--the German Lebkuchen. Christ is composed of the bean meal of the

deity, the old fruit meal of the body and the wheat meal of the soul.

To these elements is added the honey of compassion. He was thrust into

the oven of affliction and is divided by preachers into many parts and

distributed among the people. In other sermons, he compared perfect

Christians to sausages.

In seven most curious discourses on Der Hase im Pfeffer an idiomatic

expression for That's the Rub--based on Prov. 30:26, "The coney is a

weak folk," he made 14 comparisons between the coney and the good

Christian. The coney runs better up hill than down, as a good Christian

should do. The coney has long ears as also a Christian should have,

especially monastics, attending to what God has to say. The coney must

be roasted; and so must also the Christian pass through the furnace of

trial. The coney being a lank beast must be cooked in lard, so also

must the Christian be surrounded with love and devotion lest he be

scorched in the furnace. In 64 discourses, preached two years before

his death, Geiler brought out the spiritual lessons to be derived from

ants and in another series he elaborated the 25 sins of the tongue. In

a course of 20 sermons to business men, he depicted the six market days

and the devil as a pedler(sic) going about selling his wares. He

preached 17 sermons on the lion in which the king of beasts was

successively treated as the symbol of the good man, the worldly man,

Christ and the devil; 12 of these sermons were devoted to the ferocious

activities of the devil. A series on the Human Tree comprised no less

than 163 discourses running from the beginning of Lent, 1495, to the

close of Lent, 1496.

During the last two years of the 15th century, Geiler preached 111

homilies on Sebastian Brant's Ship of Fools Narren-schiff -- all drawn

from the text Eccles. 1:15 as it reads in the Vulgate, "the fools are

without number." Through Geiler's intervention Brant had been brought

to Strassburg from Basel, where he was professor. His famous work,

which is a travesty upon the follies of his time, employed the figure

of a ship for the transport of his fools because it was the largest

engine of transportation the author knew of. Very humorously Brant

placed himself in the moderator's chair while all the other fools were

gathered in front of him. He himself took the r�le of the Book-fool.

Among other follies which are censured are the doings of the

mendicants, the traffic in relics and indulgences and the

multiplication of benefices in single hands. [1159] Geiler's homilies

equal Brant's poetry in humor. Both were true to life. No preacher of

the Middle Ages held the popular ear so long as Geiler of Strassburg

and no popular poet, not even Will Langland, more effectually wrote for

the masses than Sebastian Brant.

In this period, the custom came to be quite general to preach from the

nave of the church instead of from the choir railing. Preachers limited

their discourses by hour-glasses, a custom later transplanted to New

England. [1160] Sermons were at times unduly extended. Gerhard Groote

sometimes preached for three hours during Lent and John Gronde extended

some of his discourses to six hours, mercifully, however, dividing them

into two parts with a brief breathing-spell between, profitable as may

well be surmised alike to the preacher and the hearers. Geiler, who at

one time had been inclined to preach on without regard to time, limited

his discourses to a single hour.

The criticisms which preachers passed upon the customs of the day show

that human nature was pretty much the same then as it is now and that

the "good old times" are not to be sought for in that age. All sorts of

habits were held up to ridicule and scorn. Drunkenness and gluttony,

the dance and the street comedy, the dress of women and the idle

lounging of rich men's sons, usury and going to church to make a parade

were among the subjects dwelt upon. Again and again, Geiler of

Strassburg returned to the lazy sons of the rich who spent their time

in retailing scandals and doing worse, more silly in their dress than

the women, fops who "thought themselves somebody because their fathers

were rich." He also took special notice of women and their fripperies.

He condemned their belts, sometimes made of silk and adorned with gold,

costing as much as 40 or 50 gulden, their padded busts and their

extensive wardrobes, enabling them to wear for a week at a time two

different garments each day and a third one for a dancing party or the

play. He launched out against their long hair, left to fall down over

the back and crowned with ribbons or small caps such as the men wore.

As examples of warning, Absalom and Holofernes were singled out, the

former caught by his hair in the branches of the tree and Holofernes

ensnared by the adornments of Judith. Geiler called upon the city

authorities to come to the help of society and the preacher and

legislate against such evils. [1161]

Another preacher, Hollen, condemned the long trails which women wore as

"the devil's wagon," for neither men nor angels but only the devil has

a caudal appendage. As for dancing, especially the round dances, the

devil was the head concertmaster at such entertainments and the higher

the dancers jumped, the deeper their fall into hell and, the more

firmly they held on to each other with their hands, the more closely

did the devil tighten his hold upon them. Dancing was represented by

the preachers as an occasion of much profligacy.

In ridiculing the preaching of his day, Erasmus held forth the

preachers' ignorance, their incongruous introductions, their use of

stories from all departments without any discrimination, their old

women's tales and the frivolous topics they chose--aniles fabulae et

questiones frivolse. A famous passage in which the great scholar

disparages the preaching of the monks and friars begins with the words:

--

All their preaching is mere stage-playing, and their delivery the very

transports of ridicule and drollery. Good Lord! how mimical are these

gestures! What heights and falls in their voice! What toning, what

bawling, what singing, what squeaking, what grimaces, making of months,

apes' faces, and distorting of their countenance; and this art of

oratory as a choice mystery, they convey down by tradition to one

another. [1162]

Erasmus deserves credit for discerning the need of the times, and

recommending the revival of the practice of preaching and the mission

of preachers to the heathen nations. His views were set forth in the

Ecclesiastes or Preacher, a work written during the Freiburg period and

filling 275 pages, [1163] each double the size of the pages of the

hardcopy volume. The chief purpose of preaching he defined to be

instruction. Every preacher is a herald of Christ, who was himself the

great preacher. The office of preaching is superior in dignity to the

office of kings. "Among the charisms of the Spirit, none is more noble

and efficacious than preaching. To be a dispenser of the celestial

philosophy and a messenger of the divine will is excelled by no office

in the church." It is quite in accord with Erasmus' high regard for the

teaching function, that he magnifies the instructional element of the

sermon. Writing to Sapidus, 1516, he said, "to be a schoolmaster is

next to being a king." [1164]

Of the English pulpit, there is little to say. We hear of preaching at

St. Paul's Cross and at other places, but there is no evidence that

preaching was usual. No volumes of English sermons issued from the

printing-press. Colet is the only English preacher of the 15th century

of historical importance. The churchly counsel given to priests to

impart instruction to the people, issued by the Lambeth synod of 1281,

stands almost solitary. In 1466, Archbishop Nevill of York did no more

than to repeat this legislation.

In Scotland the history of the pulpit begins with Knox. Dr. Blaikie

remarks that, for the three centuries before the Reformation, scarcely

a trace of Christian preaching can be found in Scotland worthy the

name. The country had no Wyclif, as it had no Anselm. [1165] Hamilton

and Wishart, Knox's immediate forerunners, were laymen.

The Abb� Dr. Gasquet in a chapter on A Forgotten English Preacher in

his Old Eng. Bible and other Essays gives extracts from the MS. sermon

of Thomas Branton, Bishop of Rochester, 1372-1389. After saying that we

know very little about mediaeval preaching in England, Dr. Gasquet, p.

54, remarks that it is perhaps just as well, as the sermons were

probably dull and that "the modern sermon" has to be endured as a

necessary evil. In his chapter on Teaching and Preaching, pp. 244-284,

in his Eve of the Reformation, the same author returns to the subject,

but the chapter itself gives the strongest evidence of the literary

barrenness of the English Church in the closing years of the Middle

Ages and the dearth of preaching and public instruction. By far the

larger part of the chapter, pp. 254-280, is taken up with quotations

from Sir Thomas More, the tract Dives and Pauper and other tracts, to

show that the doctrine of the worship of images and saints was not

taught in its crass form and with a statement of the usefulness of

miracle-plays as a means of popular religious instruction. Dr. Gasquet

lays stress upon the "simple instruction" given by the English

priesthood in the Middle Ages as opposed to formal sermons which he

confesses "were probably by no means so frequent as in these times." He

makes the astounding assertion, p. 245, that religions instruction as a

means of social and moral improvement was not one of the primary aims

of the Reformation. The very opposite is proved by the efforts of

Luther, Calvin and Knox to secure the establishment of schools in every

hamlet and the catechisms which the two former prepared and the

numerous catechisms prepared by their fellow Reformers. And what of

their habit of constant preaching? Luther preached day after day. One

of the first signs of the Reformation in Geneva was that St. Pierre and

St. Gervaise were opened for preaching daily. Calvin incorporated into

his ecclesiastical polity as one of the orders the ministry, the

teaching body.

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[1150] Contra vanam curiositatem, Du Pin's ed., 1728, I. 106 sqq.

[1151] Manuale curatorum predicandi praebens modum, 1503, quoted by

Janssen, I. 38.

[1152] Wolff's and the Augsburger Beichtb�chlein, ed. Falk, pp. 78, 87;

Gute Vermaninge, ed. by Bahlmann, p. 78; Nicholas Rum of Rostock as

quoted by Janssen, I. 39. Der Spiegel des S�nders about 1470. See

Geffcken, p. 69. Seelentrost, 1483, etc.

[1153] Cruel, pp. 647, 652, closes his treatment of the German pulpit

in the M. A. with the observation that the old view, reducing the

amount of preaching in Germany in the 15th century, must be abandoned.

Cruel's view is now generally accepted by Protestant writers.

[1154] Jannsen, I:43.

[1155] Ullman: Reformers, etc., I. 229 sqq., classes him with the

Reformers before the Reformation, and chiefly on the basis of his

tract, De septem ecclesiae statibus.

[1156] Lives of Geiler by Abb� L. Dacheux, 1876, and Lindemann, 1877.

For earlier biographies by Beatus Rhenanus, etc., see Lorenzi, I. 1.

Geiler's sermons have been issued by Dacheux:Die �ltesten Schriften

G.'s, Freib., 1882, and by Ph. de Lorenzi, 4 vols., Treves, 1881-1883,

with a Life. See also Cruel, Deutsche Predigt, pp. 538-576; H. Hering:

Lehrbuch der Homiletik, p. 81 sq., and Kawerau, in Herzog VI. 427-432,

Janssen, I. 136 sqq.

[1157] A remarkable specimen of his power to play on words is given in

his use of the word Affe, monkey, which he applied to ten different

classes of the devil's dupes. See Cruel, p. 543. Bischof, bishop, he

derived from Beiss-schaf --bite-sheep--because prelates bit the sheep

instead of taking them to pasture.

[1158] Kawerau, VI. 428.

[1159] See Lorenzi, II. 1-321.

[1160] Cruel, quoting Surgant, p. 635. Erasmus, Praise of Folly, p. 95,

speaks of the preacher "spending his glass in telling pleasant

stories.'

[1161] See Cruel's chapter on pulpit polemics, pp. 617-629 and Janssen,

I. 440 sqq. A preacher in Ulm, John Capistran, about 1450, was put by

the aldermen in the lock-up for his excessive vehemence in condemning

the prevailing luxury in dress and other questionable social customs.

[1162] Praise of Folly, 141 sqq.

[1163] Basel, ed. 1540, pp. 643-917.

[1164] Nichols: Erasmus' Letters, II. 235.

[1165] W. G. Blaikie: The Preachers of Scotland, p. 36.

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� 75. Doctrinal Reformers.

A group of theologians appeared in Northwestern Germany who, on the one

hand, were closely associated by locality and training with the

Brothers of the Common Life and, on the other, anticipated the coming

age by the doctrinal reforms which they proposed. On the latter

account, John of Goch, John of Wesel and Wessel of Gansfort have been

properly classed with Wyclif and Huss as Reformers before the

Reformation. [1166] Erasmus has no place at their side for, with his

satire on ceremonies and church conditions, the question is always

raised of his sincerity. Savonarola suggested no doctrinal changes.

Among the new views emphasized by one or all of these three men were

the final authority of the Scriptures, the fallibility of the pope, the

sufficiency of divine grace for salvation irrespective of priestly

mediation, and the distinction between the visible and the invisible

Church. However, but for the Protestant Reformation, it is not probable

their voices would have been heard beyond the century in which they

lived.

John Pupper, 1400-1475, usually called John of Goch from his

birthplace, a hamlet on the lower Rhine near Cleves, seems to have been

trained in one of the schools of the Brothers of the Common Life, and

then studied in Cologne and perhaps in Paris. He founded a house of

Augustinians near Mecheln, remaining at its head till his death. His

writings were not published till after the beginning of the

Reformation. He anticipated that movement in asserting the supreme

authority of the Bible. The Fathers are to be accepted only so far as

they follow the canonical Scriptures. In contrast to the works of the

philosophers and the Schoolmen, the Bible is a book of life; theirs,

books of death. [1167] He also called in question the merit of monastic

vows and the validity of the distinction between the higher and lower

morality upon which monasticism laid stress. What is included under the

higher morality is within the reach of all Christians and not the

property of monks only. He renounced the Catholic view of justification

without stating with clearness the evangelical theory. [1168]

John Ruchrath von Wesel, d. 1481, attacked the hierarchy and

indulgences and was charged on his trial with calling in question

almost all the distinctive Roman Catholic tenets. He was born in

Oberwesel on the Rhine between Mainz and Coblentz. He taught at the

University of Erfurt and, in 1458, was chosen its vice-rector. Luther

bore testimony to his influence when he said, "I remember how Master

John Wesalia ruled the University of Erfurt by his writings through the

study of which I also became a master." [1169] Leaving Erfurt, he was

successively professor in Basel and cathedral preacher in Mainz and

Worms.

In 1479, Wesel was arraigned for heresy before the Inquisition at

Mainz. [1170] Among the charges were that the Scriptures are alone a

trustworthy source of authority; the names of the predestinate are

written in the book of life and cannot be erased by a priestly ban;

indulgences do not profit; Christ is not pleased with festivals of

fasting, pilgrimages or priestly celibacy; Christ's body can be in the

bread without any change of the bread's substance: pope and councils

are not to be obeyed if they are out of accord with the Scriptures; he

whom God chooses will be saved irrespective of pope and priests, and

all who have faith will enjoy as much blessedness as prelates. Wesel

also made the distinction between the visible and the invisible Church

and defined the Church as the aggregation of all the faithful who are

bound together by love--collectio omnium fidelium caritate copulatorum.

In his trial, he was accused of having had communication with the

Hussites. In matters of historical criticism, he was also in advance of

his age, casting doubt upon some of the statements of the Athanasian

Creed, abandoning the application of the term Catholic to the Apostles'

Creed and pronouncing the addition of the filioque clause--and from the

Son--unwarranted. The doctrines of indulgences and the fund of merit he

pronounced unscriptural and pious frauds. The elect are saved wholly

through the grace of God--sola Dei gratia salvantur electi.

At the request of Diether of Isenburg, archbishop of Mainz, the

Universities of Cologne and Heidelberg sent delegates to the trial. The

accused was already an old man, leaning on his staff, when he appeared

before the tribunal. Lacking strength to stand by the heretical

articles, he agreed to submit "to mother Church and the teachings of

the doctors." A public recantation in the cathedral followed, and his

books were burnt. [1171] These punishments were not sufficient to

expiate his offence and he was sentenced to imprisonment for life in

the Augustinian convent of Mainz, where he died.

Among Wesel's reported sayings, which must have seemed most blasphemous

to the devout churchman of the time, are the following: "The

consecrated oil is not better than the oil used for your cakes in the

kitchen." "If you are hungry, eat. You may eat a good capon on Friday."

"If Peter established fasting, it was in order that he might get more

for his fish" on fast days. To certain monastics, he said, "Not

religion" (that is, monastic vows) "but God's grace saves," religio

nullum salvat sed gratia Dei.

A still nearer approach to the views of the Reformers was made by

Wessel Gansfort, commonly called John Wessel, [1172] born in Groningen,

1420, died 1489. In his Preface to Wessel's writings, 1522, Luther

said, "If I had read Wessel earlier, my enemies might have said that

Luther drew everything from Wessel, so well do our two minds agree."

Wessel attended school at Zwolle, where he met Thomas � Kempis of the

neighboring convent of Mt. St. Agnes. The story ran that when Thomas

pointed him to the Virgin, Wessel replied, "Father, why did you not

rather point me to Christ who calls the heavy-laden to himself?" He

continued his studies in Cologne, where he took Greek and Hebrew, in

Heidelberg and in Paris. He declined a call to Heidelberg. In 1470, we

find him in Rome. The story went that, when Sixtus IV. invited him to

follow the common custom of visitors to the Vatican and make a request,

the German student replied that he would like to have a Hebrew or Greek

manuscript of the Bible from the Vatican. The pope, laughing, said,

"Why did you not ask for a bishopric, you fool?" Wessel's reply was

"Because I do not need it."

Wessel spent some time in Basel, where he met Reuchlin. In 1473, the

bishop of Utrecht wrote that many were seeking his life and invited him

back to Holland. His last years, from 1474 on, Wessel spent with the

Brothers of the Common Life at Mt. St. Agnes, and in the nuns' convent

at Groningen. There, in the place of his birth, he lies buried. His

last words were, "I know no one save Jesus, the Crucified."

Wessel enjoyed a reputation for great learning. He escaped arraignment

at the hands of the Inquisition, but was violently attacked after his

death in a tract on indulgences, by Jacob Hoeck, Dean of Naaldwyk. None

of Wessel's writings were published till after the outbreak of the

Reformation. Although he did not reach the doctrine of justification by

faith, he declared that pope and councils may err and he defined the

Church to be the communion of the saints. The unity of the Church does

not lie in the pope--unitas ecclesiae sub uno papa tantum accidentalis

est, adeo ut non sit necessaria. He laid stress upon the faith of the

believer in partaking of the eucharist or, rather, upon his hunger and

thirst after the sacrament. But he did not deny the sacrifice of the

mass or the validity of the communion under one kind. He gave up the

judicial element in priestly absolution. [1173] There is no such thing

as works of supererogation, for each is under obligation to do all he

can and to do less is to sin. The prerogative of the keys belongs to

all believers. Plenary indulgences are a detestable invention of the

papacy to fill its treasury.

In 1522, a Dutch lawyer, von Hoen, joining with other Netherlanders,

sent Luther a copy of some of Wessel's writings. [1174] In the preface

which the Reformer wrote for the Wittenberg edition, he said that, as

Elijah of old, so he had felt himself to be the only one left of the

prophets of God but he had found out that God had also had his prophets

in secret like Wessel.

These three German theologians, Goch, Wesel and Wessel, were quietly

searching after the marks of the true Church and the doctrine of

justification by faith in Christ alone. Without knowing it, they were

standing on the threshold of the Reformation.

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[1166] This group of men forms the subject of Ullmann's notable work

The Reformers before the Reformation published in 1841. He followed

Flacius, Walch and others before him who had treated them as precursors

of the Reformation. Hase: Kirchengesch., II. 551; K�stlin: Leben

Luthers, I. 18; Funk, p. 382, and others still hold to this

classification. Loofs: Dogmengesch., p. 658, takes another view and

says "they were not Reformers before the Reformation, nevertheless they

bear witness that, in the closing years of the Middle Ages, the

preparation made for the Reformation was not, merely negative."

Janssen, I. 745, treats them as followers of Huss.

[1167] Goch's words are Sola scriptura canonica fidem indubiam et

irrefragabilem habet auctoritatem. The writer in Wetzer-Welte concedes

Goch's depreciation of the Schoolmen and of Thomas Aquinas in

particular, whom at one point Goch calls a prince of error--princeps

erroris.

[1168] Ullmann, I. 91, 149 sqq., asserts that Goch stated the doctrine

of justification by faith alone. Clemen and the writer in Wetzer-Welte

modify this judgment. Walch, as quoted by Ullmann, p. 150, gives 9

points in which Goch anticipated the Reformation.

[1169] Catholic writers like Funk, p. 390, Wetzer-Welte and Janssen, I.

746, speak of Wesel as one of the false teachers of the Middle Ages and

find many of the doctrines of the Reformation in his writings.

[1170] For detailed account of the trial, Ullman, I. 383-405.

[1171] During his trial, Wesel acknowledged the following writing as

his: 1, Super modo obligationis legum humanarum ad quemdam Nicolaum de

Bohemia. 2, De potestate actes. 3, De jeuniis. 4, De indulgentiis.

[1172] The name, "John" is disputed by Muurling and Wetzer-Welte and

shown by Paulus to be a mistake. Gansfort, or Goesevort, was the name

of the village from which the family came.

[1173] See Ritschl: The Christian Doctr. of Justification and

Reconciliation. Edinb. ed., p. 481 sq.

[1174] In a letter accompanying the gift, Honius wrote that the words

"This is my body" meant "This represents my body." For Luther's reply,

see K�stlin: Luthers Leben, I. 701. For the lat edd. of Wessel's works,

see Doedes, pp. 435, 442. Doedes in Studien u. Kritiken, for 1870, p.

409, asks, "Who in the latter half of the 15th cent. had so much

genuine faith and evangelical knowledge as this man who was always the

scholar of the Lord Jesus Christ and nothing else?"

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� 76. Girolamo Savonarola.

Ecce gladius Domini super terram cito et velociter.

In the closing decade of the 15th century the city of Florence seemed

to be on the eve of becoming a model municipality, a pattern of

Christian morals, a theocracy in which Christ was acknowledged as

sovereign. In the movement looking towards this change, the chief actor

was Jerome Savonarola, prior of the

[picture with title below]

Savonarola

Dominican convent of St. Mark's, the most imposing preacher of the

Middle Ages and one of the most noteworthy preachers of righteousness

since St. Paul. Against the dark moral background of his generation he

appears as a broad sheet of northern light with its coruscations,

mysterious and protentous, but also quickly disappearing. His message

was the prophet's cry, "Who shall abide the day of His coming and who

shall stand when He appeareth?"

Savonarola, born in Ferrara Sept. 21, 1452, died in Florence May 23,

1498, was the third of seven children. Choosing his grandfather's

profession, he entered upon the study of medicine, from which he was

turned away by a deepening impression of the corruption of society and

disappointment at the refusal of a family of Strozzi, living at

Ferrara, to give him their daughter in marriage. At the age of 23, he

secretly left his father's house and betook himself to Bologna, where

he assumed the Dominican habit. Two days after his arrival in Bologna,

he wrote thus to his father explaining the reason of his abrupt

departure.

I could not endure any longer the wickedness of the blinded peoples of

Italy. Virtue I saw despised everywhere and vices exalted and held in

honor. With great warmth of heart, I made daily a short prayer to God

that He might release me from this vale of tears. 'Make known to me the

way,' I cried, 'the way in which I should walk for I lift up my soul

unto Thee,' and God in His infinite mercy showed me the way, unworthy

as I am of such distinguishing grace. [1175]

He begged his father to console his mother and referred him to a poem

by his pen on the contempt of the world, which he had left among his

papers. In this letter and several letters to his mother, which are

extant, is shown the young monk's warm affection for his parents and

his brothers and sisters.

In the convent, the son studied Augustine and Thomas Aquinas and became

familiar with the Scriptures, sections of which he committed to memory.

Two copies of the Bible are extant in Florence, containing copious

notes in Savonarola's own handwriting, made on the margin, between the

printed lines and on added leaves. [1176] After his appointment as

provincial, he emphasized the study of the Bible in Hebrew and Greek.

In 1481, he was sent to Florence, where he became an inmate of St.

Mark's. The convent had been rebuilt by Cosimo de Medici and its walls

illuminated by the brush of Fra Angelico. At the time of Savonarola's

arrival, the city was at the height of its fame as a seat of culture

and also as the place of lighthearted dissipation under the brilliant

patronage of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

The young monk's first efforts in the pulpit in Florence were a

failure. The congregation at San Lorenzo, where he preached during the

Lenten season, fell to 25 persons. Fra Mariano da Gennazzano, an

Augustinian, was the popular favorite. The Dominican won his first fame

by his Lenten sermons of 1486, when he preached at Brescia on the Book

of Revelation. He represented one of the 24 elders rising up and

pronouncing judgments upon the city for its wickedness. In 1489, he was

invited back to Florence by Lorenzo at the suggestion of Pico della

Mirandola, who had listened to Savonarola's eloquence at Reggio. During

the remaining nine years of his life, the city on the Arno was filled

with Savonarola's personality. With Catherine of Siena, he shares the

fame of being the most religious of the figures that have walked its

streets. During the first part of this short period, he had conflict

with Lorenzo and, during the second, with Alexander VI., all the while

seeking by his startling warnings and his prophecies to bring about the

regeneration of the city and make it a model of civic and social

righteousness. From Aug. 1, 1490, when he appeared in the pulpit of St.

Mark's, the people thronged to hear him whether he preached there or in

the cathedral. In 1491, he was made prior of his convent. To preaching

he added writings in the department of philosophy and tracts on

humility, prayer and the love of Jesus. He was of middle height, dark

complexion, lustrous eyes dark gray in color, thick lips and aquiline

nose. His features, which of themselves would have been called coarse,

attracted attention by the serious contemplative expression which

rested upon them, and the flash of his eye.

Savonarola's sermons were like the flashes of lightning and the

reverberations of thunder. It was his mission to lay the axe at the

root of dissipation and profligacy rather than to depict the

consolations of pardon and communion with God. He drew more upon the

threatenings of the divine wrath than upon the refreshing springs of

the divine compassion. Tender descriptions of the divine love and mercy

were not wanting in his sermons, but the woes pronounced upon the

sinfulness of his time exceeded the gentle appeals. He was describing

his own method, when he said, "I am like the hail. Cover thyself lest

it come down upon thee, and strike thee. And remember that I said unto

thee, Cover thy head with a helmet, that is clothe thyself with virtue

and no hail stone will touch thee." [1177]

In the time of his greatest popularity, the throngs waited hours at the

doors of the cathedral for the preacher's arrival and it has been

estimated by Villari, that audiences of 10,000 or 12,000 hung on his

discourses. Like fields of grain under the wind, the feelings of his

audiences were swayed by the preacher's voice. Now they burned with

indignation: now they were softened to tears. "I was overcome by

weeping and could not go on." So wrote the reporter while taking down a

sermon, and Savonarola himself felt the terrible strain of his efforts

and often sank back into his seat completely exhausted. His message was

directed to the clergy, high and low, as well as to the people and the

flashes of his indignation often fell upon the palace of Lorenzo. The

clergy he arraigned for their greed of prebends and gold and their

devotion to outer ceremonies rather than to the inner life of the soul.

Florence he addressed in endearing terms as the object of his love. "My

Florence," he was wont to exclaim. Geneva was no more the city of

Calvin or Edinburgh of Knox than was Florence the city of Savonarola.

Portraying the insincerity of the clergy, he said: --

In these days, prelates and preachers are chained to the earth by the

love of earthly things. The care of souls is no longer their concern.

They are content with the receipt of revenue. The preachers preach to

please princes and to be praised by them. They have done worse. They

have not only destroyed the Church of God. They have built up a new

Church after their own pattern. Go to Rome and see! In the mansions of

the great prelates there is no concern save for poetry and the

oratorical art. Go thither and see! Thou shalt find them all with the

books of the humanities in their hands and telling one another that

they can guide mens' souls by means of Virgil, Horace and Cicero ...

The prelates of former days had fewer gold mitres and chalices and what

few they possessed were broken up and given to relieve the needs of the

poor. But our prelates, for the sake of obtaining chalices, will rob

the poor of their sole means of support. Dost thou not know what I

would tell thee! What doest thou, O Lord! Arise, and come to deliver

thy Church from the hands of devils, from the hands of tyrants, from

the hands of iniquitous prelates. [1178]

Dizzy flights of fancy abounded in Savonarola's discourses and took the

place of calm and logical exposition. On the evening before he preached

his last sermon in Advent, 1492, Savonarola beheld in the middle of the

sky a hand holding a sword with the inscription, Behold the sword of

the Lord will descend suddenly and quickly upon the earth--Ecce gladius

Domini super terram cito et velociter. Suddenly the sword was turned

toward the earth, the sky was darkened, swords, arrows and flames

rained down. The heavens quaked with thunder and the world became a

prey to famine and death. The vision was ended by a command to the

preacher to make these things known. Again and again, in after years

did he refer to this prophetic vision. [1179] Its memory was also

preserved by a medal, representing on one side Savonarola and on the

other a sword in the heavens held by a hand and pointing to a city

beneath.

The inscription on the heavenly sword well represents the style of

Savonarola's preaching. It was impulsive, pictorial, eruptive,

startling, not judicial and instructive. And yet it made a profound

impression on men of different classes. Pico della Mirandola the elder

has described its marvellous effect upon himself. On one occasion, when

he announced as his text Gen. 6:17, "Behold I will bring the flood of

waters upon the earth," Pico said he felt a cold shudder course through

him, and his hair, as it were, stand on end. One is reminded of some of

the impressions made by the sermons of Christmas Evans, the Welsh

preacher, and the impression made by Whitefield's oratory upon Lord

Chesterfield and Franklin. But the imagery of the sermon, brilliant and

weird as it was, is no sufficient explanation of the Florentine

preacher's power. The preacher himself was burning with religious

passion. He felt deeply and he was a man of deep devotion. He had the

eye of the mystic and saw beneath the external and ritual to the inner

movements of spiritual power.

The biblical element was also a conspicuous feature of his preaching.

Defective as Savonarola's exegesis was, the biblical element was

everywhere in control of his thought and descriptions. His famous

discourses were upon the ark, Exodus, and the prophets Haggai, Ezekiel,

Amos and Hosea, and John's Revelation. He insisted upon the authority

of Scripture. "I preach the regeneration of the Church," he said,

"taking the Scriptures as my sole guide." [1180]

Another element which gave to Savonarola's sermons their virility and

power was the prophetic element. Savonarola was not merely the

expounder of righteousness. He claimed to be a prophet revealing things

which, to use his own words, "are beyond the scope of the knowledge

which is natural to any creature." This element would have been a sign

of weakness, if it had not been associated with a great personality,

bent on noble ends. The severity of his warnings was often so fearful

that the preacher himself shrank back from delivering them. On one

occasion, he spent the entire night in vigils and prayer that he might

be released from the duty of making known a message, but in vain. The

sermon, he then went forth to preach, he called a terrific sermon.

Savonarola's confidence in his divine appointment to be the herald of

special communications from above found expression not only from the

pulpit but was set forth more calmly in two works, the Manual of

Revelations, 1495, and a Dialogue concerning Truth and Prophecy, 1497.

The latter tract with a number of Savonarola's sermons were placed on

the Index. In the former, the author declared that for a long time he

had by divine inspiration foretold future things but, bearing in mind

the Saviour's words, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs," he

had practised reserve in such utterances. He expressed his conception

of the office committed to him, when he said, "The Lord has put me here

and has said to me, 'I have placed thee as a watchman in the centre of

Italy ... that thou mayest hear my words and announce them,' " Ezek.

3:17. If we are inclined to regard Savonarola as having made a mistake

in claiming prophetic foresight, we easily condone the mistake on the

ground of his impassioned fervor and the pure motives by which he was

animated. To his prophecies he applied Christ's own words, that no jot

or tittle should fail till they were fulfilled.

None of his messages was more famous than the one he received on his

visit to paradise, March, 1495. Before starting on his journey, a

number of ladies offered to be his companions. Philosophy and Rhetoric

he declined. Accepting the company of Faith, Simplicity, Prayer and

Patience, he was met on his way by the devil in a monk's garb. [1181]

Satan took occasion to present to him objections against the

supernatural character of his predictions. Savonarola ought to have

stopped with preaching virtue and denouncing vices and left prophecy

alone. A prophet was always accredited by miracles. True prophets were

holy men and the devil asked Savonarola whether he felt he had reached

a high grade of saintliness. He then ventured to show that Savonarola's

prophecies had not always been fulfilled. By this time they had arrived

at the gates of paradise where prudently Satan took his leave. The

walls of paradise--so Savonarola described them--were of diamonds and

other precious stones. Ten banners surmounted them inscribed with the

prayers of Florence. Hierarchies and principalities appeared on every

side. With the help of angels, the visitor mounted a ladder to the

throne of the Virgin who gave him a crown and a precious stone and

then, with Jesus in her arms, supplicated the Trinity for Savonarola

and the Florentines. Her request was granted and the Florentines

promised an era of prosperity preceded by a period of sorrows. In this

new time, the city would be more powerful and rich than ever before.

The question arises whether Savonarola was a genuine prophet or whether

he was self-deluded, mistaking for the heated imaginations of his own

religious fervor, direct communications from God. [1182] Alexander VI.

made Savonarola's "silly declaration of being a prophet" one of the

charges against him. [1183] In his Manual of Revelations, Savonarola

advanced four considerations to prove that he was a true prophet--his

own subjective certainty, the fulfilment of his predictions, their

result in helping on the cause of moral reform in Florence and their

acceptance by good people in the city. His prophecies, he said, could

not have come from astrology for he rejected it, nor from a morbid

imagination for this was inconsistent with his extensive knowledge of

the Scriptures, nor from Satan for Satan hated his sermons and does not

know future events.

For us, the only valid test is historical fact. Were Savonarola's

prophecies fulfilled? The two prophecies, upon whose fulfilment stress

is laid, were the political revolution in Florence, which occurred, and

the coming of Charles VIII. from across the Alps. Savonarola saw in

Charles a Cyrus whose advent would release Florence from her political

bondage and introduce an era of civil freedom . He also predicted

Charles' subsequent retreat. Commines, who visited Savonarola in the

convent of St. Mark's after the trials which followed Charles' advent

in Italy had begun, went away impressed with the friar's piety and

candor, and declared that he predicted with certainty to him and to the

king, "things which no one believed at the time and which have all been

fulfilled since." [1184] On the other hand, such solemn

prognostications failed of fulfilment, as the extension of Florentine

dominion even to the recovery of Pisa, made May 28, 1495, and the

speedy conversion of the Turks and Moors, made May 3, 1495. The latter

purported to be a revelation from the Virgin on his visit to paradise.

Where a certain number of solemn, prophetic announcements remained

unfulfilled, it is fair to suspect that the remainder were merely the

predictions of a shrewd observer watching the progress of events. Many

people trusted the friar as a prophet but, as conditions became more

and more involved, they demanded with increasing insistence that he

should substantiate his prophetic claim by a miracle. Even the

predictions which came true in part, such as the coming of Charles

VIII. across the Alps, received no fulfilment in the way of a permanent

improvement of conditions, such as Savonarola expected. The statement

of Prof. Bonet-Maury expresses the case well. Savonarola's prophetic

gift, so-called, was nothing more than political and religious

intuition. [1185] Some of his predictions were not in the line of what

Christian prophecies might be expected to be, such as the rehumiliation

of Pisa. The Florentines felt flattered by the high honor which the

prophet paid to their city, and his predictions of her earthly dominion

as well as heavenly glory. In his Manual of Revelations he exclaims,

"Whereas Florence is placed in the midst of Italy, like the heart in

the midst of the body, God has chosen to select her, that she may be

the centre from which this prophetic announcement should be spread

abroad throughout all Italy."

No scene in Savonarola's career excels in moral grandeur and dramatic

interest his appearance at the death-bed of Lorenzo the Magnificent, in

1492. History has few such scenes to offer. When it became apparent to

the brilliant ruler of the Florentine state that his days were

numbered, he felt unwilling to face the mysteries of death and the

future without the absolution priestly prerogative pretends to be

competent to confer. Savonarola and Lorenzo loved Florence with an

equal love, though the one sought its glory through a career of

righteousness and the other through a career of worldly dominion and

glittering culture. The two leaders found no terms of agreement.

Lorenzo had sought to win the preacher by personal attention and

blandishments. He attended mass at St. Mark's. Savonarola held himself

back as from an elegant worldling and the enemy of the liberties of

Florence. "You see," said Lorenzo, "a stranger has come into my house,

yet he will not stoop to pay me a visit." "He does not ask for me; let

him go or stay at his pleasure," replied the friar to those who told

him that Lorenzo was in the convent garden.

Five influential citizens of Florence called and suggested to the friar

that he modify his public utterances. Recognizing that they had come at

Lorenzo's instance, he bade them tell the prince to do penance for his

sins, for the Lord is no respecter of persons and spares not the mighty

of the earth. Lorenzo called upon Fra Mariano to publicly take

Savonarola to task. This he did from the pulpit on Ascension Day, 1491.

Lorenzo himself was present, but the preacher's charges overshot the

mark, and Savonarola was more popular than ever. The prior of St.

Mark's exclaimed, "Although I am a stranger in the city, and Lorenzo

the first man in the state, yet shall I stay here and it is he who will

go hence."

When the hour of death approached, Lorenzo was honest with himself. In

vain did the physician, Lazzaro of Pavia, resort to the last medical

measure, a potion of distilled gems. Farewell was said to Pico della

Mirandola and other literary friends, and Lorenzo gave his final

counsels to his son, Piero. The solemn rites of absolution and extreme

unction were all that remained for man to receive from man. Lorenzo's

confessor was within reach but the prince looked to St. Mark's. "I know

of no honest friar save this one," he exclaimed. And so Savonarola was

summoned to the bedside in the villa Careggi, two miles from the city.

The dying man wanted to make confession of three misdeeds: the sack of

Volterra, the robbery of Monte delle Fanciulle and the merciless

reprisals after the Pazzi conspiracy. The spiritual messenger then

proceeded to present three conditions on which his absolution depended.

The first was a strong faith in God's mercy. The dying man gave assent.

The second was that he restore his ill-gotten wealth, or charge his

sons to do it. To this assent was also given. The third demand required

that he give back to Florence her liberties. To this Lorenzo gave no

response and turned his face to the wall. The priest withdrew and, in a

few hours, April 8, 1492, the ruler of Florence passed into the

presence of the omnipotent Judge who judgeth not according to the

appearance but according to the heart and whose mercy is everlasting.

The surmisal has been made that, if Savonarola had been less rigid, he

might have exercised an incalculable influence for good upon the dying

prince who was still susceptible of religious impressions. [1186] But

who can with probability conjecture the secrets of the divine purpose

in such cases? Perhaps, Savonarola's relentless demands awakened in

Lorenzo a serious impression showing itself in a cry to God for

absolution, while the extreme unction of the priest might have lulled

the dying man's conscience to sleep with a false sense of security. At

any rate, the influence of the friar of St. Mark's with the people

increased.

During the years, beginning with 1494, Savonarola's ascendancy was at

its height and so cold a witness as Guicciardini reports his influence

as extraordinary. These years included the invasion of Charles VIII.,

the banishment of the Medici from Florence and the establishment of a

theocratic government in the city.

"He will come across the Alps against Italy like Cyrus," Savonarola had

prophesied of the French king, Charles VIII. And, when the French army

was approaching the confines of Florence, he exclaimed, "Behold, the

sword has come upon you. The prophecies are fulfilled, the scourge

begun! Behold these hosts are led of the Lord! O Florence, the time of

singing and dancing is at an end. Now is the time to shed floods of

tears for thy sins."

Florence listened eagerly. Piero de' Medici went to the French camp and

yielded to the king's demand for 200,000 florins, and the cession of

Pisa, Leghorn and Sarzana. But Savonarola thundered and pled from the

pulpit against the Medicean house. The city decreed its banishment and

sent commissioners to Charles, with Savonarola among them. In his

address, which is preserved, the friar reminded his Majesty that he was

an instrument sent by the Lord to relieve Italy of its woes and to

reform the Church. Charles entered Florence but, moved by Savonarola's

intercession, reduced the tribute to 120,000 florins and restrained the

depredations of the French soldiery. The king also seems to have

listened to the friar's stern words when he said to him, "Hearken unto

the voice of God's servant and pursue thy journey onward without

delay."

When Charles, after sacking Rome and occupying Naples, returned to

Northern Italy, Savonarola wrote him five letters threatening that, if

he did not do for Florence the things about which he had spoken to him,

God's wrath would be poured out upon his head. These things were the

recognition of the liberties of Florence and the return of Pisa to her

dominion. In his letter of May 25, 1495, bidding Charles favor the city

of Florence, he asserted, "God has chosen this city and determined to

magnify her and raise her up and, whoso toucheth her, toucheth the

apple of His eye." Certainly, from the standpoint of the welfare of

Italy, the French invasion was not of Providential origin. Although the

banners of his army were inscribed with the words Voluntas Dei -- the

Will of God--and Missus Dei -- the legate of God--Charles was bent on

territorial aggrandizement and not on breaking the bonds of civic

despotism.

The time had now come to realize in Florence Savonarola's ideal of

government, a theocracy with Christ at its head. The expulsion of the

Medici made possible a reorganization of the state and the new

constitution, largely a matter of Savonarola's creation, involved him

inextricably in civic policies and the war of civic factions. However,

it should not be forgotten that his municipal constitution secured the

commendation of Guicciardini and other Italian political writers. It

was a proof of the friar's remarkable influence that, at his earnest

advice, a law was passed which prevented retaliatory measures against

the followers of the Medici. Landucci wrote in his diary that, but for

Savonarola, the streets would have been bathed in blood. In his great

sermons on Haggai, during the Advent season of 1494, and on the Psalms

in 1495, Savonarola definitely embarked as a pilot on the political

sea. "The Lord has driven my bark into the open ocean," he exclaimed

from the pulpit. Remonstrating with God for imposing this duty upon

him, he declared, 'I will preach, if so I must, but why need I meddle

with the government of Florence.' And the Lord said, 'If thou wouldst

make Florence a holy city, thou must establish her on firm foundations

and give her a government which cherishes righteousness.' Thus the

preacher was committed. He pronounced from the pulpit in favor of

virtue as the foundation of a sound government and democracy as its

form. "Among northern nations," he affirmed, where there is great

strength and little intellect, and among southern nations where there

is great intellect and little strength, the rule of a single despot may

sometimes be the best of governments. But in Italy and, above all in

Florence, where both strength and intellect abound,--where men have

keen wits and restless spirits,--the government of the one can only

result in tyranny."

In the scheme, which he proposed, he took for his model the great

council of Venice, leaving out its head, the doge, who was elected for

life. The great council of Florence was to consist of, at least, 1500

men, who had reached the age of 29, paid their taxes and belonged to

the class called beneficiati, that is, those who held a civil office

themselves or whose father, grandfather, or great-grandfather had held

a civil office. A select council of 80 was to be chosen by it, its

members to be at least forty years of age. In criminal cases, an appeal

from a decision of the signory was allowed to the great council, which

was to meet once a week and to be a voting rather than a deliberative

body.

The place of the supreme doge or ruler, Savonarola gave to God himself.

"God alone," he exclaimed from the pulpit, "God alone will be thy king,

O Florence, as He was king of Israel under the old Covenant." "Thy new

head shall be Jesus Christ,"--this was the ringing cry with which he

closed his sermons on Haggai. Savonarola's recent biographer, Villari,

emphasizes "the masterly prudence and wisdom shown by him in all the

fundamental laws he proposed for the new state." He had no seat in the

council and yet he was the soul of the entire people. [1187]

In the last chapter of his career Savonarola was pitted against

Alexander VI. as his contestant. The conflict began with the demand

made by the pope July 25, 1495, that Savonarola proceed to Rome and

answer charges. Then followed papal inhibitions of his preaching and

the decree of excommunication, and the conflict closed with the

appointment of a papal commission which condemned Savonarola to death

as a heretic.

Alexander's order, summoning the friar to Rome, was based on his

announcement that his predictions of future events came by divine

revelation. [1188] At the same time, the pope expressed his great joy

over the report that of all the workers in the Lord's vineyard,

Savonarola was the most zealous, and he promised to welcome him to the

eternal city with love and fraternal affection. Savonarola declined the

pontiff's summons on the ground of ill-health and the dangers that

would beset him on the way to Rome. His old rival in the pulpit, Fra

Mariano de Gennazzano, and other enemies were in Rome intriguing

against him, and the Medici were fast winning the pope's favor.

Alexander's first letter inhibiting him from preaching, Sept. 9, 1495,

condemned Savonarola's insane folly in mixing up with Italian political

affairs and his announcement that he was a special messenger sent from

God. In his reply Savonarola answered the charges and, at the

invitation of the signory, continued to preach. In his third brief,

Oct. 16, 1495, the pontiff forbade him to preach openly or in private.

Pastor remarks, "It was as clear as the sun that Savonarola was guilty

of rank disobedience to the papal authority." [1189]

For five months, the friar held himself aloof in his convent but, Feb.

17, 1496, at the call of the signory to preach the Lenten sermons, he

again ascended the pulpit. He took the bold position that the pope

might err. "The pope," he said, "may command me to do something that

contravenes the law of Christian love or the Gospel. But, if he did so

command, I would say to him, thou art no shepherd. Not the Roman

Church, but thou errest." From that time on, he lifted his voice

against the corruptions of the papal city as he had not done before.

Preaching on Amos 4:1, Feb. 28, 1496, he exclaimed, "Who are the fat

kine of Bashan on the mountains of Samaria? I say they are the

courtesans of Italy and Rome. Or, are there none? A thousand are too

few for Rome, 10,000, 12,000, 14,000 are too few for Rome. Prepare

thyself, O Rome, for great will be thy punishments." [1190]

Finding threats would not stop Savonarola's mouth, Alexander resorted

to bribery, an art in which he was well skilled. Through a Dominican

sent to Florence, he offered to the friar of St. Mark's the red hat.

But Alexander had mistaken his man and, in a sermon delivered August,

1496, Savonarola declared that neither mitres nor a cardinal's hat

would he have, but only the gift God confers on His saints--death, a

crimson hat, a hat reddened with blood. Lucas, strangely enough,

ascribes the offer of the red hat, not to vicious shrewdness but to the

alleged good purpose of Alexander to show his appreciation of, an

earnest but misguided man."

The carnival season of 1496 and the seasons of the next two years gave

remarkable proofs of the hold Savonarola had on the popular mind. The

carnival, which had been the scene of wild revelries, was turned into a

semi-religious festival. The boys had been accustomed to carry their

merriment to rude excesses, forcing their demands for money upon older

persons, dancing around bonfires at night and pelting people and houses

promiscuously with stones. For this "festival of the stones," which the

signory had been unable to abolish Savonarola and his co-helpers

substituted a religious celebration. It was called the reform of the

boys. Savonarola had established boys' brigades in different wards of

the city and arranged tiers of seats for them against the walls of the

cathedral. These "boys of Fra Girolamo," as Landucci calls them,

marched up and down the streets singing hymns which Savonarola and

Benivieni composed and taking their places at stands, erected for the

purpose, received collections for the poor.

On the last day of the carnival of 1497, occurred the burning of the

vanities, as it was called. The young men, who had been stirred to

enthusiasm by Savonarola's sermons, went through the city, knocking

from door to door and asking the people to give up their trinkets,

obscene books such as Ovid and Boccaccio, dice, games of chance, harps,

mirrors, masks, cosmetics and portraits of beautiful women, and other

objects of luxury. These were piled up in the public square in a

pyramid, 60 feet high and 240 feet in circumference at the base. The

morning of that day, throngs listened to the mass said by Savonarola.

The young men went in procession through the streets and reaching the

pile of vanities, they with others joined hands and danced around the

pile and then set fire to it amid the singing of religious songs. The

sound of bells and trumpets added to the effect of the strange

spectacle. Men thought of the books and philters, burnt at Ephesus

under the spell of Paul's preaching. The scene was repeated the last

year of Savonarola's life,1498.

Savonarola has been charged with having no sympathy with the

Renaissance and the charge it is not easy to set aside. As Burckhardt,

the historian of that movement, says, he remained a monastic. In one

writing, he sets forth the dangers of literature. Plato and Aristotle

are in hell. And this was the judgment expressed in the city of the

Platonic Academy! Virgil and Cicero he tolerated, but Catullus, Ovid

and Terence he condemned to banishment. [1191]

At one time, under the spell of the prior's preaching, all Florence

seemed to be going to religion. Wives left their husbands and betook

themselves to convents. Others married, taking the vow of nuptial

abstinence and Savonarola even dreamed that the city might reach so

perfect a condition that all marrying would cease. People took the

communion daily and young men attended mass and received the

eucharistic emblem. Fra Bartolomeo threw his studies of naked figures

into the fire and for a time continued to think it sinful to use the

hands in painting which ought to be folded continually in prayer. It

was impossible that such a tension should continue. There was

enthusiasm but not regeneration. A reaction was sure to come and the

wonder is that Savonarola retained so much of the popular confidence,

almost to the end of his life.

Alexander would have none of the Florentine reforms and was determined

to silence Savonarola at any cost. Within the city, the air was full of

rumors of plots to restore the Medici and some of the conspirators were

executed. Enemies of the republic avowed their purpose to kill

Savonarola and circulated sheets and poems ridiculing and threatening

him. Insulting placards were posted up against the walls of his convent

and, on one occasion, the pulpit of the cathedral was defiled with

ordure and draped in an ass' skin, while spikes were driven into the

place where the preacher was accustomed to strike his hand. Landucci

speaks of it as a "great scandal." Assassins even gathered in the

cathedral and were only cowed by guards posted by the signory. The

friar of St. Mark's seemed not to be appalled. It was ominous, however,

that the signory became divided in his support.

If possible, Savonarola became more intense in his arraignment of the

evils of the Church. He exclaimed: "O prostrate Church, thou hast

displayed thy foulness to the whole earth. Thou hast multiplied thy

fornications in Italy, in France, in Spain and all other regions. Thou

hast desecrated the sacraments with simony. Of old, priests called

their bastards nephews, now they call them outright sons." Alexander

could not mistake the reference nor tolerate such declamations. The

integrity of the supreme seat of Christendom was at stake. A prophetic

function superior to the papacy Eugenius III. might recognize, when it

was administered in the admonitions of a St. Bernard, but the

Florentine prophet had engaged in denunciation even to personal

invective. The prophet was losing his balance. On May 12,1497, for "his

failure to obey our Apostolic admonitions and commands" and as "one

suspected of heresy" Alexander declared him excommunicate. All were

forbidden to listen to the condemned man or have converse with him.

[1192]

In a letter addressed a month later "to all Christians, the elect of

God," Savonarola again affirmed his readiness to yield to the Church's

authority, but denied that he was bound to submit to the commands of

his superiors when these were in conflict with charity and God's law.

"Henceforth," exclaimed the Puritan contemporary, Landucci, "we were

deprived of the Word of God." The signory wrote to Alexander in support

of Savonarola, affirming his purity of character and soundness of

doctrine, and friends, like Pico della Mirandola the younger, issued

defences of his conduct. The elder Pico della Mirandola and Politian,

both of whom had died a year or two before, showed their reverence for

Savonarola by assuming the Dominican garb on their death-beds.

At this time, Savonarola sent forth his Triumph of the Cross, in which

were set forth the verity and reasonableness of the Catholic faith.

[1193] After proving from pure reason God's existence and the soul's

immortality, the work proceeds to expound the Trinity, which is above

man's reason, and articles of the Apostles' Creed, and to set forth the

superior excellency of the lives of Christians, on which much stress is

laid. It closes with a confutation of Mohammedanism and other false

forms of religion.

Savonarola kept silence in the pulpit and refrained from the

celebration of the sacrament until Christmas day of 1497, when he

celebrated the mass at St. Mark's three times. On the 11th of February,

he stood again in the pulpit of the duomo. To a vast concourse he

represented the priest as merely an instrument of the Almighty and,

when God withdraws His presence, prelate and pope are but as "a broken

iron tool." "And, if a prelate commands what is contrary to godly

living and charity, he is not only not to be obeyed but deserves to be

anathema." On another occasion, he said that not only may the pope be

led into error by false reports but also by his own badness, as was the

case with Boniface VIII. who was a wicked pope, beginning his

pontificate like a fox and ending it like a dog. [1194] Many, through

reverence for the Church, kept away from Savonarola's preaching from

this time on. Among these was the faithful Landucci, who says, "whether

justly or unjustly, I was among those who did not go. I believed in

him, but did not wish to incur risk by going to hear him, for he was

under sentence of excommunication." Savonarola's enemies had made the

words of Gregory the Great their war-cry, Sententia pastoris sive justa

sive unjusta timenda est.--"The sentence of the shepherd is to be

respected, whether it be just or unjust." [1195] His denunciations of

the corruption prevailing in the Church became more bold. The tonsure,

he cried, is the seat of all iniquity. It begins in Rome where the

clergy make mock of Christ and the saints; yea, are worse than Turks

and worse than Moors. They traffic in the sacraments. They sell

benefices to the highest bidder. Have not the priests in Rome

courtesans and grooms and horses and dogs? Have they not palaces full

of tapestries and silks, of perfumes and lackeys? Seemeth it, that this

is the Church of God?

Every Roman priest, he said, had his concubine. No longer do they speak

of nephews but of their sons and daughters. Savonarola even sought to

prove from the pulpit that the papal brief of excommunication proceeded

from the devil, inasmuch as it was hostile to godly living.

It was becoming evident that the preacher was fighting a losing battle.

His assaults against the morals of the clergy and the Vatican stirred

up the powers in the Church against him; his political attitude,

factions in Florence. His assertions, dealing more and more in

exaggerations, were developing an expectant and at the same time a

critical state of mind in the people which no religious teacher could

permanently meet except through the immediate and startling

intervention of God. He called heaven to witness that he was "ready to

die for His God" and invited God to send him to the fires of hell, if

his motives were not pure and his work inspired. On another occasion,

he invoked the Lord to strike him dead on the spot, if he was not

sincere. Landucci reports some of these wild protestations which he

heard with his own ears.

One weapon still remained to the pope to bring Savonarola to

terms,--the interdict. This he threatened to fulminate over Florence,

unless the signory sent this "son of the evil one" to Rome or cast him

into prison. In case the first course was pursued, Alexander promised

to treat Savonarola as a father would treat a son, provided he

repented, for he "desired not the death of a sinner but that he might

turn from his way and live." [1196] He urged the signory not to allow

Savonarola to be as the fly in the milk, disturbing its relations with

Rome or "to tolerate that pernicious worm fostered by their warmth."

Through epistolary communications and legates, the signory continued

its attempts to remove Alexander's objections and protect Savonarola.

But, while all the members continued to express confidence in the

friar's purity of motive, the majority came to take the position that

it was more expedient to silence the preacher than to incur the pope's

ban. At the public meeting, called by the signory March 9,1498, to

decide the course of action to be taken, the considerations pressed

were those of expediency. The pope, as the vicar of Christ, has his

authority directly from God and ought to be obeyed. A second

consideration was the financial straits of the municipality. A tenth

was needed and this could only be ordered through the pope. Some

proposed to leave the decision of the matter to Savonarola himself. He

was the best man the world had seen for 200 years. Others boldly

announced that Alexander's letters were issued through the machinations

of enemies of Florence and the censures they contained, being unjust,

were not to be heeded. [1197] On March 17,1498, the signory's decision

was communicated to Savonarola that he should thenceforth refrain from

preaching and the next day he preached his last sermon.

In his last sermon, Savonarola acknowledged it as his duty to obey the

mandate. A measure had been worked out in his mind which was the last

open to a churchman. Already had he hinted from the pulpit at the

convention of a general council as a last resort. The letters are still

extant which he intended to send to the kings of Spain, England,

France, Germany and Hungary, calling upon them to summon a council. In

them, he solemnly declared that Alexander was no pope. For, aside from

purchasing his office and from his daily sale of benefices, his

manifest vices proved him to be no Christian. The letters seem never to

have been received. Individuals, however, despatched preliminary

communications to friends at the different courts to prepare the way

for their appeal. [1198] One, addressed to Charles VIII., was

intercepted at Milan and sent to the pope. Alexander now had

documentary proof of the Florentine's rebellion against papal

authority. But suddenly a wholly unexpected turn was given to the

course of events.

Florence was startled by the rumor that resort was to be had to ordeal

by fire to decide the genuineness of Savonarola's claims. [1199] The

challenge came from a Franciscan, Francesco da Puglia, in a sermon at

S. Croce in which he arraigned the Dominican friar as a heretic and

false prophet. In case Savonarola was not burnt, it would be a clear

sign that Florence was to follow him. The challenge was accepted by Fra

Domenico da Pescia, a monk of St. Mark's and close friend of

Savonarola's, a man of acknowledged purity of life. He took his

friend's place, holding that Savonarola should be reserved for higher

things. Francesco da Puglia then withdrew and a Franciscan monk, Julian

Rondinelli, reluctantly took his place. Savonarola himself disapproved

the ordeal. It was an appeal to the miraculous. He had never performed

a miracle nor felt the importance of one. His cause, he asserted,

approved itself by the fruits of righteousness. But to the people, as

the author of Romola has said, "the fiery trial seemed a short and easy

argument" and Savonarola could not resist the popular feeling without

forfeiting his popularity. The history of Florence could show more than

one case of saintly men whose profession had been tested by fire. So it

was, during the investiture controversy, with St. John Gualberti, in

Settimo close by, and with the monk Peter in 1068, and so it was, a

half century later, with another Peter who cleared himself of the

charge of contemning the cross by walking unhurt over nine glowing

ploughshares. [1200]

The ordeal was authorized by the signory and set for April 7. It was

decided that, in case Fra Domenico perished, Savonarola should go into

exile within three hours. The two parties, Domenico and Rondinelli,

filed their statements with the signory. The Dominican's included the

following points. The Church stands in need of renovation. It will be

chastened. Florence will be chastened. These chastisements will happen

in our day. The sentence of excommunication against Savonarola is

invalid. No one sins in ignoring it. [1201]

The ordeal aroused the enthusiasm of Savonarola's friends. When he

announced it in a sermon, many women exclaimed, "I, too, I, too." Other

monks of St. Mark's and hundreds of young men announced their readiness

to pass through the flames out of regard for their spiritual guide.

Alexander VI. waited with intense interest for the last bulletins from

Florence. His exact state of mind it is difficult to determine. He

wrote disapproving of the ordeal and yet he could not but feel that it

afforded an easy way of getting rid of the enemy to his authority.

After the ordeal was over, he praised Francesco and the Franciscans in

extravagant terms and declared the Franciscans could not have done

anything more agreeable to him. [1202]

The coming trial was looked for with the most intense interest. There

was scarcely any other topic of conversation in Florence or in Rome.

Great preparations were made. Two pyres of thorns and other wood were

built on the public square about 60 feet in length, 3 feet wide at the

base and 3 or 4 feet high, [1203] the wood soaked with pitch and oil.

The distance between the pyres was two feet, just wide enough for a man

to pass through. All entrances to the square were closed by a company

of 300 men under Marcuccio Salviatis and two other companies of 500

each, stationed at different points. The people began to arrive the

night before. The windows and roofs of the adjoining houses were

crowded with the eager spectators.

The solemnity was set for eleven o'clock. The Dominicans made a solemn

impression as they marched to the appointed place. Fra Domenico, in the

van, was clothed in a fiery red velvet cope. Savonarola, clad in white

and carrying a monstrance with the host, brought up the rear of the

body of monks and these were followed by a great multitude of men,

women and children, holding lighted tapers. When the hour arrived for

the procession to start, Savonarola was preaching. He had again told

the people that his work required no miracle and that he had ever

sought to justify himself by the signs of righteousness and declared

that, as on Mt. Carmel, miraculous intervention could only be expected

in answer to prayer and humility.

Later mediaeval history has few spectacles to offer to the eye and the

imagination equal in interest to the spectacle offered that day. There,

stood the greatest preacher of his time and the most exalted moral

figure since the days of John Huss and Gerson. And there, the ancient

method of testing innocency was once more to be tried, a novel

spectacle, indeed, to that cultured generation of Florentines. The

glorious pageants of Medicean times had afforded no entertainment more

attractive.

The crowds were waiting. The hour was past. There was a mysterious

moving of monks in and out of the signory-palace. The whole story of

what occurred was later told by Savonarola himself as well as by other

eyewitnesses. The Franciscans refused to allow Fra Domenico to enter

the burning pathway wearing his red cope or any of the other garments

he had on, on the ground that they might be bewitched. So he was

undressed to his skin and put on another suit. On the same ground, they

also insisted that he keep at a distance from Savonarola. The

impatience of the crowds increased. The Franciscans again passed into

the signory-hall and had a long conference. They had discerned a wooden

crucifix in Domenico's hands and insisted upon its being put away for

fear it might also have been bewitched. Savonarola substituted the host

but the Franciscans insisted that the host should not be carried

through the flames. The signory was appealed to but Savonarola refused

to yield, declaring that the accidents might be burnt like a husk but

that the essence of the sacred wafer would remain unconsumed. Suddenly

a storm came up and rain fell but it as suddenly stopped. The delay

continued. The crowds were growing unruly and threatening. Nightfall

was at hand. The signory called the ordeal off.

Savonarola's power was gone. The spell of his name had vanished. The

spectacle was felt to be a farce. The popular menace grew more and more

threatening and a guard scarcely prevented violence to Savonarola's

person, as the procession moved back to St. Mark's.

There is much in favor of the view that on that day Savonarola's

political enemies, the Arrabbiati, were in collusion with the

Franciscans and that the delay on the square, occasioned by interposing

objections, was a trick to postpone the ordeal altogether. [1204] It

was said daggers were ready to put Savonarola out of the way. The

populace, however, did not stop to consider such questions. Savonarola

had not stood the test. And, it reasoned, if he was sincere and

confident of his cause, why did he not enter the flaming pathway

himself and brave its fiery perils. If he had not gone through

unharmed, he at any rate, in dying, would have shown his moral heroism.

It was Luther's readiness to stand the test at Worms which brought him

the confidence of the people. Had he shrunk in 1521 in the presence of

Charles V., he would have lost the popular regard as Savonarola did in

1498 on the piazza of Florence. The judgment of modern times agrees

with the popular judgment of the Florentines. Savonarola showed himself

wanting in the qualities of the hero. Better for him to have died, than

to have exposed himself to the charge of cowardice.

Florence felt mad anger at having been imposed upon. The next day St.

Mark's was stormed by the mob. The signory voted Savonarola's immediate

banishment. Landucci, who wept and continued to pray for him, says

"that hell seemed to have opened its doors." Savonarola made an

address, bidding farewell to his friends. Resistance of the mob was in

vain. The convent was broken into and pillaged. Fra Domenico and the

prior were bound and taken before the galfonier amidst insults and

confined in separate apartments. A day or two later Fra Silvestro,

whose visions had favored the ordeal, was also seized. "As for saying a

word in Savonarola's favor," wrote Landucci, "it was impossible. One

would have been killed."

The pope, on receiving the official news of the occurrences in

Florence, sent word congratulating the signory, gave the city plenary

absolution and granted it the coveted tithes for three years. He also

demanded that Savonarola be sent to Rome for trial, at the same time,

however, authorizing the city to proceed to try the three friars, not

neglecting, if necessary, the use of torture. [1205] A commission was

appointed to examine the prisoners. Torture was resorted to. Savonarola

was bound to a rope drawn through a pulley and, with his hands behind

his back, was lifted from the floor and then by a sudden jerk allowed

to fall. On a single day, he was subjected to 14 turnings of the rope.

There were two separate trials conducted by the municipality, April 17

and April 21-23. In the delirious condition, to which his pains reduced

him, the unfortunate man made confessions which, later in his sane

moments, he recalled as untrue. [1206] He even denied that he was a

prophet. The impression which this denial made upon such ardent

admirers as Landucci, the apothecary, was distressing. Writing April

19,1498, he says:--

I was present at the reading of the proceedings against Savonarola,

whom we all held to be a prophet. But he said he is no prophet and that

his prophecies were not from God. When I heard that, I was seized with

wonder and amazement. A deep pain took hold of my soul, when I saw such

a splendid edifice fall to the ground, because it was built upon the

sorry foundation of a falsehood. I looked for Florence to become a new

Jerusalem whose laws and example of a good life--buona vita -- would go

out for the renovation of the Church, the conversion of infidels and

the comfort of the good and I felt the contrary and took for medicine

the words, "in thy will, O Lord, are all things placed"--in voluntate

tua, Domine, omnia sunt posita. Diary, p. 173.

Alexander despatched a commission of his own to conduct the trial anew,

Turriano, the Venetian general of the Dominicans and Francesco

Romolino, the bishop of Ilerda, afterwards cardinal. Letters from Rome

stated that the commission had instructions "to put Savonarola to

death, even if he were another John the Baptist." Alexander was quite

equal to such a statement. Soon after his arrival in Florence, Romolino

announced that a bonfire was impending and that he carried the sentence

with him ready, prepared in advance.

Fra Domenico bore himself most admirably and persisted in speaking

naught but praise of his friend and ecclesiastical superior. Fra

Silvestro, yielding to the agonies of the rack, charged his master with

all sorts of guilt. Other monks of St. Mark's wrote to Alexander,

making charges against their prior as an impostor. So it often is with

those who praise in times of prosperity. To save themselves, they deny

and calumniate their benefactors. They received their reward, the papal

absolution.

The exact charges, upon which Savonarola was condemned to death, are

matter of some uncertainty and also matter of indifference, for they

were partly trumped up for the occasion. Though no offender against the

law of God, he had given offence enough to man. He was accused by the

papal commissioners with being a heretic and schismatic. He was no

heretic. The most that can be said is, that he was a rebel against the

pope's authority and went in the face of Pius II.'s bull Execrabilis,

when he decided to appeal to a council. [1207]

The intervals between his torture, Savonarola spent in composing his

Meditations upon the two penitential Psalms, the 32d and the 51st. Here

we see the gloss of his warm religious nature. The great preacher

approaches the throne of grace as a needy sinner and begs that he who

asks for bread may not be turned away with a stone. He appeals to the

cases of Zaccheus, Mary Magdalene, the woman of Canaan, Peter and the

prodigal son. Deliver me, he cries, "as Thou hast delivered countless

sinners from the grasp of death and the gates of hell and my tongue

shall sing aloud of thy righteousness." Luther, who published the

expositions with a notable preface,1523, declared them "a piece of

evangelical teaching and Christian piety. For, in them Savonarola is

seen entering in not as a Dominican monk, trusting in his vows, the

rules of his order, his cowl and masses and good works but clad in the

breastplate of righteousness and armed with the shield of faith and the

helmet of salvation, not as a member of the Order of Preachers but as

an everyday Christian." [1208]

At their own request the three prisoners, after a separation of six

weeks, were permitted to meet face to face the night before the

appointed execution. The meeting occurred in the hall of the signory.

When Savonarola returned to his cell, he fell asleep on the lap of

Niccolini of the fraternity of the Battuti, a fraternity whose office

it was to minister to prisoners. Niccolini reported that the sleep was

as quiet as the sleep of a child. On awaking, the condemned man passed

the remaining hours of the night in devotions. The next morning, the

friends met again and partook together of the sacrament.

The sentence was death by hanging, after which the bodies were to be

burnt that "the soul might be completely separated from the body." The

execution took place on the public square where, two months before, the

crowds had gathered to witness the ordeal by fire. Savonarola and his

friends were led forth stripped of their robes, barefooted and with

hands bound. Absolution was pronounced by the bishop of Verona under

appointment from the pope. In pronouncing Savonarola's deposition, the

prelate said, "I separate thee from the Church militant and the Church

triumphant"--separo te ab ecclesia militante et triumphante. "Not from

the Church triumphant," replied Savonarola, "that is not thine to

do"--militante, non triumphante: hoc enim tuum non est. In silence he

witnessed the deaths of Fra Domenico and Fra Silvestro, whose last

words were "Jesus, Jesus," and then ascended the platform of execution.

There were still left bystanders to fling insults. The bodies were

burnt and, that no particle might be left to be used as a relic, the

ashes were thrown into the Arno.

Savonarola had been pronounced by Alexander's commission "that

iniquitous monster--omnipedium nequissimum -- call him man or friar we

cannot, a mass of the most abominable wickedness." The pious Landucci,

in thinking of his death, recalled the crucifixion and, at the scene of

the execution, again lamented the disappointment of his hopes for the

renovation of the Church and the conversion of the infidel--la

novazione della chiesa e la conversione degli infedeli.

Savonarola was one of the most noteworthy figures Italy has produced.

The modern Christian world, Catholic and Protestant, joins him in close

fellowship with the flaming religious luminaries of all countries and

all centuries. He was a preacher of righteousness and a patriot. Among

the religious personalities of Italy, he occupies a position of

grandeur by himself, separate from her imposing popes, like Gregory

VII. and Innocent III.; from Dante, Italy's poet and the world's; from

St. Francis d'Assisi and from Thomas Aquinas. Italy had other

preachers,--Anthony of Padua, Bernardino of Siena,--but their messages

were local and ecclesiastical. With Arnold of Brescia, Savonarola had

something in common. Both had a stirring message of reform. Both mixed

up political ideals with their spiritual activity and both died by

judicial sanction of the papal see.

Savonarola's intellectual gifts and attainments were not extraordinary.

He was great by reason of moral conviction, his eloquence, his

disinterested love of his country, his whole-souled devotion to the

cause of righteousness. As an administrator, he failed. He had none of

the sagacity or tact of the statesman and it was his misfortune to have

undertaken to create a new government, a task for which he was the

least qualified of all men. [1209] He was a preacher of righteousness

and has a place in the "goodly fellowship of the prophets." He belonged

to the order of Ezekiel and Isaiah, Nathan and John the Baptist,--the

company in which the Protestant world also places John Knox.

Savonarola was a true Catholic. He did not deny a single dogma of the

mediaeval Church. But he was more deeply rooted in the fundamental

teachings of Christ than in ecclesiastical formulas. In the deliverance

of his message, he rose above rituals and usages. He demanded

regeneration of heart. His revolt against the authority of the pope, in

appealing to a council, is a serious stumbling-block to Catholics who

are inclined to a favorable judgment of the Friar of St. Mark's. Julius

II.'s bull Cum tanto divino,1505, pronounced every election to the

papacy secured by simony invalid. If it was meant to be retroactive,

then Alexander was not a true pope. [1210]

The favorable judgments of contemporaries were numerous. Guicciardini

called him the saviour of his country--salvatore di patria -- and said

that "Never was there so much goodness and religion in Florence as in

his day and, after his death, it was seen that every good thing that

had been done was done at his suggestion and by his advocacy."

Machiavelli thus expressed himself: "The people of Florence seemed to

be neither illiterate nor rude, yet they were persuaded that God spake

through Savonarola. I will not decide, whether it was so or not, for it

is due to speak of so great a man with reverence."

The day after Savonarola's death, women were seen praying at the spot

where he suffered and for years flowers were strewn there. Pico della

Mirandola closed his biography with an elaborate comparison between

Savonarola and Christ. Both were sent from God. Both suffered in the

cause of righteousness between two others. At the command of Julius

II., Raphael,12 years after Savonarola's death, placed the preacher

among the saints in his Disputa. Philip Neri and Catherine de Ricci

[1211] revered him, and Benedict XIV. seems to have regarded him worthy

of canonization. [1212]

Within the Dominican order, the feeling toward its greatest preacher

has undergone a great change. Respect for the papal decision led it,

for a hundred years after Savonarola's death, to make official effort

to retire his name to oblivion. The Dominican general, Sisto Fabri of

Lucca, in 1585, issued an order forbidding every Dominican monk and nun

mentioning his name and commanded them to give up any article to their

superiors which kept warm admiration for him or aroused it. In the

latter half of the 19th century, as the 400th anniversary of his

execution approached, Catholics, and especially Dominicans, in all

parts of the world defended his memory and efforts were made to prepare

the way for his canonization. In the attempt to remove all objections,

elaborate arguments have been presented to prove that Alexander's

sentence of excommunication was in fact no excommunication at all.

[1213] The sound and judicious Catholic historians, Hefele-Kn�pfler, do

not hesitate to pronounce his death a judicial murder. [1214]

By the general consent of Protestants, Jerome Savonarola is numbered

among the precursors of the Reformation,--the view taken by Ranke. He

was not an advocate of its distinguishing tenet of justification by

faith. The Roman church was for him the mother of all other churches

and the pope its head. In his Triumph of the Cross, he distinctly

asserts the seven sacraments as an appointment of Christ and that

Christ is "wholly and essentially present in each of the eucharistic

elements." Nevertheless, he was an innovator and his exaltation of

divine grace accords with the teaching of the Reformation. Here all

Protestants would have fellowship with him as when he said: [1215] --

It is untrue that God's grace is obtained by pre-existing works of

merit as though works and deserts were the cause of predestination. On

the contrary, these are the result of predestination. Tell me, Peter;

tell me, O Magdalene, wherefore are ye in paradise? Confess that not by

your own merits have ye obtained salvation, but by the goodness of God.

Passages abound in his Meditations like this one. "Not by their own

deservings, O Lord, or by their own works have they been saved, lest

any man should be able to boast, but because it seemed good in Thy

sight." Speaking of Savonarola's Exposition of the Psalms, Luther said

that, although some clay still stuck to Savonarola's theology, it is a

pure and beautiful example of what is to be believed, trusted and hoped

from God's mercy and how we come to despair of works. And the

whole-souled German Reformer exclaimed, "Christ canonizes Savonarola

through us even though popes and papists burst to pieces over it."

[1216]

The sculptor has given him a place at the feet of Luther and at the

side of Wyclif and Huss in the monument of the Reformation at Worms.

When Catholics, who heard that this was proposed, wrote to show the

impropriety of including the Florentine Dominican in such company,

Rietschel consulted Hase on the subject. The venerable Church historian

replied, "It makes no difference whether they counted Savonarola a

heretic or a saint, he was in either case a precursor of the

Reformation and so Luther recognized him." [1217]

The visitor in Florence to-day finds two invisible personalities

meeting him everywhere, Dante, whom the city banished, and Savonarola,

whom it executed. The spirit of theexecutioner has vanished and the

mention of Savonarola's name strikes in all Florentines a tender chord

of admiration and love. In 1882, the signory placed his statue in the

Hall of the Five Hundred. There, a few yards from the place of his

execution, he stands in his Dominican habit and cowl, with his left

hand resting on a lion's head and holding aloft in his right hand a

crucifix, while his clear eye is turned upwards. Again, on May 22,1901,

the city honored the friar by setting a circular bronze tablet with

portrait on the spot where he suffered death. A great multitude

attended the dedication and one of the wreaths of flowers bore the name

of the Dominicans.

In Savonarola's cell in St. Mark's has been placed a medallion head of

the friar, and still another on the cloistral wall over the spot where

he was seized and made prisoner, and the visitor will often find there

a fresh wreath of flowers, a proof of the undying memory of the

Florentine preacher and patriot.

This was he,

Savonarola,--the star-look shooting from the cowl.

--Browning, Casa Guido Windows.

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[1175] The translation is from Schottm�ller, pp. 2, 3. This writer

gives two of Savonarola's letters to his mother.

[1176] The one, the Vulgate printed in Basel, 1491, the other in

Venice, 1492. See Luotto: Dello Studio, etc. This author draws a

parallel between Leo XIII.'s commendation of the study of the Bible and

Savonarola's emphasis upon it as the seat of authority.

[1177] Sermon, March 14, 1498. Schottm�ller, p. 111. Roscoe: Life of

Lorenzo, ch. VIII., says: "The divine word from the lips of Savonarola,

descended not amongst his audience like the dews of heaven. It was the

piercing hail, the sweeping whirlwind, the destroying sword."

[1178] Villari, I. 183 sqq.

[1179] So Nov. 1, 1494, etc. See Schottm�ller, p. 28 sqq. The motto,

cito et velociter, was repeated to Savonarola by the Virgin in his

vision of heaven, 1495.

[1180] Rudelbach, pp. 333-346, presents an elaborate statement of

Savonarola's attitude to the Bible, and quotes from one of his sermons

on the Exodus thus: "The theologians of our time have soiled everything

by their unseemly disputations as with pitch. They do not know a shred

of the Bible, yea, they do not even know the names of its books."

[1181] Lucas, pp. 55-61, gives a translation of the interview. Also

Perrens, II. 167-177.

[1182] Luotto asserts that the dilemma is presented of the genuineness

of Savonarola's predictions or downright imposture and he boldly

supports the former view. Pastor, Villari, Lucas and others show that

we are not narrowed down to this dilemma.

[1183] In his first letter to Savonarola July 21, 1495. See the text in

O'Neil, p. 10 sqq. Savonarola's reply, p. 26 sqq.

[1184] Villari I. 855 and Bonet-Maury, p. 232.

[1185] This is the view of Lucas, pp. 69 sq., Pastor, Creighton, III.

248, who pronounces "the prophetic claims a delusion," and Villari. The

last author says, I. 362 sqq., "Is it not possible that Savonarola was

intoxicated by the feeling that the earlier predictions had been

fulfilled, and, as the difficulty of maintaining his position in

Florence in the last years of his life increased, he felt forced to

appeal more and more to this endowment as though it were real?"

Rudelbach gives a long chapter to Savonarola's prophecies, pp. 281-333.

Pastor discusses Savonarola's alleged prophetic gift thoroughly in his

Gesch. d. P�pste, III. 146 sqq., and in refutation of Luotto in his Zur

Beurtheilung

[1186] So Pastor, III. 141. The account given of Lorenzo's interview

with Savonarola is based upon Burlamacchi and Mirandola. Politian, in a

letter to Jacopo Antiquario, gave a different amount of the three

demands and made no mention of Savonarola's demand that Florence be

restored her liberties. He also added that Savonarola left the room

pronouncing upon the dying man a blessing. Politian's version is

accepted by Roscoe, ch. X., Creighton, III. 296-299 and Lucas, 83 sq.

The version given above is accepted by Villari, 168 sqq., W. Clark, p.

116, and the rigid critic Hase, p. 20. Ranke did not see his way clear

to deny its truth and Reumont, II. 443, who denied it in the 1st ed. of

his Lorenzo de' Medici, hesitates in the 2d ed. Pastor proceeds upon

the basis of its truth but expresses doubt in a note.

[1187] One of Savonarola's propositions was to levy taxes on real

property alone and, it seems, he was not averse to taxing Church

property. Landucci, p. 119; Villari, I. 269, 298; II. 81.

[1188] See the document in Lucas, p. 180, and O'Neil, p. 9 sq. The

original in Rudelbach.

[1189] Zur Beurtheilung, p. 66. Pastor is refuting Luotto's position.

[1190] The Italian text in Perrens, I. 471 sq. The sermons of this

period were on Amos, Zachariah, Micah and Ruth. According to

Burlamacchi, the sultan had some of them translated into Turkish.

Villari, II. 87.

[1191] Dio Kultur d. Renaissance, II. 200 sq.

[1192] The bull is given by Villari, II. 189 sq.; Pastor, III. 411 sq.

[1193] Published in 1497, both in Latin and Etruscan, the Etruscan

translation being by Savonarola himself.

[1194] Pastor: Beurtheilung, p. 71 sqq.; Villari, II. 252.

[1195] See Schnitzer: Feuerprobe, p. 144.

[1196] See Alexander's letters in Perrens, I. 481-485; Pastor, III. 418

sq. O'Neil finds no room for them.

[1197] See Schnitzer: Feuerprobe, p. 38 sqq.

[1198] For the originals, see Perrens, I. 487-492. Excerpts are given

by Villari, II. 292 sq. See also Hase, p. 59, Creighton, III. 237. Of

the genuineness of the letters, Villari says there can be no doubt.

[1199] Landucci's account of the fuoco, p. 165 sqq., is most vivid. For

Cerretani's account, Schnitzer's ed., 59-71.

[1200] See Schnitzer: Feuerprobe, p. 49 sq.

[1201] Schnitzer, p. 54.

[1202] Schnitzer, p. 64 sq., who goes into the matter at length, and

Villari, II. 306 sqq., agree in the opinion that Alexander fully

sympathized with the ordeal. They also agree that the Arrabbiati were

largely, if not wholly, responsible for the suggestion of the ordeal

and making it a matter of public appointment. Pastor, III. 429,

represents Alexander as wholly disapproving the ordeal.

[1203] There is a difference among the contemporary writers about the

figures. Landucci, p. 168, gives the length at 50 braccia, width 10 and

height 4; Bartolomeo Cerretaui, Schnitzer ed. p. 62, the width as 1

braccio and the height 2.

[1204] Schnitzer, p. 159 sq., who says the signory and the Franciscans

joined "in packing the cards."

[1205] Etiam per torturam. Alexander's letter in Lucas, p. 372.

[1206] The reports of Savonarola's trial and confessions are of

uncertain value, as they were garbled by the reporter Ser Ceccone. See

Pastor, III. 432 sq. Landucci says that from 9 A. M. till nightfall the

cries of Domenico and Sylvestro under the strain of torture could be

heard in the city prison.

[1207] See the miserable letters sent by the papal commission to

Alexander, Lucas, pp. 434-436.

[1208] Weimar ed. XII. 248. Twenty-three edd. of Savonarola's

exposition appeared within two years of the author's death and, before

half a century elapsed, it had been translated into Spanish, German,

English and French. In Italy, it was used as a tract and put into the

hands of prisoners condemned to death. It was embodied in the Salisbury

Primer,1538, and in Henry VIII.'s Primer,1543.

[1209] See the excellent remarks of Burckhardt: Renaiss., II. 200.

[1210] Pastor, III. 436 says that Savonarola was always true to

Catholic dogma in theory. His only departure was disobeying the pope

and appealing to a council. Father Proctor, Pref. to Triumph of the

Cross, p. xvii, calls Savonarola "Of Catholics the most Catholic."

[1211] Cardinal Capecelatro in his Life of St. Ph. Neri. trsl. by

Father Pope, I. 278, says, "Philip often read Savonarola's writings

especially the Triumph of the Cross, and used them in the instruction

of his spiritual children." Quoted by Proctor, Preface, p. 6. For

Catherine de Ricci, see her Life by F. M. Capes, Lond.,1908, pp. 48,

49, 53,270 sq. She was devoted in her cult of Savonarola and wrote a

laud to him. This was the chief objection to her beatification in 1716,

but the arguments for an unfavorable judgment of Savonarola were

answered on that occasion.

[1212] Villari, II. 417, following Schwab and other Catholic writers.

The interpretation put upon Benedict's words is denied by Pastor:

Beurtheilung, p. 16 sq., and Lucas.

[1213] Father O'Neil, a Dominican, in his work, Was Savonarola really

excommunicated? takes this position and says, p. 132, "Alexander did

not inflict any censure on Savonarola." The fact, however, is that in

his letters to the signory, Alexander proceeded on the basis of his

brief of excommunication. He stated distinctly the reasons for his

being excommunicated and he called upon the priests of Florence to

publicly announce his sentence of May 12,1497, upon pain of drawing

ecclesiastical censure upon themselves. O'Neil replies that a papal

decision, based upon a false charge, is invalid, p. 175 sqq.

[1214] Rechtlos hingemordert, Kirchengesch., p. 503. Ranke's statement

that view making Savonarola a hero is a Dominican legend "worked out

after the preacher's death" has been rendered untenable by the latest

research by the eminent Savonarola scholar, the Catholic Professor

Schnitzer. See his Feuerprobe, p. 152.

[1215] Sermon VIII. in Prato ed. quoted by Rudelbach. Bayonne wrote his

work in 1879 to dispose of this charge and to prepare the way for

Savonarola's canonization.

[1216] Canonizat eum Christus per nos, rumpanter etiam papae et

papistae simul. Weimar ed. XII. 248.

[1217] Kirchengesch., II. 566.

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� 77. The Study and Circulation of the Bible.

The only biblical commentary of the Middle Ages, conforming in any

adequate sense to our modern ideas of exegesis, was produced by Nicolas

of Lyra, who died 1340. The exegesis of the Schoolmen was a subversion

of Scripture rather than an exposition. In their hands, it was made the

slave of dogma. Of grammatical and textual criticism they had no

conception and they lacked all equipment for the grammatical study of

the original Hebrew and Greek. What commentaries were produced in the

flourishing era of Scholasticism, were either collections of quotations

from the Fathers, called Chains,--catenae, the most noted of which was

the catena on the Gospels by Thomas Aquinas,--or, if original works,

they teemed with endless suggestions of the fancy and were like

continents of tropical vine-growths through which it is next to

impossible to find a clear path to Jesus Christ and the meaning of

human life. The bulky expositions of the Psalms, Job and other biblical

books by such theologians as Rupert of Deutz, Bonaventura and Albertus

Magnus, are to-day intellectual curiosities or, at best, manuals from

which piety of the conventual type may be fed. They bring out every

other meaning but the historical and plain sense intended by the

biblical authors. Especially true is this of the Song of Songs, which

the Schoolmen made a hunting-ground for descriptions of the Virgin

Mary. [1218] It is said, Thomas Aquinas was engaged on the exposition

of this book when he died.

The traditional mediaeval formula of interpretation reduced Tychonius'

seven senses to four,--the literal, allegorical, moral and anagogical.

The formula ran:--

Litteralis gesta docet; quid credas, allegoria,

Moralis quid agas; quo tendas anagogia.

Thomas Aquinas, fully in accord with this method, said that "the

literal sense of Scripture is manifold, its spiritual sense, threefold,

viz., allegorical, moral and anagogical." [1219] The literal sense

teaches the things which have happened, the allegorical what we are to

believe, the moral what we are to do and the anagogical directs to

things to be awaited. The last three senses correspond to faith, hope

and charity. Hugo of Cher compared them to the four coverings of the

tabernacle, the four winds, the four wings of the cherubim, the four

rivers of paradise, the four legs of the Lord's table. Here are

specimens: Jerusalem, literally, is a city in Palestine; allegorically,

it is the Church; morally, the faithful soul; anagogically, the

heavenly Jerusalem. The Exodus from Egypt is, historically, a fact;

allegorically, the redemption of Christ; morally, the soul's

conversion; anagogically, the departure for the heavenly land. In his

earliest years, Dean Colet followed this method. From Savonarola we

would expect it. The literal heaven, earth and light of Genesis 1:1,2,

he expounded as meaning allegorically, Adam, Eve and the light of grace

or the Hebrews, Gentiles and Jesus Christ; morally, the soul, body and

active intelligence; anagogically, angels, men and the vision of God.

In his later years, Colet, in answer to a letter from Erasmus, who

insisted upon the fecundity of meanings of Scripture texts, abandoned

his former position and declared that their fecundity consisted not in

their giving birth to many senses but to one only and that the truest.

[1220] In his better moods, Erasmus laid stress upon the one

historical, sense, applying to the interpretation of the Bible the rule

that is applied to other books.

After the Reformation was well on its way, the old irrational method

continued to be practised and Bishop Longland, in a sermon on Prov.

9:1,2, preached in 1525, explained the words "she hath furnished her

table" to mean, that wisdom had set forth in her spiritual banquet the

four courses of history, tropology, anagogy and allegory. [1221] Three

years later,1528, Tyndale, the translator of the English Bible, had

this to say of the mediaeval system of exegesis and the new system

which sought out the literal sense of Scripture: --

The papists divide the Scripture into four senses, the literal,

tropological, allegorical and anagogical. The literal sense has become

nothing at all, for the pope hath taken it clean away and hath made it

his possession. He hath partly locked it up with the false and

counterfeited keys of his traditions, ceremonies and feigned lies. Thou

shalt understand that the Scripture hath but one sense, which is the

literal sense, and this literal sense is the root and ground of all and

the anchor that never faileth whereunto, if thou cleave, thou canst

never err or go out of the way. [1222]

A decided step in the direction of the, new exegesis movement was made

by Nicolas of Lyra in his Postillae, a brief commentary on the entire

Bible. [1223] This commentator, called by Wyclif the elaborate and

skilful annotator of Scripture,--tamen copiosus et ingeniosus

postillator Scripturae, [1224] was born in Normandy, about 1270, and

became professor in Paris where he remained till his death. He knew

Greek and learned Hebrew from a rabbi and his knowledge of that tongue

gave rise to the false rumor that he had a Jewish mother. Lyra made a

new Latin translation, commented directly on the original text and

ventured at times to prefer the comments of Jewish commentators to the

comments of the Fathers. As he acknowledged in his Introduction, he was

much influenced by the writings of Rabbi Raschi.

Lyra's lasting merit lies in the stress he laid upon the literal sense

which he insisted should alone be employed in establishing dogma. In

practice, however, he allowed a secondary sense, the mystical or

typical, but he declared that it had been put to such abuse as to have

choked out--suffocare -- the literal sense. The language of Scripture

must be understood in its natural sense as we would expect our words to

be understood. [1225] His method aided in undermining the fanciful and

pernicious exegetical system of the Schoolmen who knew neither Greek

nor Hebrew and prepared the way for a new period of biblical

exposition. He was used not only by Wyclif and Gerson, [1226] but also

by Luther, who acknowledged his services in insisting upon the literal

sense.

Although Wyclif wrote no commentaries on books of Scripture, he gave

expositions of the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue and of many texts,

which are thoroughly practical and popular. In his treatise on the

Truth of Scripture, he seems at times to pronounce the discovery of the

literal sense the only object of a sound exegesis. [1227] A generation

later Gerson showed an inclination to lay stress upon the literal sense

as fundamental but went no further than to say that it is to be

accepted so far as it is found to be in harmony with the teachings of

the Church. [1228]

Later in the 15th century, the free critical spirit which the Revival

of Letters was begetting found pioneers in the realm of exegesis in

Laurentius Valla and Erasmus, Colet, Wesel and Wessel. As has already

been said, Valla not only called in question the genuineness of

Constantine's donation, but criticised Jerome's Vulgate and Augustine.

Erasmus went still farther when he left out of his Greek New

Testament,1516, the spurious passage about the three witnesses, 1 John

5:7, though he restored it in the edition of 1522. He pointed out the

discrepancy between a statement in Stephen's speech and the account in

Genesis and questioned the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews,

the Apostolic origin of 2d and 3rd John and the Johannine authorship of

the Apocalypse.

In opposition to such views the Sorbonne, in 1526, declared it an error

of faith to call in question the authorship of any of the books of the

New Testament. Erasmus recommended for the student of the Scriptures a

fair knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew and also that he be versed in

other studies, especially the knowledge of natural objects such as the

animals, trees, precious stones and geography of Scripture. [1229]

The nearest approach to the exegetical principles as well as doctrinal

positions of the Reformers was made by the Frenchman, Lef�vre

d'Etaples, whose translations of the New Testament and the Old

Testament carry us into the period introduced by Luther. It remained

for Luther and the other Reformers to give to the literal or historical

sense its due weight, and especially from the sane grammatical exegesis

of John Calvin is a new period in the exposition of the sacred writings

to be dated.

The early printing-presses, from Lyons to Paris and from Venice and

N�rnberg to Cologne and L�beck, eagerly turned out editions of the

entire Bible or parts of it, the vast majority of which, however, gave

the Latin text. The first printed Latin Bible, which appeared at Mainz

without date and in two volumes, belongs before 1455 and bears the name

of the Gutenberg Bible from the printer or the Mazarin Bible from the

copy which was found in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. Before 1520,

no less than 199 printed editions of the entire volume appeared. Of

these,156 were Latin,17 German,--3 of the German editions being in Low

German,--11 Italian, 2 Bohemian and one Russian. [1230] Spain produced

two editions, a Limousin version at Valencia,1478, and the

Complutensian Bible of Cardinal Ximenes,1514-1517. England was far

behind and her first printed English New Testament did not appear till

1526, although Caxton had setup his printing-press at Westminster in

1477.

To the printed copies of the whole Scriptures must be added the parts

which appeared in plenaria and psalteria,--copies of the Gospels and of

the Psalms, [1231] -- and in the postillae which contained the

Scripture text with annotations. From 1470-1520 no less than 103

postillae appeared from the press. [1232]

The number of copies of the Bible sent off in a single edition is a

matter of conjecture as must also be the question whether copies were

widely held by laymen. [1233]

The new path which Erasmus struck out in his edition of the New

Testament was looked upon in some quarters as a dangerous path.

Dorpius, one of the Louvain professors, in 1515, anticipated the

appearance of the book by remonstrating with Erasmus for his bold

project and pronounced the received Vulgate text free "from all mixture

of falsehood and mistake." This, he alleged, was evident from its

acceptance by the Church in all ages and the use the Fathers had made

of it. Another member of the Louvain faculty, Latromus, employed his

learning in a pamphlet which maintained that a knowledge of Greek and

Hebrew was not necessary for the scholarly study of the Scriptures. In

England, Erasmus' New Testament was attacked on a number of grounds by

Lee, archbishop of York; and Standish, bishop of St. Asaph, preached a

furious sermon in St. Paul's churchyard on Erasmus' temerity in

undertaking the issue of such a work. The University of Cologne was

especially outraged by Erasmus' attempt and Conrad of Hersbach wrote:

[1234] --

They have found a language called Greek, at which we must be careful to

be on our guard. It is the mother of all heresies. In the hands of many

persons I see a book, which they call the New Testament. It is a book

full of thorns and poison. As for Hebrew my brethren, it is certain

that those who learn it will sooner or later turn Jews.

But among the men who read Erasmus' text was Martin Luther, and he was

studying it to settle questions which started in his soul. About one of

these he asked his friend Spalatin to consult Erasmus, namely the final

meaning of the righteousness of the law, which he felt the great

scholar had misinterpreted in his annotations on the Romans in the

Novum instrumentum. He believed, if Erasmus would read Augustine's

works, he would change his mind. Luther preferred Augustine, as he

said, with the knowledge of one tongue to Jerome with his knowledge of

five.

Down to the very end of its history, the mediaeval Church gave no

official encouragement to the circulation of the Bible among the laity.

On the contrary, it uniformly set itself against it. In 1199 Innocent

III., writing to the diocese of Metz where the Scriptures were being

used by heretics, declared that as by the old law, the beast touching

the holy mount was to be stoned to death, so simple and uneducated men

were not to touch the Bible or venture to preach its doctrines. [1235]

The article of the Synod of Toulouse,1229, strictly forbidding the Old

and New Testaments to the laity either in the original text or in the

translation [1236] was not recalled or modified by papal or synodal

action. Neither after nor before the invention of printing was the

Bible a free book. Gerson was quite in line with the utterances of the

Church, when he stated, that it was easy to give many reasons why the

Scriptures were not to be put into the vulgar tongues except the

historical sections and the parts teaching morals. [1237] In Spain,

Ferdinand and Isabella represented the strict churchly view when, on

the eve of the Reformation, they prohibited under severe penalties the

translation of the Scriptures and the possession of copies. The

positive enactment of the English archbishop, Arundel, at the beginning

of the 15th century, forbidding the reading of Wyclif's English

version, was followed by the notorious pronouncement of Archbishop

Bertholdt of Mainz against the circulation of the German Bible, at the

close of the same century,1485. The position taken by Wyclif that the

Scriptures, as the sole source of authority for creed and life, should

be freely circulated found full response in the closing years of the

Middle Ages only in the utterances of one scholar, Erasmus, but he was

under suspicion and always ready to submit himself to the judgment of

the Church hierarchic. If Wyclif said, "God's law should be taught in

that tongue that is more known, for this wit [wisdom] is God's Word,"

Erasmus in his Paraclesis [1238] uttered the equally bold words: --

I utterly dissent from those who are unwilling that the sacred

Scriptures should be read by the unlearned translated into their own

vulgar tongue, as though the strength of the Christian religion

consisted in men's ignorance of it. The counsels of kings are much

better kept hidden but Christ wished his mysteries to be published as

openly as possible. I wish that even the weakest woman should read the

Gospel and the epistles of Paul. And I wish they were translated into

all languages, so that they might be read and understood, not only by

Scots and Irishmen but also by Turks and Saracens, I long that the

husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the

plow, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that

the traveller should beguile with their stories the tedium of his

journey.

The utterances of Erasmus aside, the appeals made 1450-1520 for the

circulation of the Scriptures among all classes are very sparse and, in

spite of all pains, Catholic controversialists have been able to bring

together only a few. And yet, the few that we have show that, at least

in Germany and the Netherlands, there was a popular hunger for the

Bible in the vernacular. Thus, the Preface to the German Bible, issued

at Cologne,1480, called upon every Christian to read the Bible with

devotion and honest purpose. Though the most learned may not exhaust

its wisdom, nevertheless its teachings are clear and uncovered. The

learned may read Jerome's Vulgate but the unlearned and simple folk

could and should use the Cologne edition which was in good German. The

devotional manual, Die Himmelsth�r,--Door of Heaven,--1513, declared

that listening to sermons ought to stir up people to read diligently in

the German Bible. In 1505, Jacob Wimpheling spoke of the common people

reading both Testaments in their mother-tongue and made this the ground

of an appeal to priests not to neglect to read the Word of God

themselves. [1239]

Such testimonies are more than offset by warnings against the danger

attending the popular use of Scriptures. Brant spoke strongly in this

vein and so did Geiler of Strassburg, who asserted that putting the

Scriptures into the hands of laymen was like putting a knife into the

hands of children to cut bread. He added that it "was almost a wicked

thing to print the sacred text in German." [1240] Archbishop

Bertholdt's fulmination against German versions of the Bible and their

circulation among the people no doubt expressed the general mind of the

hierarchy in Germany and all Europe. [1241] In this celebrated edict,

the German primate pronounced the German language too barbarous a

tongue to reproduce the high thoughts expressed by Greek and Latin

writers, writing of the Christian religion. The Scriptures are not to

be given to simple and unlearned men and, above all, are not to be put

into the hands of women. [1242] He spoke of the fools who were using

the divine gift of printing to send forth things proscribed to the

public and declared, that the printers of the sacred text were moved by

the vain love of fame or by greed. In his zeal, the archbishop went so

far as to forbid the translation of all works whatsoever, of Greek and

Latin authorship, or their sale without the sanction of the doctors of

the Universities of Mainz or Erfurt. The punishment for the violation

of the edict was excommunication, confiscation of books and a fine of

100 gulden.

The decree was so effective that, after 1488, only four editions of the

German Bible appeared until 1522, when Luther issued his New Testament,

when the old German translations seemed to be suddenly laid aside.

[1243] In England, Arundel's inhibition so fully expressed the mind of

the nation that for a full century no attempt was made to translate the

Bible into English and it was not till after 1530 that the first copy

of the English Scriptures was published on English soil. [1244] Sir

Thomas More, it is true, writing on the threshold of the English

Reformation, interpreted Arundel's decree as directed against corrupt

translations and sought to make it appear that it was on account of

errors that Wyclif's version had been condemned. He was striving to

parry the charge that the Church had withheld the Bible from popular

use, but, whatever the interpretation put upon his words may be (see

this volume, p. 348), the fact remains that the English were slow in

getting any printed version of their own and that the Catholic party

issued none till the close of the 16th century.

Distinct witness is borne by Tyndale to the unwillingness of the old

party to have the Bible in English, in these words: "Some of the

papists say it is impossible to translate the Scriptures into English,

some that it is not lawful for the layfolk to have it in the

mother-tongue, some that it would make them all heretics." [1245] After

the new views were quite prevalent in England, the English Bible had a

hard time in winning the right to be read. Tyndale's version, for the

printing of which he found no room in England, was at Wolsey's instance

proscribed by Henry VIII. and the famous burning of 1527 in St. Paul's

churchyard of all the copies Bishop Tonstall could lay his hands on

will always rise up to rebuke those who try to make it appear that the

circulation of the Word of God was intended by the Church authorities

to be free. Tyndale declared that, "in burning the New Testament, the

papists did none other thing than I looked for; no more shall they do

if they burn me also." Any fears he may have had were realized in his

execution at Vilvorde,1536. [1246] No doubt, the priest represented a

large class when he rebuked Tyndale for proposing to translate the

Bible in the words, "We were better without God's laws than the

pope's." The martyr Hume's body was hung when an English Bible was

found on his person. In 1543, the reading of the Scriptures was

forbidden in England except to persons of quality. The Scotch joined

the English authorities when the Synod of St. Andrews,1529, forbade the

importation of Bibles into Scotland.

In France, according to the testimony of the famous printer Robert

Stephens, who was born in 1503, the doctors of the Sorbonne, in the

period when he was a young man, knew about the New Testament only from

quotations from Jerome and the Decretals. He declared that he was more

than 50 years old before he knew anything about the New Testament.

Luther was a man before he saw a copy of the Latin Bible. In 1533,

Geneva forbade its citizens to read the Bible in German or French and

ordered all translations burnt. [1247] The strict inquisition of books

would have passed to all countries, if the hierarchy had had its way.

In 1535, Francis I. closed the printing-presses and made it a capital

offence in France to publish a religious book without authorization

from the Sorbonne. The attitude of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, since

the Reformation as well as during the Reformation, has been against the

free circulation of the Bible. In the 19th century, one pope after

another anathematized Bible societies. In Spain, Italy and South

America, the punishments visited upon Bible colporteurs and the

frequent burning of the Bible itself have been quite in the line of the

decrees of Arundel and Bertholdt and the treatment of Bishop Tonstall.

Nor will it be forgotten that, at the time Rome was made the capital of

Italy in 1870, a papal law required that copies of the Bible found in

the possession of visitors to the papal city be confiscated.

On the other hand, through the agency of the Reformers, the book was

made known and offered freely to all classes. What use the Reformers

hoped to make of printing for the dissemination of religion and

intelligence is tersely and quaintly expressed by the martyrologist,

Foxe, in these words: [1248] --

Either the pope must abolish printing or he must seek a new world to

reign over, for else, as the world stands, printing will abolish him.

The pope and all the cardinals must understand this, that through the

light of printing the world begins now to have eyes to see and heads to

judge .... God hath opened the press to preach, whose voice the pope is

never able to stop with all the puissance of the triple crown. By

printing as by the gift of tongues and as by the singular organ of the

Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Gospel sounds to all nations and

countries under heaven and what God reveals to one man, is dispersed to

many and what is known to one nation is opened to all.

Note: - Both Janssen and Abbot Gasquet spend much pains in the attempt

to show that the mediaeval Church was not opposed to the circulation of

the Bible in popular versions or the Latin Vulgate. The proofs they

bring forward must be regarded as strained and insufficient. They

ignore entirely the vast mass of testimony on the other side, as, for

example, the testimony involved in the popular reception given to the

German and English Scriptures when they appeared from the hands of the

Reformers and the mass of testimony given by the Reformers on the

subject. Gasquet endeavors to break the force of the argument drawn

from Arundel's edict, but he has nothing to say of the demand Wyclif

made for the popular dissemination of the Bible, a demand which implied

that the Bible was withheld from the people. Dr. Barry who belongs to

the same school, in the Cambr. Mod. Hist., I. 640, speaks of "the

enormous extent the Bible was read in the 15th century" and that it was

not "till we come within sight of the Lutheran troubles that preachers,

like Geiler of Kaisersberg, hint their doubts on the expediency of

unrestrained Bible-reading in the vernacular." What is to be said of

such an exaggeration in view of the fact that the vast majority of

Bibles were in Latin, a language which the people could not read, that

Geiler died in 1510, seven years before Luther ceased to be a pious

Augustinian monk, and that he did very much more than hint doubts! He

expressed himself unreservedly against Bible-reading.

Janssen-Pastor,--I. 23 sqq., 72 sqq., VII. 535 sqq.--have a place for

stray testimonies between 1480-1520 in favor of the popular reading of

the Scriptures, but, go far as I can see, do not refer to the warnings

of Brant, Geiler and others against their use by laymen, and the only

reference they make to Bertholdt's notorious decree is to the clause in

which the archbishop emphasizes the divine art of printing, divina

quaedam ars imprimendi, I. 15.

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[1218] So sober a writer as Reuss, p. 607, speaks of the commentaries

on the Canticles, as being without number.

[1219] Summa, I. 1 art. x.

[1220] See Lupton, p. 104, and Seebohm, pp. 30, 124 sq., 445-447.

[1221] Farrar, p. 295.

[1222] The Obedience of a Christian Man, Parker Soc., p. 303 sq. The

author of the Epp. obscurorum virorum speaks of having listened to a

lecture on poetry, in which Ovid was explained naturaliter,

literaliter, historialiter et spiritualiter. In his preface to the

Pentateuch, p. 394, Tyndale said, "The Scripture hath but one simple,

literal sense whose light the owls cannot abide."

[1223] Lyra's work was printed 8 times before 1500. The ed. printed at

Rome,1471-1473, is in 5 vols.

[1224] De veritate scr. sac., I. 275. Wyclif quotes Lyra, II. 100, etc.

[1225] Prol. 2. Omnes presupponunt sensum Lit. tanquam fundamentum,

unde sicut aedificium declinans a fundamento disponitur ad ruinam

expositio mystica discrepans a sensu lit. reputanda est indecens et

inepta. See Reuss, p. 610.

[1226] Du Pin's ed.,1728, I. 3, etc.

[1227] Sensus lit. scripturae est utrobique verus, De ver., I. 73,122.

[1228] Gerson, De sensu lit. scr. sac. Du Pin's ed.,1728, I. 2 sq.,

says, sensus lit. semperest verus and sensus lit. judicandus est Prout

ecclesia a Sp. S. inspirata determinat et non ad cujuslibet arbitrium.

[1229] Paraclesis.

[1230] Falk, pp. 24, 91-97, gives a full list with the places of issue.

Walther gives a list of 120 MSS. of the Bible in German translation.

The Lenox Library in New York has a copy of the Mazarin Bible. The

first book bearing date, place and name of printers was the Psalterium

issued by Fust and Sch�ffer, Aug. 14,1457. See Copinger: Incunabula

biblica or the First Half Century of the Latin Bible, Lond.,1892.

[1231] Often only a brief selection of Psalms was given. Such

collections were meant as manuals of devotion and perhaps also to be

used In memorizing. See Falk, p. 28 sqq.

[1232] Falk, p. 32. The word postilla comes from post illa verba sicut

textus evangelii and its use goes back to the 13th century.

[1233] Janssen, I. 23, 75 attempts to establish it as a fact that the

copies struck off were numerous. He cites in confirmation the edition

of the Latin Grammar of Cochlaeus,1511, which included 1,000 copies,

and of a work of Bartholomew Arnoldi, 1517, 2,000 copies. Sebastian

Brant declared that all lands were full of the Scriptures, and the

Humanist, Celti, that the priests could find a copy in every inn if

they chose to look. 6,000 copies of Tyndale's New Testament were

printed in a single edition. The Koberger firm of N�rnberg has the

honor of having produced no less than 26 editions, 1476-1520. Its

Vulgate was on sale in London as early as 1580.

[1234] Hase: Ch. Hist., II. 2, p. 493. Faulkner: Erasmus, p. 127 sqq.

Dorpius' letter is given by Nichols, II. 168 sqq.

[1235] Migne CCXIV:695 sq.

[1236] Ne praemissos libros laici habeant in vulgari translatos

arctissime inhibemus, Mansi, XXIII. 194.

[1237] Prohibendam esse vulgarem translationem librorum sac, etc.

Contra vanam curiositatem, Du Pin's ed., I. 105.

[1238] Basel ed., V. 117 sq.

[1239] Falk, p. 18. Janssen, I. 72, is careful to tell that the

peasant, Hans Werner, who could read, knew his Bible so well by heart

that he was able to give the places where this text and that were

found.

[1240] Es ist fast ein b�s Ding dass man die Bibel zu deutsch druckt.

Quoted by Frietsche-Nestle in Herzog, II. 704.

[1241] The text is given In Mirbt: Quellen zur Gesch. d. Papsttums, p.

173.

[1242] Quis enim dabit idiotis et indoctis hominibus et femineo sexui,

etc.

[1243] Reuss, p. 534. The last four editions of the old German Bible

were 1490, Augsburg, 1494, L�beck, Augsburg, 1508, 1518.

[1244] We might have expected some definite utterance in regard to

Bible translations from Pecock, in his Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of

the Clergy, 1450-1460. What he says is in the progress of his

refutation of the Lollards' position that all things necessary to be

believed and done are to be found in the Scriptures. He adds, Rolls

Series, I. 119, "And thou shalt not find expressly in Holy Scripture

that the New and Old Testaments should be writ in English tongue to

laymen or in Latin tongue to clergy."

[1245] Pref. to the Pentateuch, Parker Soc. ed., Tyndale's Doctr.

Works, p. 392. Arundel did not adduce any errors in Wyclif's version.

Abbot Gasquet, in The Old Engl. Bible, p. 108, and Eve of the Reform.,

p. 209 sqq., attempts to show that the Bible was not a proscribed book

in England before the Reformation. The testimonies he adduces,

commending the Scriptures, are so painfully few as to seem to make his

case a hopeless one. Dixon, Hist. of the Ch. of Engl., I. 451, speaks

of Arundel's "proclaiming the war of authority against English

versions."

[1246] Cochlaeus informed the English authorities of Tyndale's presence

in Wittenberg and his proposed issue of the English N. T., in order to

prevent "the importation of the pernicious merchandise." Tonstall

professed to have discovered no less than 2000 errors in Tyndale's N.

T. See Fulke's Defence in Parker Soc. ed., p. 61. Tyndale, Pref. to the

Pent., p. 373, says, that "the papists who had found all their

Scripture before in their Duns or such like devilish doctrine, now spy

out mistakes in my transl., even if it be only the dot of an i."

[1247] See Baird: Hist. of the Huguenots, I. 57; Lindsay: The

Reformation, II. 80.

[1248] Book of Martyrs, V. 355.

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� 78. Popular Piety.

During the last century of the Middle Ages, the religious life of the

laity was stimulated by some new devices, especially in Germany. There,

the effort to instruct the laity in the matters of the Christian faith

was far more vital and active than in any other part of Western

Christendom.

The popular need found recognition in the illustrations, furnished in

many editions of the early Bibles. The Cologne Bible of 1480, the

L�beck Bible of 1494 and the Venice Bible of Malermi,1497, are the best

examples of this class of books. Fifteen of the 17 German Bibles,

issued before the Reformation, were illustrated.

A more distinct recognition of this need was given in the so-called

biblia pauperum,--Bibles for the poor,--first single sheets and then

books, containing as many as 40 or 50 pictures of biblical scenes.

[1249] In the first instance, they seem to have been intended to aid

priests in giving instruction. Side by side, they set scenes from the

two Testaments, showing the prophetic types and their fulfilments. Thus

the circumcisions of Abraham, Jacob and Christ are depicted in three

separate pictures, the priest being represented in the very act of

circumcising Christ. Explanations in Latin, German or French accompany

the pictures.

An extract will give some idea of the kind of information furnished by

this class of literature. When Adam was dying, he sent Seth into the

garden to get medicine. The cherub gave him a branch from the tree of

life. When Seth returned, he found his father dead and buried. He

planted the branch and in 4000 years it grew to be the tree on which

the Saviour was crucified.

The best executed of these biblical picture-books are those in

Constance, [1250] St. Florian, Austria and in the libraries of Munich

and Vienna. The name, biblia pauperum, may have been derived from

Bonaventura or the statement of Gregory the Great, that pictures are

the people's bible. In 1509, Lukas Kranach issued the passion in a

series of pictures at Wittenberg.

A marked and most hopeful novelty in Germany were the numerous manuals

of devotion and religious instruction which were issued soon after the

invention of printing. This literature bears witness to the intelligent

interest taken in religious training, although its primary purpose was

not for the young but to furnish a guide-book for the confessional and

to serve priest and layman in the hour of approaching death. [1251]

These books are, for the most part, in German, and probably had a wide

circulation. They show common Christians what the laws of God are for

daily life and what are the chief articles of the Church's faith. Some

of the titles give us an idea of the intent,--The Soul's Guide, Der

Seelenf�hrer; Path to Heaven, Die Himmelstrasse; The Soul's Comfort,

Der Seelentrost; The Heart's Counsellor, Der Herzmahner; The Devotional

Bell, Das and�chtige Zeitgl�cklein; The Foot-Path to Eternal Bliss, Der

Fusspfad zur ewigen Seligkeit; The Soul's Vegetable Garden, Das

Seelenw�rzg�rtlein; The Soul's Vineyard, Der Weingarten der Seele; The

Spiritual Chase, Die geistliche Jagd. Others were known by the general

title of Beichtb�chlein--libri di penitentia -- or penitential books.

A compendious statement of their intent is given in the title of the

Seelenf�hrer, [1252] namely "The Soul's Guide, a useful book for every

Christian to practise a pious life and to reach a holy death." This

literature deserves closer attention both because it represents

territory hitherto largely neglected by students of the later Middle

Ages and because it bears witness to the zeal among the German clergy

to spread practical religion among the people. The Himmelwagen, the

Heavenly Carriage, represents the horses as faith, love, repentance,

patience, peace, humility and obedience. The Trinity is the driver, the

carriage itself God's mercy.

With variations, these little books explain the 10 Commandments, the 14

articles of the Creed--the number into which it was then divided--the

Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, mortal sins, the 5 senses, the works of

mercy and other topics. The Soul's Comfort, which appeared in 16

editions,1474-1523, [1253] takes up the 10 Commandments, 7 sacraments,

8 Beatitudes, 6 works of mercy, the 7 spiritual gifts, 7 mortal sins

and 7 cardinal virtues and "what God further thinks me worthy of

knowing." Most useful as this little book was adapted to be, it

sometimes states truth under strange forms, as when it tells of a man

whose soul after death was found, not in his body but in his

money-chest and of a girl who, while dancing on Friday, was violently

struck by the devil but recovered on giving her promise to amend her

ways.

The Path to Heaven contains 52 chapters. The first two set forth faith

and hope, the joys of the elect and the pains of the lost and it closes

with 4 chapters describing a holy death, the devil's modes of tempting

the dying and questions which are to be put to sick people. Dietrich

Kolde's Mirror of a Christian Man, one of the most popular of the

manuals, in the first two of its 46 chapters, took up the Apostles'

Creed and, in the last, the marks of a good Christian man. The first

edition appeared before 1476; the 23d at Delfft,1518. [1254]

Many of the manuals expressly set forth the value of the family

religion and call upon parents to teach their children the Creed, the

10 Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, to have them pray morning and

evening and to take them to church to hear the mass and preaching. The

Soul's Guide says, "The Christian home should be the first school for

young children and their first church."

The Path to Heaven, [1255] written by Stephen von Landskron or

Lanzkranna, dean of Vienna, d. 1477, presents a very attractive picture

of a Christian household. As a model for imitation, the head of a

family is represented as going to church with his wife, children and

servants every Sunday and listening to the preaching. On returning

home, he reviews the subject of the sermon and hears them recite the

Commandments, Lord's Prayer and Creed and the 7 mortal sins. Then,

after he has refreshed himself with a draught, Trinklein, they sing a

song to God or Mary or to one of the saints. The Soul's Comfort

counsels parents to examine their households about the articles of

faith and the precepts the children had learned at school and at

church. The Table of a Christian Life [1256] urges the parents to keep

their children off the streets, send them to school, making a selection

of their teachers and, above all, to live well themselves and "go

before" their children in the practice of all the virtues.

Of the penitential books, designed distinctly as manuals of preparation

for the confessional, the work of John Wolff is the most elaborate and

noteworthy. This good man, who was chaplain at St. Peter's, Frankfurt,

wrote his book 1478. [1257] He was deeply interested in the impartation

of religious instruction. His tombstone, which was unearthed in 1895,

calls him the "doctor of the 10 Commandments" and gives a

representation of the 10 Commandments in 10 pictures, each Commandment

being designated by a hand with one or more fingers uplifted. Such

tables it was not an uncommon thing, in the last years of the Middle

Ages, to hang on the walls of churches.

Wolff's book, which is a guide for daily Christian living, sets forth

at length the 10 Commandments and the acts and inward thoughts which

are in violation of them, and puts into the mouth of the offender an

appropriate confession. Thus, confessing to a violation of the 4th

Commandment, the offender says, "I have done on Friday rough work, in

farming, dunging the fields, splitting wood, spinning, sewing, buying

and selling, dancing, striking people at the dance, playing games and

doing other sinful things. I did not hear mass or preaching and was

remiss in the service of Almighty God." Upon the exposition of the

Decalogue follow lists of the five baser sins,--usury, killing,

stealing, sodomy and keeping back wages,--the 6 sins against the Holy

Ghost, the 7 works of mercy such as visiting the sick, clothing the

naked and burying the dead, the sacraments, the Beatitudes, the 7 gifts

of the Holy Ghost and an exposition of repentance. The work closes with

a summary of the advantages to be derived from the frequent repetition

of the 10 Commandments and mentions 13 excuses, given for not repeating

them, such as that the words are hard to remember and the unwillingness

to have them as a perpetual monitor.

These manuals, having in view the careful instruction of adults and

children, indicate a new era in the history of religious training. No

catechisms have come down to us from the ancient Church. The

catechumens to whom Augustine and Cyril addressed their catechetical

discourses were adults. In the 13th century, synods began to call for

the preparation of summaries of religious knowledge for laymen. So a

synod at Lambeth,1281, Prag,1355, and Lavaur, France,1368. The Synod of

Tortosa,1429, ordered its prelates to secure the preparation of a brief

compendium containing in concise paragraphs all that it was necessary

for the people to know and that might be explained to them every Sunday

during the year by their pastors. Gerson approached the catechetical

method (see this volume, p. 216 sq.) and, after long years of activity

made the statement that the reformation of the church must begin with

children, a parvulis ecclesiae reparatio et ejus cultura incipienda.

[1258] In his Tripartite work he presents the Ten Commandments,

confession and thoughts for the dying. The catechetical form of

question and answer was not adopted till after the Lutheran Reformation

was well on its way. The term, catechism, as a designation of such a

manual was first used by Luther,1525, and the first book to bear the

title was Andreas Althammer's Catechism, which appeared in 1528.

Luther's two catechisms were issued one year later. The first Catholic

book to bear the title was prepared by George Wicelius,1535.

In England, we have something similar to the German penitential books

in the Prymers, [1259] the first copy of which dates from 1410. They

were circulated in Latin and English, and were intended for the

instruction of the laity. They contained the calendar, the Hours of our

Lady, the litany, the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments, 7

Penitential Psalms, the 7 deadly sins, prayers and other matters. The

book is referred to by Piers Plowman, and frequently in the 15th

century, as one well known. [1260] The Horn-book also deserves mention.

This device for teaching the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer consisted

of a rectangular board with a handle, to be held like a modern

hand-mirror. On one or both sides were cut or printed the letters of

the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer. Horn-books were probably not in

general use till the close of the 16th century, but they date back to

the middle of the 15th. They probably got their name from a piece of

animal horn with which the face of the written matter was covered as a

protection against grubby fingers. [1261]

A nearer approach to the catechetical idea was made by Colet in his

rudiments of religious knowledge appended to his elementary grammar,

and intended for use in St. Paul's School. It contains the Apostles'

Creed, the Lord's Prayer, an exposition of the love due God and our

fellowmen, 46 special "precepts of living," and two prayers, and is

generally known as the Catecheyzon. [1262]

Religious instruction was also given through the series of pictures

known as the Dance of Death, and through the miracle plays. [1263] In

the Dance of Death, a perpetual memento mori, death was represented in

the figure of a skeleton appearing to persons in every avocation of

life and of every class. None were too holy or too powerful to evade

his intrusion and none too humble to be beyond his notice. Death wears

now a serious, now a comic aspect, now politely leads his victim, now

walks arm in arm with him, now drags him or beats him. An hour-glass is

usually found somewhere in the pictures, grimly reminding the onlooker

that the time of life is certain to run out. These pictures were

painted on bridges, houses, church windows and convent walls. Among the

oldest specimens are those in Minden,1383, at Paris in the churchyard

of the Franciscans,1425, Dijon,1436, Basel,1441, Croyden, the Tower of

London, Salisbury Cathedral,1460, L�beck,1463. [1264]

In the fifteenth century, the religious drama was in its bloom in

Germany and England. [1265] The acting was now turned over to laymen

and the public squares and streets were preferred for the performances.

The people looked on from the houses as well as from the streets. In

1412, while the play of St. Dorothea was being acted in the

market-place at Bautzen, the roof of one of the houses fell and 33

persons were killed. The introduction of buffoonery and farce had

become a recognized feature and lightened the impression without

impairing the religious usefulness of the plays. The devil was made a

subject of perpetual jest and fun. The people found in them an element

of instruction which, perhaps, the priest did not impart. The scenes

enacted reached from the Creation and the fall of Lucifer to the Last

Judgment and from Abel's death and Isaac's sacrifice to the crucifixion

and resurrection.

Set forth by living actors, the miracle plays and moralities were to

the Middle Ages what the Pilgrim's Progress was to Puritans. They were

performed from Rome to London, at the marriage and visits of princes

and for the delectation of the people. We find them presented before

Sigismund and prelates during the solemn discussions of the Council of

Constance, as when the play of the Nativity and the Slaughter of the

Innocents was acted at the Bishop of Salisbury's lodgings,1417, and at

St. Peter's, as when the play of Susannah and the Elders was performed

in honor of Leonora, daughter of Ferrante of Naples,1473. At a popular

dramatization of the parable of the 10 Virgins in Eisenach,1324, the

margrave, Friedrich, was so moved by the pleas of the 5 foolish maidens

and the failure to secure the aid of Mary and the saints, that he cried

out, "What is the Christian religion worth, if sinners cannot obtain

mercy through the intercession of Mary?" The story went, that he became

melancholy and died soon afterwards.

Of the four English cycles of miracle plays, York, Chester, Coventry

and Towneley or Wakefield, the York cycle dates back to 1360 and

contained from 48 to 57 plays. Chester and Coventry were the

traditional centres of the religious drama. The stage or pageant, as it

was called, was wheeled through the streets. The playing was often in

the hands of the guilds, such as the barbers, tanners, plasterers,

butchers, spicers, chandlers. [1266] The paying of actors dates from

the 14th century.

Chester cycles was Noah's Flood, a subject popular everywhere in

mediaeval Europe. After God's announcement to the patriarch, his 3 sons

and their wives offered to take hand in the building of the ark. Noah's

wife alone held out and scolded while the others worked. In spite of

Noah's well-known quality of patience, her husband exclaimed: --

Lord, these women be crabbed, aye

And none are meke, I dare well says.

Nothing daunted, however, the patriarch went on with his hammering and

hewing and remarked: --

These bordes heare I pinne togither

To bear us saffe from the weither,

That we may rowe both heither and theither

And saffe be from the fludde. [1267]

The ark finished, each party brought his portion of animals and birds.

But when they were housed, Noah's help-meet again proved a disturbing

element. Noah bade Shem go and fetch her.

Sem, sonne, loe! thy mother is wrawe (angry).

Shem told her they were about to set sail, but still she resisted

entreaty and all hands were called to join together and "fetch her in."

One of the best of the English plays, Everyman, has for its subject the

inevitableness of death and the judgment. [1268] God sends Death to

Everyman and, in his attempt to withstand his message, Everyman calls

upon his friends Fellowship, Riches, Strength, Beauty and Good Works

for help or, at least, to accompany him on his pilgrimage. This with

one consent they refused to do. He then betook himself to Penance, and

has explained to him the powers of the priesthood: --

God hath to priest more power given

Than to any angel that is in heaven.

With five words, he may consecrate

God's body in flesh and blood to take

And handleth his Maker between his hands:

The priest bindeth and unbindeth all bands

Both in earth and in heaven,

He ministers all the sacraments seven.

Such plays were impressive sermons, a popular summer-school of moral

and religious instruction, the mediaeval Chatauqua. They continued to

be performed in England till the 16th century and even till the reign

of James I., when the modern drama took their place. The last survival

of the religious drama of the Middle Ages is the Passion Play given at

Oberammergau in the highlands of Bavaria. In obedience to a vow, made

during a severe epidemic in 1684, it has been acted every ten years

since and more often in recent years. Since 1860, the performances have

attracted throngs of spectators from foreign lands, a performance being

set for 1910. Writers have described it as a most impressive sermon on

the most momentous of scenes, as it is a solemn act of worship for the

simple-hearted, pious Catholics of that remote mountain village.

Pilgrimages and the worship of relics were as popular in the 16th

century as they had been in previous periods of the Middle Ages. [1269]

Guide-books for pilgrims were circulated in Germany and England and

contained vocabularies as well as items of geography and other details.

[1270] Jerusalem continued to attract the feet of princes and prelates

as well as persons of less exalted estate. Frederick the Wise of

Saxony, Luther's cautious but firm friend, was one of these pilgrims in

the last days of the Middle Ages. William Wey of England, who in 1458

and 1462, went to the Holy Land, tells us how the pilgrims sang "O city

dear Jerusalem," Urbs beata, as they landed at Joppa. Sir Richard

Torkington and Sir Thomas Tappe, both ecclesiastics, made the journey

the same year that Luther nailed up the Theses,1517. The journeys to

Rome during the Jubilee Years of 1450,1500, drew vast throngs of

people, eager to see the holy city and concerned to secure the

religious benefits promised by the supreme pontiff. Local shrines also

attracted constant streams of pilgrims.

Among the popular shrines in Germany were the holy blood at Stemberg

from 1492, the image of Mary at Grimmenthal from 1499, as a cure for

the French sickness, the head of St. Anna at D�ren from 1500, this

relic having been stolen from Mainz. The holy coat of Treves was

brought to light in 1512. As in the flourishing days of the Crusades,

so again, pilgrimage-epidemics broke out among the children of Germany,

as in 1457 when large bands went to St. Michael's in Normandy and in

1475 to Wilsnack, where, in spite of the exposure by Nicolas of Cusa,

the blood was still reputed holy. [1271] The most noted places of

pilgrimage in Germany were Cologne with the bodies of the three

Magi-kings and Aachen, where Mary's undergarment, Jesus'

swaddling-cloth and the loin-cloth he wore on the cross and other

priceless relics are kept. Some idea of the popularity of pilgrimages

may be had from the numbers that are given, though it is possible they

are exaggerated. In 1466, 130,000 attended the festival of the angels

at Einsiedeln, Switzerland, and in 1496 the porter at the gate of

Aachen counted 146,000. [1272] In the 14 days, when the relics were

displayed, 85,000 gulden were left in the money-boxes of St. Mary's,

Aachen.

Imposing religious processions were also popular, such as the

procession at Erfurt,1483, in a time of drought. It lasted from 5 in

the morning till noon, the ranks passing from church to church. Among

those who took part were 948 children from the schools, the entire

university-body comprising 2,141 persons, 812 secular priests, the

monks of 5 convents and a company of 2,316 maidens with their hair

hanging loosely down their backs and carrying tapers in their hands.

German synods called attention to the abuses of the pilgrimage-habit

and sought to check it. [1273]

English pilgrims, not satisfied with going to Rome, Jerusalem and the

sacred places on their own island, also turned their footsteps to the

tomb of St. James of Compostella, Spain. In 1456, Wey conducted 7

ship-loads of pilgrims to this Spanish locality. Among the popular

English shrines were St. Edmund of Bury, St. Ethelred of Ely, the holy

hood of Boxley, the holy blood of Hailes and, more popular than all,

Thomas � Becket's tomb at Canterbury and our Blessed Lady of

Walsingham. So much frequented was the road to Walsingham that it was

said, Providence set the milky way in the place it occupies in the

heavens that it might shine directly upon it and direct the devout to

the sacred spot. These two shrines were visited by unbroken processions

of religious itinerants, including kings and queens as well as people

less distinguished. Reference has already been made to Erasmus'

description, which he gives in his Colloquies. At Walsingham, he was

shown the Virgin's shrine rich with jewels and ornaments of silver and

gold and lit up by burning candles. There, was the wicket at which the

pilgrim had to stoop to pass but through which, with the Virgin's aid,

an armed knight on horseback had escaped from his pursuer. The Virgin's

congealed milk, the cool scholar has described with particular

precision. Asking what good reason there was for believing it was

genuine, the verger replied by pointing him to an authentic record hung

high up on the wall. Walsingham was also fortunate enough to possess

the middle joint of one of Peter's fingers.

At Canterbury, Erasmus and Colet looked upon Becket's skull covered

with a silver case except at the spot where the fatal dagger pierced it

and Colet, remarking that Thomas was good to the poor while on earth,

queried whether now being in heaven he would not be glad to have the

treasures, stored in his tomb, distributed in alms. When a chest was

opened and the monk held up the rags with which the archbishop had

blown his nose, Colet held them only a moment in his fingers and let

them drop in disgust. It was said by Thomas � Kempis, that rarely are

they sanctified who jaunt about much on pilgrimages--raro

sanctificantur, qui multum peregrinantur. [1274] One of the German

penitential books exclaimed, "Alas! how seldom do people go on

pilgrimages from right motives." Twenty-five years after the visits of

Erasmus and Colet, the canons of Walsingham, convicted of forging

relics, were dragged by the king's order to Chelsea and burnt and the

tomb of St. Thomas was rifled of its contents and broken up.

Saints continued to be in high favor. Every saint has his distinct

office allotted to him, said Erasmus playfully. One is appealed to for

the toothache, a second to grant easy delivery in childbirth, a third

to lend aid on long journeys, a fourth to protect the farmer's live

stock. People prayed to St. Christopher every morning to be kept from

death during the day, to St. Roche to be kept from contagion and to St.

George and St. Barbara to be kept from falling into the hands of

enemies. He suggested that these fabulous saints were more prayed to

than Peter and Paul and perhaps than Christ himself. [1275] Sir Thomas

More, in his defence of the worship of saints, expressed his

astonishment at the "madness of the heretics that barked against the

custom of Christ's Church."

The encouragement, given at Rome to the worship of relics, had a signal

illustration in the distinguished reception accorded the head of St.

Andrew by the Renaissance pope, Pius II. In Germany, princes joined

with prelates in making collections of sacred bones and other objects

in which miraculous virtue was supposed to reside and whose worship was

often rewarded by the almost infinite grace of indulgence. In Germany,

in the 15th century as in Chaucer's day in England, the friars were the

indefatigable purveyors of this sort of merchandise, from the bones of

Balaam's ass to the straw of the manger and feathers from St. Michael's

wings. The N�rnberger, Nicolas Muffel, regretted that, after the effort

of 33 years, he had only been able to bring together 308 specimens.

Unfortunately this did not keep him from the crime of theft and the

penalty of the gallows. [1276] In Vienna, were shown such rarities as a

piece of the ark, drops of sweat from Gethsemane and some of the

incense offered by the Wise Men from the East. Albrecht, archbishop of

Mainz, helped to collect no less than 8,138 sacred fragments and 42

entire bodies of saints. This collection, which was deposited at Halle,

contained the host--that is, Christ's own body--which Christ offered

while he was in the tomb, a statue of the Virgin with a full bottle of

her milk hanging from her neck, several of the pots which had been used

at Cana and a portion of the wine Jesus made, as well as some of the

veritable manna which the Hebrews had picked up in the desert, and some

of the earth from a field in Damascus from which God made Adam.

A most remarkable collection was made by no less a personage than

Frederick the Wise of Saxony. [1277] A rich description of its

treasures has been preserved from the hand of Andreas Meinhard, then a

new master of arts. On his way to Wittenberg,1507, he met a raw student

about to enter the university, Reinhard by name. The elector had made

good use of the opportunities his pilgrimages to Jerusalem furnished

and succeeded in obtaining the very respectable number of 5,005 sacred

pieces. The collection was displayed for over a year in the

Schlosskirche, where Meinhard and his travelling companion looked at it

with wondering eyes and undoubting confidence. Among the pieces were a

thorn from the crown of thorns, a tunic belonging to John the

Evangelist, milk from the Virgin's breast, a piece of Mt. Calvary, a

piece of the table on which the Last Supper was eaten, fragments of the

stones on which Christ stood when he wept over Jerusalem and as he was

about to ascend to heaven, the entire body of one of the Bethlehem

Innocents, one of the fingers of St. Anna, "the most blessed of

grandmothers,"--beatissimae aviae,--pieces of the rods of Aaron and

Moses, a piece of Mary's girdle and some of the straw from the

Bethlehem manger. Good reason had Meinhard to remark that, if the

grandfathers had been able to arise from the dead, they would have

thought Rome itself transferred to Wittenberg. Each of these fragments

was worth 100 days of indulgence to the worshipper. The credulity of

Frederick, the collector, and the people betrays the atmosphere in

which Luther was brought up and the struggle it must have cost him to

attack the deep-seated beliefs of his generation.

The religious reverence paid to the Virgin could not well go beyond the

stage it reached in the age of the greater Schoolmen nor could more

flattering epithets be heaped upon her than were found in the works of

Albertus Magnus and Bonaventura. Mary was more easily entreated than

her Son. The Horticulus animae,--Garden of the Soul,--tells the story

of a cleric, accustomed to say his Ave Marias devoutly every day, to

whom the Lord appeared and said, that his mother was much gratified at

the priest's prayers and loved him much but that he should not forget

also to direct prayers to himself. The book, Heavenly Wagon, called

upon sinners to take refuge in her mantle, where full mercy and pardon

would be found. [1278] Erasmus remarked that Mary's blind devotees,

praying to her on all occasions, considered it manners to place the

mother before the Son. [1279] In 1456, Calixtus III. commended the use

of the Ave Maria as a protection against the Turks. English Prymers

contained the salutations,

Blessid art thou virgyn marie, that hast born the lord maker of the

world: thou hast getyn hym that made thee, and thou dwellist virgyne

withouten ende. Thankis to god.

Heil sterre of the see, hooli goddis modir, alwei maide, blesful gate

of heuene. [1280]

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in its extreme form,

exempting Mary from the beginning from all taint of original sin, was

defined by the Council of Basel [1281] but the decision has no

oecumenical authority. Sixtus IV.,1477 and 1483, declared the

definition of the dogma still an open question, the Holy See not having

pronounced upon the subject. But the University of Paris,1497, in

emphatic terms decided for the doctrine and bound its members to the

tenet by an oath. Erasmus, comparing the subtlety of the Schoolmen with

the writings of the Apostles, observed that, while the former hotly

contended over the Immaculate Conception, the Apostles who knew Mary

well never undertook to prove that she was immune from original sin.

[1282]

To the worship of Mary was added the worship of Anna, Mary's reputed

mother. The names of Mary's parents, Anna and Joachim, were received

from the Apocryphal Gospels of James and the Infancy. Jerome and

Augustine had treated the information with suspicion as also the

further information that the couple were married in Bethlehem and lived

in Nazareth, had angelic announcements of the birth of Mary and that,

upon Joachim's death, Anna married a second and a third time. The

Crusaders brought relics of her with them to Western Europe and

gradually her claim found recognition. Her cult spread rapidly. In

Alexander VI. she found a distinguished devotee. Churches and hospitals

were built to her memory. Trithemius wrote a volume in her praise and

artists, like Albrecht D�rer, joined her with Mary on the canvas.

[1283] She was claimed as a patron saint by women in childbirth and by

the copper miners. Luther himself was one of her ardent worshippers.

Both Albrecht of Mainz and Frederick the Wise were fortunate enough to

have in their collections of relics, each, one of the fingers of the

saint. [1284]

If sacred poetry is any test of the devotion paid to a saint, then the

Virgin Mary was far and away the chief personage to whom worshippers in

the last centuries of the Middle Ages looked for help. The splendid

collection issued by Blume and Dreves,--Analecta hymnica,--filling now

nearly 8,000 pages, gives the material from which a judgment can be

formed as to the relative amount of attention writers of hymns and

sequences paid to the Godhead, to Mary and to the other saints. Number

XLII., containing 336 hymns, gives 37 addressed to Christ,110 to Mary

and 189 to other saints. Number XLVI. devotes 102 to Mary. These

numbers are taken at random. Here are introductory verses from several

of the thousands of hymns which were composed in praise of her virtues

and the efficacy of her intercession:--

Pulchra regis regia

Regens regentem omnia [1285]

Sal deitatis cella

Virgo virginum

Maria, nostra consolatrix. [1286]

Materaltissimi regis

Tu humani altrix gregis

Advocata potissima

In hora mortis ultima. [1287]

Anna also has a large place in the hymns of the later Middle Ages and

the 16th century. [1288] Here are the opening verses of two of them:

Dulcis Jesu matris pater

Joachim, et Anna mater

Justi, natu nobiles. [1289]

Gaude, mater Anna

Gaude, mater sancta

Cum sis Dei facta

Genetrix avia. [1290]

In England, singing sacred songs seems to have been little cultivated

before the 16th century. The singing of Psalms in the days of Anne

Boleyn was a novelty and was greatly enjoyed at the court as it was

later in Elizabeth's reign, on the streets. The vast numbers of sacred

pieces, written in Germany, France and the Lowlands, were intended for

conventual devotions not for popular use. [1291] Singing, however, was

practised extensively in pilgrimages and processions and also in

churches, and the Basel synod at its 21st session complained that the

public services were interrupted by hymns in the vernacular. Germany

took the lead in sacred popular music. From 1470-1520, nearly 100 hymns

were printed from German presses, many of them with original tunes.

Sometimes the hymns were in German from beginning to end, sometimes

they were a mixture of Latin and German. As the Middle Ages drew to a

close, religious song increased. The Reformation established

congregational singing and begat the congregational hymnbook. [1292]

These adjuncts and elements of Christian worship and training were

added to the usual service of the churches, the celebration of the

mass, which was central, the confessional and preaching. The age was

religious but doubt was growing. A writer of the 16th century says of

England: [1293]

There are many who have various opinions concerning religion but all

attend mass every day and say many pater nosters in public, the women

carrying long rosaries in their hands and any who can read taking the

Hours of our Lady with them and reciting them in church verse by verse

in a low voice is the manner of the religious. They always hear mass in

their parish church on Sunday and give liberal alms nor do they omit

any form incumbent upon good Christians.

The age of a more intelligent piety was still to come, though it was to

prove itself less submissive to human authority.

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[1249] Ed. Reuss: D. deutschen Historienbibeln vor d. Erfindung d.

B�cherdrucks,1855.--J. T. Berjeau: Biblia pauperum, Lond.,1859.--Laib

u. Schwarz: D. Biblia pauperum n. d. original in d. Lyceumbibl. zu

Constanz, Z�rich,1867,--Th. Merzdorf: D. deutschen Historienbibeln nach

40 Hdschriften, T�b., 1870, 2 vols.--R. Muther: D. �ltesten deutschen

Bilderbibeln, 1883.--Falk: D. Bibel an Ausgange d.MA, p. 77

sqq.--Biblia pauperum n. d. Wolfenb�ttel Exemplare jetzt in d. Bibl.

nationale, ed. P. Heintz, mit Einleitung �ber d. Entstehung d. biblia

pauperum, by W. L. Schreiber, Strass., 1903.--Artt. Bilderbibel, in

Herzog, III 214 and Historienbibel, in Herzog, VIII. 155 sqq. and Bib.

pauperum, in Wetzer-Welte, II. 776 sq.--Reuss: Gesch. d. N. T., 524

sqq.

[1250] The Constance copy in the Rosengarten museum contains many

pictures, with explanatory notes on each page. I was particularly

struck with the execution of Christ's entry into Jerusalem.

[1251] Bezold, p. 112, speaks of the number of these manuals as

massenhaft and Dr. Barry, Cambr. Hist., I. 641, with rhetorical

unprecision speaks of them as sold in all book-markets. See J.

Geffcken: D. Bibelcatechismen d. 15 Jahrh., Leipz.,1855.--B. Hasak. D.

christl. Glaube d. deutschen Volkes beim Schlusse d. MA, Regensb.,

1868.--P. Bahlmann: Deutschland's kathol. Katechismen his zum Ende d.

16 Jahrh., M�nster, 1894.--F. Falk: D. deutschen Sterbeb�chlein bis

1520, Col., 1890. Also Drei Beichtb�chlein nach den 10 Geboten,

M�nster, 1907. Also D. Druckkunst im Dienste d. Kirche bis 1520, Col.,

1879.--F. W. Battenberg; Joh. Wolff, Beichtb�chlein, Giessen,

1907.--Janssen-Pastor, I. 82 sqq.--Achelis: Prak. Theol., II. 497

sqq.--Wiegand: D. Apost. Symbol in MA, p. 50 sqq

[1252] Printed at Mainz, by Peter Sch�ffer,1498, 47 pp.

[1253] See list of the editions in Bahlmann, p. 13 sq. The Cologne ed.

of 1474 is in the London museum.

[1254] Bahlmann, pp. 17-19. The first dated MS. copy is 1470.

[1255] Bahlmann, p. 7, gives as the probable date of composition,1450.

The 1st printed ed., Augsburg, 1484. See also Geffcken, pp. 107-119.

[1256] Bahlmann gives it in full, pp. 63-74.

[1257] See Falk: Drei Beichtb�chlein. The text of Wolff's manual fills

pp. 17-75. Falk also gives a penitential book, printed at N�rnberg,

1475, pp. 77-81, and a manual printed at Augsburg, 1504, pp. 82-96.

[1258] Gerson's opp., Du Pin's ed., III. 280. Luther, in the same vein,

said in 1516, Weimar ed., I. 450, 494, that, if there was to be a

revival in the Church, it must start with the instruction of the

children. A single book, corresponding to the manuals above described,

has come down to us, from an earlier period, the composition of a monk

of Weissenberg of the 9th century. See two Artt. on Catechisms in the

Presb. Banner, Dec. 31, 1908, Jan. 7, 1909 by D. S. Schaff.

[1259] Maskell: Monumenta ritualia, 2d ed., 1882, III., pp. ii-lxvii

and a reprint of a Prymer, III 3-183. Dr. Edward Barton edited three

Primers, dating from 1535, 1539, 1546, Oxf., 1834. See also Proctor's

Hist. of the Bk. of Com. Prayer, p. 14 sq. Proctor calls the Primer

"the book authorized for 150 years before the Reformation by the Engl.

Church, for the private devotion of the people." A. W. Tuer: Hist. of

the Horn Book, 2 vols., Lond., 1896. Highly illust. and most beautiful

vols.

[1260] Maskell, III., pp. xxxv-xlix, says the word, Prymer, can be

traced to the beginning of the 14th century.

[1261] Horn-books, as Mr. Tuer says, were much used in England,

Scotland and America, down to the close of the 18th century. So

completely had they gone out of use, that even Mr. Gladstone declared

he knew "nothing at all about them. Tuer, I., p. 8.

[1262] Text in Lupton: Life of Colet, pp. 285-292.

[1263] G. Peignot: Recherches sur les Danses des morts, Paris,

1826.--C. Douce: The Dance of Death, London, 1833.--Massmann: Literatur

der Todtent�nze, etc., Leipzig, 1841.--R. Fortoul: Les Danses des

morts, Paris, 1844.--Smith: Holbein's Dance of Death, London, 1849.--G.

Kastner, Les Danses des morts, Paris, 1852.--W. B�umker: Der

Todtentanz, Frankfurt, 1881.--W. Combe: The Engl. Dance of Death, new

ed., 2 vols., N. Y., 1903.--Valentin Dufour, Recherches sur la danse

macabre, peinte en 1425, au cimetiere des innocents, Paris,

1873.--Wetzer-Welte: Todtentanz, XI., 1834-1841.

[1264] William Dunbar, the Scotch poet, wrote with boisterous humor,

The Dance of the Sevin Deidlie Synnis (1507?), perhaps as a picture of

a revel held on Shrove Tuesday at the court. Each of the cardinal sins

performed a dance. Ward-Waller: Cambr. Hist. of Lit., II. 289, etc.

[1265] In addition to the Lit. given in vol. V.: 1, p. 869, see F. E.

Schelling: Hist. of the Drama of Engl.,1558-1642, with a R�sum� of the

Earlier Drama from the Beginning, Boston, 1908.

[1266] Pollock gives 48 York guilds with plays assigned to each, pp.

xxxi-xxxiv. There are records of plays in more than 100 Engl. towns and

villages, Pollock, p. xxiii.

[1267] Text in Pollock, p. 8 sqq. It was common to represent Noah's

consort as a shrew. so Chaucer in the Miller's Tale.

[1268] The text in Pollock. It was revived in New York City in the

Winter of 1902-1903 and played in three theatres, creating a momentary

interest.

[1269] See Erasmus: Praise of Folly, Enchiridion and

Colloquies.--Gasquet: Eve of the Reformation, pp. 365-394.--G. Ficker:

D. ausgehende Mittelalter, Leipzig, pp. 69-73.--H. Siebert, Rom.

Cath.:Beitr�ge zur vorreformatorischen Heiligen-und Reliquienverehrung,

Frei b. im Br., 1907.--Bezold, p. 105 sqq., Janssen-Pastor.

[1270] Falk-Druckkunst, pp. 33-37; 44-70 etc. Siebert, p. 55 sq.--Wey:

Itineraries, ed. by Roxburghe Club, 1857.

[1271] We have the account of the latter by an eye-witness, the

chronicler priest, Conrad Stolle of Erfurt. See Ficker, p. 69 sq.

[1272] Bezold,105 sq., Janssen, I. 748. See an art., Relic worship in

the Heart of Europe, in the Presb. Banner, Sept. 16, 1909, by D. S.

Schaff on a visit to Einsiedeln, whither 160,000 pilgrims journeyed in

1908, and to Aachen when the "greater relics," which are displayed once

in 7 years, were exposed July 9-21, 1909, and according to the

Frankfurt press attracted 600,000 pilgrims.

[1273] Janssen, I. 748-760, ascribes the popularity of pilgrimages in

Gemany to the currendi libido, the travelling itch.

[1274] Imit. of Christ, I. 1, ch. 23. See Siebert, p. 55.

[1275] � Praise of Folly, pp. 85, 96, and Enchiridion, XII., P. 135.

[1276] Bezold, p. 99; Siebert, p. 59.

[1277] Die Universit�t Wittenberg nach der Beschreibung des Mag.

Andreas Meinhard, ed. by J. Hausleiter, 2d ed., Leipz., 1903.

[1278] Siebert, p. 39.

[1279] Praise of Folly, p. 85.

[1280] See Maskell, III. 63.

[1281] Nunquam actualiter subjacuisse originali peccato, sed immunem

semper fuisse ab omni originali et actuali culpa. Mansi, XXIX. 183.

[1282] Praise of Folly, p. 126.

[1283] Janssen, I. 248. See E. Schaumkell: Der Cultus der hl. Anna am

Ausgange des MA, Freib., 1896. J. Trithemius: De laudibus S. Annae,

Mainz, 1494.

[1284] St. Anne's day was fixed on July 26 by Gregory XIII.,1584. The

Western Continent has a great church dedicated to St. Anne at Beau Pr�

on the St. Lawrence, near Quebec. It possesses one of its patron's

fingers. No other Catholic sanctuary of North America, perhaps, has

such a reputation for miraculous cures as this Canadian church.

[1285] Beautiful ruler of the king, Ruling him who rules all things.

Blume and Dreves, XLII. 115.

[1286] Hail, cell of Deity, Virgin of virgins, Maty, our comforter.

XLV. 117.

[1287] Mother of the most high King, Thou foster-mother of the flock,

Advocate most mighty, In the dread hour of death. XLV. 118.

[1288] Number XLII. of Blume and Dreves' collection gives 10; Number

XLIII. 9, Number XLIV. 8, Anna hymns.

[1289] Father of the dear mother of Jesus, Joachim, and her mother

Anna, Righteous and noble of birth. XLII. 154.

[1290] Rejoice Anna mother, Rejoice holy mother, For thou art made

grandmother of God. XLIII. 78.

[1291] The Cambridge Role, a MS. in Cambridge, contains 12 carols. John

of Dunstable founded a school of music early in the 15th century.

Traill: Social Engl., II. 368 sq. Maskell, Mon.rit., III. 1 sqq., gives

a number of English hymns printed In the Prymers of the first half of

the 16th century.

[1292] B�umker gives 71 hymns with original melodies printed before

1520. On the subject of mediaeval hymns, see Mone: Lateinische Hymnen

d. MA, 3 vols., Freib., 1855; Ph. Wackernagel: Das deutsche Kirchenlied

von der �ltesten Zeit, etc.,2 vols, Leipz.,1867. W. B�umker: D. kathol.

deutsche Kirchenlied in seinen Singweisen, 3 vols., Freib., 1886-1891

and Ein deutsches geistliches Liederbuch mit Melodieen aus d. 15ten

Jahrh., etc., Leipz., 1895, Janssen, I. 288 sqq. Also artt. Kirchenlied

and Kirchenmusik in Herzog, X.

[1293] Italian Relation of Engl., Camden Soc. ed., p. 23.

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� 79. Works of Charity.

Benevolence and philanthropy, which are of the very essence of the

Christian religion, flourished in the later Middle Ages. In the

endeavor to provoke his generation to good works, Luther asserted that

"in the good old papal times everybody was merciful and kind. Then it

snowed endowments and legacies and hospitals." [1294] Institutions were

established to care for the destitute and sick, colleges and bursaries

were endowed and protection given to the dependent against the rapacity

of unscrupulous money-lenders.

The modern notion of stamping out sickness by processes of sanitation

scarcely occurred to the mediaeval municipalities. Although the

population of Europe was not 1/10 of what it is to-day, disease was

fearfully prevalent. No epidemics so fatal as the Black Death appeared

in Europe but, even in England, the return of plagues was frequent, as

in 1406,1439,1464,1477. The famine of 1438, called the Great Famine,

was followed the next year by the Great Pestilence, called also the

pestilence sans merci. In 1464, to follow the Chronicle of Croyland,

thousands, "died like slaughtered sheep." The sweating sickness of 1485

reappeared in 1499 and 1504. In the first epidemic, 20,000 died in

London and, in 1504, the mayor of the city succumbed. The disease took

people suddenly and was marked by a chill, which was followed by a

fiery redness of the skin and agonizing thirst that led the victims to

drink immoderately. Drinking was succeeded by sweating from every pore.

[1295]

Provision was made for the sick and needy through the monasteries,

gilds and brotherhoods as well as by individual assistance and state

collections. The care of the poor was in England regarded as one of the

primary functions of the Church. Archbishop Stratford,1342, ordered

that a portion of the tithe should be invariably set apart for their

needs. The neglect of the poor was alleged as one of the crying

omissions of the alien clergy.

Doles for the poor, a common form of charity in England, were often

provided for on a large scale. During the 40 days the duke of Gaunt's

body was to remain unburied, 50 marks were to be distributed daily

until the 40th day, when the amount was to be increased to 500 marks.

Bishop Skirland wanted 200 given away between his death and his

interment. A draper of York gave by will 100 beds with furniture to as

many poor folk. A cloth-maker made a doubtful charity when he left a

suit of his own make to 13 poor people, with the condition that they

should sit around his coffin for 8 days. There were houses, says

Thorold Rogers, where doles of bread and beer were given to all

wayfarers, houses where the sick were treated, clothed and fed,

particularly the lepers. One of the hospitals that survives is St. Crow

at Winchester for old and indigent people. [1296] The cook Ketel, a

Brother of the Common Life, whose biography Thomas � Kempis wrote, said

it would be better to sell all the books of the house at Deventer and

give more to the poor.

Hospitals, in the earlier part of our period, were the special concern

of the knights of the Teutonic Order and continued throughout the whole

of it to engage the attention of the Beguines. It became the custom

also for the Beguines to go as nurses to private houses as in Cologne,

Frankfurt, Treves, Ulm and other German cities, receiving pay for their

services. [1297] The Beguinages in Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp andother

cities of Belgium and Holland date back to this period. The 15th

century also witnessed the growth of municipal hospitals, a product of

the civic spirit which had developed in North-Europe. Cities like

Cologne, L�beck and Augsburg had several hospitals. The Hotel de Dieu,

Paris, did not come under municipal control till 1505. In cases,

admission to hospitals was made by their founders conditional on

ability to say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ave Maria, as for

example to St. Anthony's, Augsburg. In this case, the founder took care

to provide for himself, requiring the inmates on entering to say 100

Pater nosters and 100 Ave Marias over his grave and every day to join

in saying over it 15 of each. [1298] Damian of L�wen and his wife, who

endowed a hospital at Cologne,1450, stipulated that "the very poorest

and sickest were to be taken care of whether they belonged to Cologne

or were strangers."

Rome had more than one hospital endowment. The foundation of Cardinal

John Colonna at the Lateran, made 1216, still remains. In his History

of the Popes (III. 51), Pastor has given a list of the hospitals and

other institutions of mercy in the different states of Italy and justly

laid stress upon this evidence of the power of Christianity. The

English gilds, organized, in the first instance, for economic and

industrial purposes, also pledged relief to their own sick and indigent

members. The gild of Corpus Christi at York provided 8 beds for poor

people and paid a woman by the year 14 shillings and fourpence to keep

them. The gild of St. Helena at Beverley cared constantly for 3 or 4

poor folk. [1299]

Leprosy decreased during the last years of the Middle Ages, but

hospitals for the reception of lepers are still extensively found,--the

lazarettos, so called after Lazarus, who was reputed to have been

afflicted with the disease. Houses for this malady had been established

in England by Lanfranc, Mathilda, queen of Henry I. at St. Giles, by

King Stephen at Burton, Leicestershire and by others till the reign of

John. St. Hugh of Lincoln, as well as St. Francis

d'Assissidistinguished themselves by their solicitude for lepers. But

the disease seems to have died out in England in the 14th century and

it was hard to fill the beds endowed for this class of sufferers. In

1434, it was ordered that beds be kept for 2 lepers in the great Durham

leper hospital "provided they could be found in these parts."

Originally the hospital had beds for 60. [1300] Late in the 16th

century there were still lepers in Germany. Thomas Platter wrote, "When

we came to Munich, it was so late that we could not enter the city, but

had to remain in the leperhouse." [1301]

Begging was one of the curses of England and Germany as it continues to

be of Southern Europe to-day. It was no disgrace to ask alms. The

mendicant friars by their example consecrated a nuisance with the

sacred authority of religion. Pilgrims and students also had the right

of way as beggars. Sebastian Brant gave a list of the different

ecclesiastical beggars who went about with sacks, into which they put

with indiscriminate greed apples, plums, eggs, fish, chickens, meat,

butter and cheese,--sacks which had no bottom.

Der Bettler Sack wird nimmer voll;

Wie man ihn f�llt, so bleibt er hohl.

In Germany, towns gave franchises to beg. [1302] The habit of

mendicancy, which Brant ridiculed, Geiler of Strassburg called upon the

municipality to regulate or forbid altogether. In England, mendicancy

was a profession recognized in law.

With the decay of the monastic endowments and the legal maintenance of

wages at a low rate, the destitution and vagrancy increased. The

English statutes of laborers at the close of this period,1495 and 1504,

ordered beggars, not able to work, to return to their own towns where

they might follow the habit of begging without hindrance. [1303]

At a time when in Germany, the richest country of Europe, church

buildings were multiplying with great rapidity, many churches in

England, on account of the low economic conditions, were actually left

to go to ruin or turned into sheepcotes and stables, a transmutation to

which Sir Thomas More as well as others refers. The rapacity of the

nobles and abbots in turning large areas into sheep-runs deprived

laborers of employment and brought social distress upon large numbers.

On the other hand, parliament passed frequent statutes of apparel, as

in 1463 and 1482, restricting the farmer and laborer in his expenditure

on dress. The different statutes of laborers, enacted during the 15th

century, had the effect of depressing and impoverishing the classes

dependent upon the daily toil of their hands. [1304]

In spite of the strict synodal rules, repeated again and again, usury

was practised by Christians as well as by Jews. All the greater

Schoolmen of the 13th century had discussed the subject of usury and

pronounced it sin, on the ground of Luke 6:34, and other texts. They

held that charges of interest offended against the law of love to our

neighbor and the law of natural fairness, for money does not increase

with use but rather is reduced in weight and value. It is a species of

greed which is mortal sin. [1305] It was so treated by mediaeval

councils when practised by Christians and the contrary opinion was

pronounced heretical by the oecumenical council of Vienne. Geiler of

Strassburg expounded the official church view when he pronounced usury

always wicked. It was wrong for a Christian to take back more than the

original principal. And the substitution of a pig or some other gift in

place of a money payment he also denounced.

The rates of the Jews were exorbitant. In Florence, they were 20% in

1430 and, in 1488, 32�%. [1306] In Northern Europe they were much

higher, from 431/3 to 80 or even 100%. Municipalities borrowed.

Clerics, convents and churches mortgaged their sacred vessels. City

after city in Germany and Switzerland expelled the Jews,--from Spires

and Z�rich,1435, to Geneva,1490, and N�rnberg, Ulm and

N�rdlingen,1498-1500. The careers of the great banking-houses in the

second half of the fifteenth century show the extensive demand for

loans by popes and prelates, as well as secular princes.

To afford relief to the needy, whose necessities forced them to borrow,

a measure of real philanthropy was conceived in the last century of the

Middle Ages, the montes pietatis, or charitable accumulations. [1307]

They were benevolent loaning funds. The idea found widespread

acceptance in Italy, where the first institutions were founded at

Perugia,1462, and Orvieto,1463. City councils aided such funds by

contributions, as at Perugia, when it gave 3,000 gulden. But in this

case, finding itself unable to furnish the full amount, it mulcted the

Jews for 1,200 gulden, Pius II. giving his sanction to the constraint.

In cases, bishops furnished the capital, as at Pistoja,1473, where

Bishop Donato de' Medici gave 3,000 gulden. At Lucca, a merchant, who

had grown rich through commercial affiliation with the Jews, donated

the princely capital of 40,000 gold gulden. At Gubbio, a law taxed all

inheritances one per cent in favor of the local fund, and neglect to

pay was punished with an additional tax of one per cent.

The popes showed a warm interest in the new benevolence by granting to

particular funds their sanction and offering indulgences to

contributors. From 1463 to 1515 we have records of 16 papal

authorizations from such popes as Pius II., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII.,

Alexander VI., Julius II. and Leo X. The sanction of Innocent VIII.,

given to the Mantua fund,1486, called upon the preachers to summon the

people to support the fund, promised 10 years full indulgence to

donors, and excommunicated all who opposed the project. Sixtus IV., in

commending the fund for his native town of Savona,1479, pronounced its

worthy object to be to aid not only the poor but also the rich who had

pawned their goods. He offered a plenary indulgence on the collection

of every 100 gulden. In 1490, the Savona fund had 22,000 gulden and the

limit of loans was raised to 100 ducats. [1308]

The administration of these bureaus of relief was in the hands of

directors, usually a mixed body of clergymen and laymen, and often

appointed by municipal councils. The accounts were balanced each month.

In Perugia, the rate, which was 12% in 1463, was reduced to 8% a year

later. In Milan it was reduced from 10% to 5%, in 1488. Five per cent

was the appointed rate fixed at Padua, Vicenza and Pisa, and 4% at

Florence. The loans were made upon the basis of property put in pawn.

The benevolent efficacy of these funds cannot be questioned and to

them, in part, is due the reduction of interest from 40% to 4 and 10%

in Italy, before the close of the 15th century. [1309] They met,

however, with much opposition and were condemned as contravening the

traditional law against usury.

A foremost place in advancing the movement was taken by the Franciscans

and in the Franciscan Bernardino da Feltre,1439-1494, it had its chief

apostle. This popular orator canvassed all the greater towns of

Northern Italy,--Mantua, Florence, Parma, Padua, Milan, Lucca, Verona,

Brescia. Wherever he went, he was opposed from the pulpit and by

doctors of the canon law. At Florence, so warmly was the controversy

conducted in the pulpits that a public discussion was ordered at which

Lorenzo de' Medici, doctors of the law, clerics and many laymen were

present, with the result that the archbishop forbade opposition to the

mons on pain of excommunication. The Deuteronomic injunction, 24:12

sq., ordering that, if a man borrow a coat, it should be restored

before sundown and the Lord's words, Luke 6, were quoted by the

opposition. But it was replied, that the object of loaning to the poor

was not to enrich the fund or individuals but to do the borrower good.

Savonarola gave the institution his advocacy. [1310] The Fifth Lateran

commended it and in this it was followed, 50 years later, by the

Council of Trent.

The attempt to transplant the Italian institution in Germany was

unsuccessful and was met by the establishment of banks by municipal

councils, as at Frankfurt. [1311] In England also, it gained no

foothold. So strong was the feeling against lending out money at

interest that, at Chancellor Morton's importunity, parliament proceeded

against it with severe measures, and a law of Henry VII.'s reign made

all lending of money at interest a criminal offence and the bargain

between borrower and lender null and void.

Notable expression was also given to the practice of benevolence by the

religious brotherhoods of the age. These organizations developed with

amazing rapidity and are not to be confounded with the gilds which were

organizations of craftsmen, intended to promote the production of good

work and also to protect the master-workers in their monopoly of trade.

They were connected with the Church and were, in part, under the

direction of the priesthood, although from some of them, as in L�beck,

priests were distinctly excluded. Like the gilds, their organization

was based upon the principle of mutual aid [1312] but they emphasized

the principle of unselfish sympathy for those in distress. Luther once

remarked, there was no chapel and no saint without a brotherhood. In

fact, nothing was so sure to make a saint popular as to name a

brotherhood after him. By 1450, there was not a mendicant convent in

Germany which had not at least one fraternity connected with it. Cities

often had a number of these organizations. Wittenberg had 21, L�beck

70, Frankfurt 31, Hamburg 100. Every reputable citizen in German cities

belonged to one or more. [1313] Luther belonged to 3 at Erfurt, the

brotherhoods of St. Augustine, St. Anna and St. Catherine.

The dead, who had belonged to them, had the distinct advantage of being

prayed for. Their sick were cared for in hospitals, containing beds

endowed by them. Sometimes they incorporated the principle of mutual

benefit or assurance societies, and losses sustained by the living they

made good. At Paderborn, in case a brother lost his horse, every member

contributed one or two shillings or, if he lost his house, his

fellow-members contributed three shillings each or a load of lumber.

As there were gilds of apprentices as well as of master-workmen, so

there were brotherhoods of the poor and humble as well as of those in

comfortable circumstances. Even the lepers had fraternities, and one of

these clans had fief rights to a spring at Wiesbaden. So also had the

beggars and cripples at Z�lpich, founded 1454. The entrance fee in the

last case was 8 shillings, from which there was a reduction of one-half

for widows. [1314]

In the case of the Italian brotherhoods, it is often difficult to

distinguish between a society organized for a benevolent purpose and a

society for the cult of some saint. The gilds of Northern Italy, as a

rule, laid emphasis upon religious duties such as attendance upon mass,

confession of sins and refraining from swearing. The Roman societies

had their patron saints,--the blacksmith and workers in gold, St.

Eligius, the millers Paulinus of Nola, the barrel-makers St. James, the

inn-keepers St. Blasius and St. Julian, the masons St. Gregory the

Great, the barbers and physicians St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the

painters St. Luke and the apothecaries St. Lawrence. The popes

encouraged the confraternities and elevated some of them to the dignity

of archfraternities, as St. Saviour in Rome, the first to win this

distinction. Florence was also good soil for religious brotherhoods. At

the beginning of the 16th century, there were no less than 73 within

its bounds, some of them societies of children. [1315]

Society did not wait for the present age to apply the principle of

Christian charity. The development of organizations and bureaus in the

15th century was not carried as far as it is to-day, and for the good

reason that the same demand for it did not exist. The cities were small

and it was possible to carry out the practice of individual relief with

little fear of deception.

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[1294] Quoted by Uhlhorn, p. 439. Janssen, II. 325 sq., takes too

seriously Luther's complaint that more liberality had been shown and

care given to the needy under the old system than under the new, using

it as a proof of the influence of Protestantism. Riezler, Gesch.

Baierns, as quoted by Janssen, I. 679 says, "The Christian spirit of

love to one's neighbor was particularly active In the 15th century in

works of benevolence and there Is scarcely another age so fruitful In

them." So also Bezold, p. 94.

[1295] See C. Creighton in Social England, II. 412, 475, 561.

[1296] Rogers: Work and Wages, p. 417. Stubbs: Const. Hist., ch. XXI.

Capes: Engl. Ch. Hist. in the 14th and 15th Cent., pp. 276 sq., 366 sq.

[1297] Uhlhorn, p. 383 sq.

[1298] Uhlhorn, p. 333. For the conditions of admission to hospitals

and medical treatment, Allemand, III. 192 sqq. is to be consulted.

[1299] In 1409 was founded an asylum for lunatics in Valencia, Lecky:

Hist. of Europ. Morals, II. 94 sq. There were pest-houses In Oxford and

Cambridge and Continental universities often had special hospitals of

their own. Writing of the 16th century, Thomas Platter speaks of such a

hospital at Breslau. The town paid 16 hellers for the care of each

patient. These institutions were, however, far removed from our present

methods of cleanliness. Of the Breslau hospital, Platter (Monroe's

Life, p. 103 sq.) says, "We had good attention, good beds, but there

were many vermin there as big as ripe hemp-seed, so that I and others

preferred to be on the floor rather than in the beds."

[1300] Geo. Pernet: Leprosy in Quart. Rev., 1903, p. 384 sqq. C.

Creighton, Soc. Engl., II. 413. This Hist., Vol. V., I., pp. 395, 825,

894. For the fearful prevalence of cutaneous diseases and crime in

England in the 13th century and as a cure for those who sigh for the

fictitious happy conditions of mediaeval society, see Jessopp, Coming

of the Friars, p. 101 sqq.

[1301] Monroe: Thos. Platter, p. 107.

[1302] Uhlhorn, pp. 483, 456. Such a license was issued in Vienna,1442.

Eberlin of G�nzburg went so far as to say that in Germany, 14 out of

every 15 people lived a life of idleness.

[1303] Stubbs ch. XXI.; Social Engl., II. 548-550. Cunningham, p. 478

sq.; Rogers, pp. 416-419.

[1304] See Traill: Soc. Engl., II. 388, 392-398. For the activity in

churchbuilding in Germany, see Janssen, I. 180 sq.; Bezold, p. 90;

Ficker, p. 65.

[1305] Thos. Aquinas: Summa, II. 2, q. 78.

[1306] Pastor: Gesch. d. P�pste, III. 83 sq. For Germany, see Janssen,

I. 460 sqq.

[1307] Other names given to them were montes Christi, monte della

carit�, mare di piet�. See Holzapfel, pp. 18, 20, for funds to provide

for burial, montes mortuorum, made up from contributions, and funds to

which mothers contributed at the birth of children, called montes

dotis. Holzapfel gives the primary authorities on the benevolent

loaning funds, pp. 3-14.

[1308] Holzapfel, pp. 10-12, 44, 64, 70.

[1309] Holzapfel, p. 134.

[1310] Villari, I. 294 sqq.; Holzapfel, pp. 124, 135. According to

Holzapfel, there were in Italy in 1896, 556 monti di piet� with

78,000,000 lire--$16,000,000--out in loans.

[1311] Holzapfel, p. 102 sqq.; Janssen, I. 464, 489.

[1312] The constitution of the Gild of St. Mary of Lynn contained the

clauses, "If any sister or brother of this gild fall into poverty, they

shall have help from every other brother and sister in a penny a day."

The Gild of St. Catharine, London, had a similar stipulation. Smith:

Engl. Gilds, p. 185.

[1313] Degenhard Pfaffinger, counsellor to Frederick the Wise, belonged

to 35. Kolde, 437; Uhlhorn, p. 423.

[1314] Uhlhorn, p. 422.

[1315] Pastor, IV. 30-38

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� 80. The Sale of Indulgences.

Nowhere, except in the lives of the popes themselves, did the

humiliation of the Western Church find more conspicuous exhibition than

in the sale of indulgences. The forgiveness of sins was bought and sold

for money, and this sacred privilege formed the occasion of the rupture

of Western Christendom as, later, the Lord's Supper became the occasion

of the chief division between the Protestant churches.

Originally an indulgence was the remission of a part or all of the

works of satisfaction demanded by the priest in the sacrament of

penance. This is the definition given by Roman Catholic authorities

to-day. [1316] In the 13th century, it came to be regarded as a

remission of the penalty of sin itself, both here and in purgatory. At

a later stage, it was regarded, at least in wide circles, as a release

from the guilt of sin as well as from its penalty. The fund of merits

at the Church's disposition--thesaurus meritorum -- as defined by

Clement VI., in 1343, is a treasury of spiritual assets, consisting of

the infinite merits of Christ, the merits of Mary and the

supererogatory merits of the saints, which the Church uses by virtue of

the power of the keys. One drop of Christ's blood, so it was argued,

was sufficient for the salvation of the world, and yet Christ shed all

his blood and Mary was without stain. From the vast surplus

accumulation supplied by their merits, the Church had the right to draw

in granting remission to sinners from the penalties resulting from the

commission of sin. The very term "keys," it was said, implies a

treasure which is looked away and to which the keys give access. [1317]

The authority to grant indulgences was shared by the pope and the

bishops. The law of Innocent III., intended to check its abuse,

restricted the time for which bishops might grant indulgence to 40

days, the so-called quarantines. By the decree of Pius X., issued Aug.

28,1903, cardinals, even though they are not priests, may issue

indulgences in their titular churches for 200 days, archbishops for 100

and bishops for 50 days.

The application of indulgence to the realm of purgatory by Sixtus IV.

was a natural development of the doctrine that the prayers and other

suffrages of the living inure to the benefit of the souls in that

sphere. As Thomas Aquinas clearly taught, such souls belong to the

jurisdiction of the Church on earth. And, if indulgences may be granted

to the living, certainly the benefit may be extended to the

intermediate realm, over which the Church also has control.

Sixtus' first bull granting indulgence for the dead was issued 1476 in

favor of the church of Saintes. Here was offered to those who paid a

certain sum--certam pecuniam -- for the benefit of the building, the

privilege of securing a relaxation of the sufferings of the purgatorial

dead, parents for their children, friend for friend. The papal

deliverance aroused criticism and in a second bull, issued the

following year, the pontiff states that such relaxations were offered

by virtue of the fulness of authority vested in the pope from above

plenitudo potestatis -- to draw upon the fund of merits.. [1318]

To the abuse, to which this doctrine opened the door, was added the

popular belief that letters of indulgence gave exemption both from the

culpability and penalty of sin. The expression, "full remission of

sins," plena or plenissima remissio peccatorum, is found again and

again in papal bulls from the famous Portiuncula indulgence, granted by

Honorius III. to the Franciscans, to the last hours of the undisputed

sway of the pope in the West. It was the merit of the late Dr. Lea to

have called attention to this almost overlooked element of the

mediaeval indulgence. Catholic authorities of to-day, as Paulus and

Beringer, without denying the use of the expression, a poena et culpa,

assert that it was not the intent of any genuine papal message to grant

forgiveness from the guilt of sin without contrition of heart. [1319]

The expression was in current use in tracts and in common talk. [1320]

John of Paltz, in his Coelifodina, an elaborate defence of indulgences

written towards the close of the 15th century, affirmed that an

indulgence is given by virtue of the power of the keys whereby guilt is

remitted and penalty withdrawn. These keys open the fund of the Church

to its sons. [1321] Luther was only expressing the popular view when,

writing to Albrecht of Mainz,1517, he complained that men accepted the

letters of indulgence as giving them exemption from all penalty and

guilt--homo per istas indulgentias liber sit ab omni poena et culpa.

Not only on the Continent but also in England were such forms of

indulgence circulated. For example, Leo X.'s indulgence for the

hospital S. Spirito in Rome ran in its English translation, "Holy and

great indulgence and pardon of plenary remission a culpa et poena."

[1322] The popular mind did not stop to make the fine distinction

between guilt and its punishment and, if it had, it would have been

quite satisfied to be made free from the sufferings entailed by sin. If

by a papal indulgence a soul in purgatory could be immediately released

and given access to heavenly felicity, the question of guilt was of no

concern.

Long before the days of Tetzel, Wyclif and Huss had condemned the use

of the formula, "from penalty and guilt," as did also John Wessel. In

denouncing the bulls of indulgence for those joining in a crusade

against Ladislaus, issued 1412, Huss copied Wyclif almost word for

word. [1323] Wyclif fiercely condemned the papal assumption in granting

full indulgence for the crusade of Henry de Spenser. Priests, he

asserted, have no authority to give absolution without proper works of

satisfaction and all papal absolution is of no avail, where the

offenders are not of good and worthy life. If the pope has power to

absolve unconditionally, he should exercise his power to excuse the

sins of all men. The English Reformer further declared that, to the

Christian priest it was given, to do no more than announce the

forgiveness of sins just as the old priests pronounced a man a leper or

cured of leprosy, but it was not possible for him to effect a cure. He

spoke of, the fond fantasy of spiritual treasure in heaven, that each

pope is made dispenser of the treasure at his own will, a thing dreamed

of without ground." [1324] Such power would make the pope master of the

saints and Christ himself. He condemned the idea that the pope could

"clear men of pain and sin both in this world and the other, so that,

when they die, they flee to heaven without pain. This is for blind men

to lead blind men and both to fall into the lake." As for the pardoning

of sin for money, that would imply that righteousness may be bought and

sold. Wyclif gave it as a report, that Urban VI. had granted an

indulgence for 2,000 years. [1325]

Indulgences found an assailant in Erasmus, howbeit a genial assailant.

In his Praise of Folly, he spoke of the "cheat of pardons and

indulgences." These lead the priests to compute the time of each soul's

residence in purgatory and to assign them a longer or shorter

continuance according as the people purchase more or fewer of these

salable exemptions. By this easy way of purchasing pardon any notorious

highwayman, any plundering bandit or any bribe-taking judge may for a

part of their unjust gains secure atonement for perjuries, lusts,

bloodsheds, debaucheries and other gross impieties and, having paid off

arrears, begin upon a new score. The popular idea was no doubt stated

by Tyndale in answer to Sir Thomas More when he said, that "men might

quench almost the terrible fire of hell for three halfpence." [1326]

It is fair to say that, while the last popes of the Middle Ages granted

a great number of indulgences, the exact expression, "from guilt and

penalty," does not occur in any of the extant papal copies [1327]

although some of their expressions seem fully to imply the exemption

from guilt. Likewise, it must be said that they also contain the usual

expressions for penitence as a condition of receiving the grace--"being

truly penitent and confessing their sins"--vere poenitentibus et

confessio.

Indulgences in the last century of the Middle Ages were given for all

sorts of benevolent purposes, crusades against the Turks, the building

of churches and hospitals, in connection with relics, for the

rebuilding of a town desolated by fire, as Br�x, for bridges and for

the repair of dikes, such an indulgence being asked by Charles V. The

benefits were received by the payment of money and a portion of the

receipts, from 33% to 50%, was expected to go to Rome. The territory

chiefly, we may say almost exclusively, worked for such enterprises was

confined to the Germanic peoples of the Continent from Switzerland and

Austria to Norway and Sweden. England, France and Spain were hardly

touched by the traffic. Cardinal Ximenes set forth the damage done to

ecclesiastical discipline by the practice and, as a rule, it was under

other pretexts that papal moneys were received from England. [1328]

In the transmission of the papal portions of the indulgence-moneys, the

house of the Fuggers figures conspicuously. Sometimes it charged 5%,

sometimes it appropriated amounts not reckoned strictly on the basis of

a fixed per cent. The powerful banking-firm, also responding cheerfully

to any request made to them, often secured the grant of indulgences in

Rome. The custodianship of the chests, into which the indulgence-moneys

were cast, was also a matter of much importance and here also the

Fuggers figured prominently. Keys to such chests were often distributed

to two or three parties, one of whom was apt to be the representative

of the bankers.

Among the more famous indulgences for the building of German churches

were those for the construction of a tower in Vienna,1514, for the

rebuilding of the Cathedral of Constance, which had suffered great

damage from fire,1511, the building of the Dominican church in

Augsburg,1514, the restoration of the Cathedral of Treves,1515, and the

building of St. Annaberg church,1517, in which Duke George of Saxony

was much interested. One-half of the moneys received for these

constructions went to Rome. In most of these cases, the Fuggers acted

as agents to hold the keys of the chest and transmit the moneys to the

papal exchequer. The sees of Constance, Chur, Augsburg and Strassburg

were assigned as the territory in which indulgences might be sold for

the cathedral in Constance. No less than four bulls of indulgence were

issued in 1515 for the benefit of Treves, including one for those who

visited the holy coat which was found 1512 and was to be exhibited

every 7 years. [1329]

Among the noted hospitals to which indulgences were issued--that is,

the right to secure funds by their sale--were hospitals in

N�rnberg,1515, Strassburg,1518 and S. Spirito, Rome,1516.

Both of the churches in Wittenberg were granted indulgences and a

special indulgence was issued for the reliquary-museum which the

elector Frederick had collected. An indulgence of 100 days was attached

to each of the 5,005 specimens and another 100 to each of the 8

passages between the cases that held them. With the 8,133 relics at

Halle and the 42 entire bodies, millions and billions of days of

indulgence were associated, a sort of anticipation of the geologic

periods moderns demand. To be more accurate, these relics were good for

pardons covering 39,245,120 years and 220 days and the still further

period of 6,540,000 quarantines, each of 40 days.

In Rome, the residence of the supreme pontiffs, as we might well have

expected, the offer of indulgences was the most copious, almost as

copious as the drops on a rainy day. According to the N�rnberger

relic-collector, Nicolas Muffel, every time the skulls of the Apostles

were shown or the handkerchief of St. Veronica, the Romans who were

present received a pardon of 7,000 days, other Italians 10,000 and

foreigners 14,000. In fact, the grace of the ecclesiastical authorities

was practically boundless. Not only did the living seek indulgences,

but even the dying stipulated in their wills that a representative

should go to Assisi or Rome or other places to secure for their souls

the benefit of the indulgences offered there.

Prayers also had remarkable offers of grace attached to them. According

to the penitential book, The Soul's Joy, the worshipper offering its

prayers to Mary received 11,000 years indulgence and some prayers, if

offered, freed 15 souls from purgatory and as many earthly sinners from

their sins. It professed to give one of Alexander Vl.'s decrees,

according to which prayer made three times to St. Anna secured 1,000

years indulgence for mortal sins and 20,000 for venial. The Soul's

Garden claimed that one of Julius II.'s indulgences granted 80,000

years to those who would pray a prayer to the Virgin which the book

gave. No wonder Siebert, a Roman Catholic writer, is forced to say that

"the whole atmosphere of the later Middle Ages was soaked with the

indulgence-passion." [1330]

An indulgence issued by Alexander VI., in 1502, was designed to secure

aid for the knights of the Teutonic Order against the Russians. The

latter was renewed by Julius II. and Cologne, Treves, Mainz, Bremen,

Bamberg and other sees were assigned as the territory. Much money was

collected, the papal treasury receiving one-third of the returns. The

preaching continued till 1510 and Tetzel took a prominent part in the

campaign. [1331]

It remains to speak of the most important of all of the indulgences,

the indulgence for the construction of St. Peter's in Rome. This

interest was pushed by two notable popes, Julius II. and Leo X., and

called forth the protest of Luther, which shook the power of the papacy

to its foundations. It seems paradoxical that the chief monument of

Christian architecture should have been built in part out of the

proceeds of the scandalous traffic in absolutions.

On April 18,1506, soon after the laying of the cornerstone of St.

Peter's, Julius II. issued a bull promising indulgence to those who

would contribute to its construction, fabrica, as it was called.

Eighteen months later, Nov. 4,1507, he commissioned Jerome of

Torniello, a Franciscan Observant, to oversee the preaching of the bull

in the so-called 25 Cismontane provinces, which included Northern

Italy, Austria, Bohemia and Poland. By a later decree Switzerland was

added. [1332] Germany was not included and probably for the reason that

a number of indulgence bulls were already in force in most of its

territory. A special rescript appointed Warham, archbishop of

Canterbury, as chief overseer of the business in England. At Julius'

death, the matter was taken up by Leo X. and pushed.

The preaching of indulgences in Germany for the advantage of St.

Peter's began in the pontificate of Leo X. and is closely associated

with the elevation of Albrecht of Hohenzollern to the sees of Mainz,

Magdeburg and Halberstadt. Albrecht, a brother of Joachim, elector of

Brandenburg, was chosen in 1513 to the archbishopric of Magdeburg and

the bishopric of Halberstadt. The objections on the ground of his age

and the combination of two sees--a thing, however, which was true of

Albrecht's predecessor--were set aside by Leo X., after listening to

the arguments made by the German embassies.

In 1514, Albrecht was further honored by being elected archbishop of

Mainz. The last incumbent, Uriel of Gemmingen, died the year before.

The archdiocese had been unfortunate with its bishops. Berthold of

Henneberg had died 1504 and James of Liebenstein in 1508. These

frequent changes necessitated a heavy burden of taxation to enable the

prelates to pay their tribute to the Holy See, which amounted to 10,000

ducats in each case, with sundry additions. By the persuasion of the

elector Joachim and the Fuggers, Leo sanctioned Albrecht's election to

the see of Mainz. He was given episcopal consecration and thus the

three sees were joined in the hands of a man who was only 24.

But Albrecht's confirmation as archbishop was not secured without the

payment of a high price. The price,10,000 ducats, was set by the

authorities in Rome and did not originate with the German embassy,

which had gone to prosecute the case. The proposition came from the

Vatican itself and at the very moment the Lateran council was voting

measures for the reform of the Church. It carried with it the promise

of a papal indulgence for the archbishop's territories. The elector

Joachim expressed some scruples of conscience over the purchase, but it

went through. Schulte exclaims that, if ever a benefice was sold for

gold, this was true in the case of Albrecht. [1333]

The bull of indulgences was issued March 31,1516, and granted the young

German prelate the right to dispose of pardons throughout the half part

of Germany, the period being fixed at 8 years. The bull offered,

"complete absolution--plenissimam indulgentiam -- and remission of all

sins," sins both of the living and the dead. A private paper, emanating

from Leo and dated two weeks later, April 15, mentions the 10,000

ducats proposed by the Vatican as the price of Albrecht's confirmation

as having been already placed in Leo's hands. [1334] To enable him to

pay the full amount of 30,000 ducats his ecclesiastical dignities had

cost, Albrecht borrowed from the Fuggers and, to secure funds, he

resorted to a two-years' tax of two-fifths which he levied on the

priests, the convents and other religious institutions of his dioceses.

In 1517, "out of regard for his Holiness, the pope, and the salvation

and comfort of his people," Joachim opened his domains to the

indulgence-hawkers. It was his preaching in connection with this bull

that won for Tetzel an undying notoriety. Oldecop, writing in 1516, of

what he saw, said that people, in their eagerness to secure deliverance

from the guilt and penalty of sin and to get their parents and friends

out of purgatory, were putting money into the chest all day long.

The description of Tetzel's sale of indulgences and Luther's protest

are a part of the history of the Reformation. It remains, however, yet

to be said, as belonging to the mediaeval period, that the grace of

indulgences was popularly believed to extend to sins, not yet

committed. Such a belief seems to have been encouraged by the

pardon-preachers, although there is no documentary proof that any papal

authorities made such a promise. In writing to the archbishop of Mainz,

Oct. 31,1517, Luther had declared that it was announced by the

indulgence-hawkers that no sin was too great to be covered by the

indulgence, nay, not even the sin of violating the Virgin, if such a

thing had been possible. And late in life,1541, the Reformer stated

that the pardoner "also sold sins to be committed." [1335] The story

ran that a Saxon knight went to Tetzel and offered him 10 thaler for a

sin he had in mind to commit. Tetzel replied that he had full power

from the pope to grant such an indulgence, but that it was worth 80

thaler. The knight paid the amount, but some time later waylaid Tetzel

and took all his indulgence-moneys from him. To Tetzel's complaints the

robber replied, that thereafter he must not be so quick in giving

indulgence from sins, not yet committed. [1336]

The traffic in ecclesiastical places and the forgiveness of sins

constitutes the very last scene of mediaeval Church history. On the eve

of the Reformation, we have the spectacle of the pope solemnly renewing

the claim to have rule over both spheres, civil and ecclesiastical, and

to hold in his hand the salvation of all mankind, yea, and actually

supporting the extravagant luxuries of his worldly court with moneys

drawn from the trade in sacred things. How deep-seated the pernicious

principle had become was made manifest in the bull which Leo issued,

Nov. 9,1518, a full year after the nailing of the Theses on the church

door at Wittenberg, in which all were threatened with excommunication

who failed to preach and believe that the pope has the right to grant

indulgences. [1337]

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[1316] So Paulus; J. Tetzel, p. 88, and Beringer, p. 2, a member of the

Society of Jesus, whose work on indulgences has the sanction of the

Congregation of Indulgences of the College of Cardinals. Both writers

insist that the indulgence does not confer forgiveness of guilt but

only the remission of penalty after guilt is forgiven. See also on the

general subject this Hist., V. 1, pp. 735-748, VI. 146 sqq.

[1317] John of Paltz: Coelifodina in K�hler, p. 57. Nota in hoc quod

dicit, claves, innuit thesauros quia omne carum clauditur et seratur

potest tamen clavibus adiri.

[1318] For the text of the bulls, see Lea III. 585 sqq. and K�hler, pp.

37-40. A bull ascribed to Calixtus III., 1457, also sanctions

indulgences for the dead. It is accepted as genuine by Paulus. For

Gabriel Biel's acceptance of Sixtus' assertion of power to grant

indulgences to the dead, see K�hler, p. 40.

[1319] Paulus, 97 sq., and Beringer, p. 11, either explain the

expression to mean the penalty of guilt, as if it read a poena culpae

delicta, or refer it to venial sins. See Vol. V. 1, p. 741. The Jubilee

bull of Boniface VIII., 1300, was interpreted by a cardinal to include

in its benefits guilt as well as penalty--duplex indulgentia culpae

videlicet et poenae. K�hler, p. 18 sq., gives the text of the bull.

John XXIII. confessed to have often absolved a culpa et poena.

[1320] It was used by Piers Plowman (see Lea: Sacerd. Celibacy, I.

444), by Landucci, 1513, "l'indulgenza di colpa e pena, Badia's ed., p.

341, by Oldecop, 1516, who listened to Tetzel (see his letter in

Paulus, p. 39), etc. Oldecop said that those who cast their money into

the chest and confessed their sins were " absolved from all their sins

and from pain and guilt." For other cases and a general treatment of

the subject, see Lea, III. 67-80

[1321] . K�hler, p. 59.

[1322] See Maskell: Monum. rit., etc., III. 372 sqq. These indulgences

in England were printed on single sheets perhaps by Wynkyn de Worde.

Such an English reprint announced an indulgence of 2560 days granted by

Julius II. to all contributing to a crusade against the Saracens and

other Christian enemies.

[1323] N�rnb. ed., 1715, vol. I. 212-267; Defens. quor. artt. J. Wyclif

and the Reply of the Prag. Theol. faculty, I. 139-146.

[1324] De schis. pontif., Engl. Works, ed. by Arnold, III. 1262.

[1325] Engl. Works, Arnold's ed., I. 210, 354; De eccles., p. 561.

[1326] See Gasquet, Eve of the Reformation, p. 384.

[1327] James of J�terbock in his Tract. de indulg. about 1451 says he

did not recollect to have seen or read a single papal brief promising

indulgence a poena et culpa. K�hler, p. 48.

[1328] For the details which follow, the treatment by Schulte, in his

work on the Fuggers, is the chief authority. This book contains a

remarkable array of figures and facts based on studies among the

sources.

[1329] Treves also boasted of a nail of the cross, the half part of St.

Peter's staff and St Helena's skull.

[1330] Reliquienverehrung, pp. 33 sq., 60 sq.

[1331] A full account in Paulus, Tetzel, pp. 6-23.

[1332] In a pamphlet entitled Simia by Andrea Guarna da Salerno, Milan,

1517, as quoted by Klaczko, Rome and the Renaissance, p. 25, Bramante

the architect was refused entrance to heaven by St. Peter for

destroying the Apostle's temple in Rome, whose very antiquity called

the least devout to God. And when the heavenly porter charged him with

a readiness to destroy the very world itself and ruin the pope, the

architect confessed and declared that his failure was due to the fact

that "Julius did not put his hand Into his pocket to build the new

church but relied on indulgences and the confessional." Paris de

Grassis called Bramante "the ruiner,"architectum Bramantem seu potius

Ruinantem.

[1333] See his account of the transaction, I. 115-121.

[1334] Schulte, I. 125. Leo's bull of March 31 is given by K�hler, pp.

83-93. Even the Rom. Cath., Paulus, Tetzel, p. 31, goes as far as to

speak of "the miserable business which for both Leo and Albrecht was

first of all a financial transaction."

[1335] An offer of this sort is referred to by John of Paltz (see

quotation in Paulus): Tetzel, p. 136, and Paulus' attempt to explain it

away.

[1336] One of the savory pulpit anecdotes bearing on indulgences ran as

follows: Certain pilgrims, on their journey, came to a tree on which 5

souls were hanging. On their return, they found 4 had vanished. The one

left behind reported that his companions had been released by friends,

but that he was without a single friend. So, for the unfortunate soul's

benefit, one of the pilgrims made a pilgrimage to Rome, and the soul at

once took its flight to heaven. "So may a soul," the moral went on to

say, "be released from purgatorial fire, if only 50 Pater nosters be

said for it."

[1337] The bull in Mirbt, p. 182.

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CHAPTER X.

THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Lit. - The following treatments may be consulted for this chapter.

Haller: Papstthum u. Kirchenreform.--D�llinger-Friedrich: D.

Papstaum.--G. Kr�ger: The Papacy, Engl. trsl., N. Y.,1909.--Lea: The

Eve of the Reformation, In Cambr. Hist., I: 653-692.--Bezold: Gesch. d.

deutschen Reformation, pp. 1-244.--Janssen-Pastor: vol. I.,

II.--Pastor: Gesch. d. P�pste, III. 3-150, etc.--Gregorovius: vols.

VII., VIII.--G. Ficker: Das ausgehende MA u. sein Verh�ltniss zur

Reformation, Leipz.,1903. A. Schulte.: Kaiser Maximilian als Kandidat

f�r d. p�pstlichen Stuhl 1511, Leipz.,1906.--O. Smeaton: The Medici and

the Ital. Renaissance, Cin'ti.--The works already cited of Th. Rogers

and Cunningham.--W. H. Heyd: Gesch. d. Levantenhandels, 2 vols.,

Stuttg.,1859.

Many great regions are discovered

Which to late age were ne'er mentioned,

Who ever heard of th' Indian Peru

Or who, in venturous vessel, measured

The Amazon huge river, now found true?

Or fruitfullest Virginia who did ever view?

Yet all these were when no man did them know,

Yet have from wisest ages hidden been.

And later times things more unknown shall show.

Why then should witless man so much misween,

That nothing is but that which he hath seen.

--Spenser, Faerie Queene.

No period in the history of the Christian Church has a more clear date

set for its close than the Middle Ages. In whatever light the

Protestant Reformation is regarded there can be no doubt that a new age

began with the nailing of the Theses on the church doors in Wittenberg.

All attempts to find another date for the beginning of modern history

have failed, whether the date be the reign of Philip the Fair or the

Fall of Constantinople,1453, or the invention of printing. Much as the

invention of movable type has done for the spread of intelligence, the

personality and conduct of Luther must always be looked upon as the

source from which the new currents of human thought and action in

Western Europe emanated. [1338]

Not so easy, however, is it to fix a satisfactory date for the opening

of the Middle Ages. They have been dated from Charlemagne, the founder

of the Holy German Empire, the patron of learning, the maker of codes

of law. The better starting-point is the pontificate of Gregory the

Great, who is well called the last of the Fathers and the first of the

mediaeval popes. From that date, the rift between the Eastern and the

Western Churches, which was already wide as a result of the arrogance

of the bishops of Rome, rapidly grew to be unhealable.

The Middle Ages, with their limits, fall easily into 3 periods, but it

must be confessed that the first, extending from 600-1050, is a period

of warring elements, with no orderly development. Hildebrand properly

opens the Middle Ages as a period of great ideas, conscious of its

power and begetting movements which have exerted a tremendous influence

upon the history of the Church. From the moment that monk entered Rome,

the stream of ecclesiastical affairs proceeded on its course between

well-defined banks. During the 500 years that followed, the voice of

the supreme pontiff was heard above all other voices and controlled

every movement emanating from the Church. In this period, the doctrinal

system, which is distinctively known as the mediaeval, came to its full

statement. It was the period of great corporate movements, of the

Crusades, the Mendicant orders, of the cathedrals and universities, of

the canon law and the sacramental combination and of the Reformatory

councils.

The third period of the Middle Ages, which this volume traverses, is at

once the product of the former period of Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

and, at the same time, the germinative seed-plot of new forces. The

sacerdotal keeps its hold and the papacy remains the central tribunal

and court of Europe, but protests were heard--vigorous and startling

from different quarters, from Prag, Paris, Oxford--which, without

overthrowing old institutions, shook the confidence in their Apostolic

appointment and perpetuity. These last two centuries of the mediaeval

world betray no consuming passion like the Crusades, for all efforts of

the pope to stir the dead nerves of that remarkable impulse were

futile. And Pius II., looking from the bluffs of Ancona out upon the

sea in the hope of discerning ships rigged to undertake the reconquest

of the East, furnishes a pathetic spectacle of an attempt to call forth

energies to achieve the dreams of the past, when for practical minds

the illusion itself has already disappeared.

The Reformatory councils endeavored to undo what Hildebrand and

Innocent III. had built up and Thomas Aquinas had sanctioned, the

control of the Church and society by the will of the supreme pontiff.

The system of the Schoolmen broke down. Wyclif, himself endowed with

scholastic acuteness, belonged to that modern class of men who find in

practical considerations a sufficient reason to ignore the contentions

of dialectic philosophy. And, finally, the Renaissance completely set

aside some of the characteristic notions of the Middle Ages, stirring

the interest of man in all the works of God, and honoring those who in

this earthly sphere of action wrought out the products of intellectual

endeavor in literature and art, on the platform and in the department

of state.

This last period of the Middle Ages appears to the student of general

history as a period of presentiments--and efforts on the part of

scattered thinkers, to reach a more free and rational mode of thought

and living than the mode they had inherited from the past. The period

opening with Hildebrand and extending to Boniface VIII. furnished more

imposing personalities,--architects compelling by the force of

intellectual assertion,--but fewer useful men. It created a dogmatic

unity and triumphed by a policy of force, but the rights of the

individual and the principle of liberty of thought and conscience, with

which God has chosen to endow mankind, it could not consign to

permanent burial.

However, in spite of the efforts put forth in the closing period of the

Middle Ages to shake off the fetters of the rigid ecclesiastical

compulsion, it failed. The individual reformers and prophets prepared

the way for a new time, but were unable to marshal forces enough in

their own age to inaugurate the new order. This it was the task of

Luther to do.

In a retrospect of the marked features of the closing centuries of the

Middle Ages, we are struck first of all with the process by which the

nations of Western Europe became consolidated until they substantially

won the limits which they now occupy. The conquest of the weary

Byzantine empire seemed to open the way for the Turks into all Europe.

The acropolis of Athens was occupied in 1458. Otranto on the Italian

coast was seized and Vienna itself threatened. All Europe felt as

Luther did when he offered the prayer, "from the murderous cruelty of

the Turk, Good Lord deliver us." Much as the loss of the city on the

Bosphorus was lamented at this time, it cannot but be felt that there

was no force in Eastern Christendom which gave any promise of progress,

theological or civil.

The papacy, claiming to be invested with plenitude of authority, abated

none of its claims, but by its history proved that those very claims

are fictitious and have no necessary place in the divine appointment.

Seldom has a more impressive spectacle been furnished than was

furnished by the Reformatory councils. Following the Avignon period and

the age of the papal schism, they struggled to correct the abuses of

the papal system and to define its limitations. The first oecumenical

council held on German soil, the Council of Constance, made such an

authoritative decision. Its weight was derived from its advocates, the

most distinguished theologians and canonists of the time, and the

combined voice of the universities and the nations of Latin

Christendom. But the decision proved to be no stronger than a spider's

web. The contention, which had been made by that long series of pungent

tracts which was opened with the tract of Gelnhausen, was easily set

aside by the dexterous hand of the papacy itself. Gelnhausen had

declared that the way to heal the troubles in the papal household was

to convoke a general council. [1339] To this mode of statement Pius II.

opposed his bull, Execrabilis, and his successors went on untroubled by

the outcry of Latin Christendom for some share in the government of the

Church.

But the appeal for a council was an ominous portent. It had been made

by Philip the Fair and the French Parliament,1303. It was made by the

Universities of Paris and Oxford and the great churchmen of France. It

was made by Wyclif, by Huss and Savonarola. In vain, to be sure, but

the body of the Church was thinking and the arena of free discussion

was extending.

The most extravagant claims of the papacy still had defenders. Augustus

Triumphus and Alvarus Pelayo declared there could be no appeal from the

pope to God, because the pope and God were in agreement. He who looks

upon the pope with intent and trusting eye, looks upon Christ, and

wherever the pope is, there is the Church. Yea, the pope is above canon

law. But these men were simply repeating what was current tradition.

Dante struck another note, when he put popes in the lowest regions of

hell, and Marsiglius of Padua, when he cast doubt upon Peter's ever

having been in Rome and insisted that the laity are also a part of the

Church.

The scandalous lives of the popes whose names fill the last paragraph

of the history of the Middle Ages would have excluded them from decent

modern circles and exposed them to sentence as criminals. They were

perjurers, adulterers. Avarice, self-indulgence ruled their life. They

had no mercy. The charges of murder and vicious disease were laid to

their door. They were willing to set the states of Italy one over

against the other and to allow them to lacerate each other to extend

their own territory or to secure power and titles for their own

children and nephews. Luther was not far out of the way when, in his

Appeal to the German Nobility, he declared "Roman avarice is the

greatest of robbers that ever walked the earth. All goes into the Roman

sack, which has no bottom, and all in the name of God." In all history,

it would be difficult to discover a more glaring inconsistency between

profession and practice than is furnished by the careers of the last

popes of the Middle Ages.

Upon freedom of thought, the papacy continued to lay the mortmain of

alleged divine appointment. Dante's De monarchia was burnt by John

XXII. The evangelical text-book, the Theologia Germanica has been put

on the index. Erasmus' writings were put on the Index. Curses were

hurled against a German emperor by Clement VI. which it would almost be

sacrilege to repeat with the lips. Eckart was declared a heretic.

Wyclif's bones were dug up and cast into the flames. Huss was burnt.

Savonarola was burnt. And, from nameless graves in Spain and Germany

rises the protest against the papacy as a divine institution.

Valla said again and again that the papacy was responsible for all the

misfortunes of Italy, its worst enemy. To such a low plane was that

institution brought that the Emperor Maximilian I. seriously considered

having himself elected pope and combining in himself the two

sovereignties of Church and state. That such a thought was possible is

proof of the actual state of affairs. A most Catholic historian,

Janssen (III. 77), says: "The court of Leo X., with its extravagant

expenditure in card-playing, theatres and all manner of worldly

amusements, was still more flagrantly opposed to the position of chief

overseer of the Church than the courts of the German ecclesiastical

princes, notably Albrecht of Mainz. The iniquity of Rome exceeded that

of the ecclesiastical princes of Germany." And was not the chief idea,

which some of the aspirants after the highest office in Christendom had

in mind, well embodied in the words with which Leo followed his

election, "Let us enjoy the papacy"? If the lives of these latter popes

were unworthy, their treatment of the spiritual prerogatives was

sacrilegious. Rome encouraged the Crusades but sent no Crusaders. In

Rome everything was for sale. The forgiveness of sins itself was

offered for money.

And, within papal circles, there was no movement towards reform. As

well might men have looked for a burnt field to furnish food. It is not

improbable that the very existence of the papacy was saved by the

Reformation. This is the view to which Burckhardt chooses to give

expression twice in the same work. [1340] It discredited by its

incumbents every high claim asserted for it. And yet, with abounding

self-confidence, in the last hours of the Middle Ages, it solemnly

reaffirmed the claim of supreme jurisdiction over the souls and bodies

of men, the Church and the state. And after the Reformation had begun,

Prierias, Master of the palace, declared the pope's superiority to the

Scriptures in these words: "Whoever does not rest upon the doctrine of

the Roman Church and the Roman pope as an infallible rule of faith,

from which even the Holy Scriptures derive their authority, is a

heretic." And to be a heretic meant to be an outlaw. Prierias was the

man who spoke of Luther as "the brute with the deep eyes and strange

fantasies."

Forces of another character were working. In quiet pathways, the

mystics walked with God and, though they did not repudiate the

sacramental system, they called attention to the religion of the heart

as the seat of religion. The Imitation of Christ was written once, for

all ages. The Church had found its proper definition as the body of the

elect and that idea stood in direct antithesis to the theory the

hierarchy worked upon. The preaching of the Waldenses had been

condemned by the Fourth Lateran Council, but there was a growing

popular demand for instruction as well as the spectacle of the mass,

and the catechetical manuals laid stress upon the sermon. The

Albigenses had been completely blotted out, but the principles of

Lollardism and Hussitism continued to flow, though as little rills. The

Inquisition was still doing its work, but in Germany schools for all

classes of children were being taught. The laity was asserting its

rights in the domain of learning and culture. These influences were

silently preparing the soil for the new teachings.

In the 15th century, a potent force stirred Europe as Europe had never

been stirred by it before,--Commerce. The industrial change, then going

on, deserves more than a passing reference as a factor preparing the

mind for intellectual and religious innovation. This, at least, is true

of the German people. Explorations and the extension of commerce have,

in more periods than one, preceded a revival of missionary enterprise.

But, of all the centuries, none is so like the 19th as the last century

of the Middle Ages,--vital with humanistic forces of all kinds. It was

a time of revolution in the methods of trade and the comforts and

prices of living. The world could never be again just what it had been

before. There was marked restlessness among the artisan and peasant

classes. This industrial unrest was adapted to encourage and to beget

unrest in things ecclesiastical and to accustom the mind to the thought

of change there.

From Italy, whose harbors were the outfitting points for fleets during

the Crusades, the centre of trade had shifted to the cities north of

the Alps and to the Portuguese coast. N�rnberg, Ulm, Augsburg and

Constance in Southern Germany; Bruges, Antwerp and other cities along

the lower Rhine and in Flanders; and the cities of the Hanseatic League

were bustling marts, turning out new and wonderful products of

manufacture and drawing the products of the outside world through

London, Lisbon, Lyons and Venice. Energy and enterprise were making

Germany rich and her mercantile houses had their representatives and

depots in Venice, Antwerp and other ports. [1341]

Methods of business, such as to-day are suggesting grave problems to

the political economist and moralist, were introduced and flourished.

Trading companies and monopolies came upon the stage and startled the

advocates of the old feudal ways by the extent and boldness of their

operations. Trusts flourished in Augsburg and other German cities.

[1342] Individuals and corporations cornered the import trade, the

grain crop, the wine harvest, the silver, copper and iron product,

sugar, linen, leather, pepper, even soap, for they used soap also in

those days. The H�chstetters, the Ebners and the Fuggers were among the

great speculative and trading firms of the age. They carried things

with a high hand. Ambrose H�chstetter of Augsburg, for example, one

season bought up all the ash wood, another all the grain and another

all the wine. Nor was the art of adulteration left for these later, and

often discredited, times to practice. They condescended to small

things, even to the mixing of brick-dust with pepper. Commodities rose

suddenly in price. In Germany, wine rose, in 1510, 49 per cent and

grain 32 per cent. Imperial diets took cognizance of these conditions

and tried to correct the evils complained of by regulating the prices

of goods. [1343] Municipalities did the same. Preachers, like Geiler of

Strassburg, charged the monopolists with fearing neither God nor man

and called upon the cities to banish them. Professors of jurisprudence,

for there was at that time no department of social science, inveighed

against monopolies as spiders' webs to ensnare the innocent. [1344] It

was a fast age. There was no precedent for what was going on. Men

sighed for the good old times. Speculation was rampant and the prospect

of quick gains easily captivated the people. They took shares in the

investment companies and often lost everything. It was noticed that the

directors of the companies were able to avoid losses which the common

and unsuspecting investor had to bear. The confusion was increased by

the readiness of town aldermen and city councillors to take stock in

the concerns. It also happened that the great traders, whose ventures

involved others in loss, were conspicuous in church affairs.

To the wealth, arising from manufactures and foreign commerce, were

added the riches which were being dug up from the newly opened mines of

silver, copper and iron in Bohemia and Saxony. Avarice was cried down

as the besetting sin of the age and, in some quarters, commerce was

denounced as being carried on in defiance of the simplest precepts of

the Gospel. [1345]

With wealth came extravagance in dress and at the table. Municipalities

legislated against it and imperial parliaments sought to check it by

arbitrary rules. Wimpheling says, table services of gold were not

unusual and that he himself had eaten from golden plates at Cologne.

Complaint was frequently made at the diets that men were being brought

to poverty by their expenditures for dress upon themselves and the

expenditures of the female members of their households.

In Germany, peasants were limited to a certain kind of cloth for their

outer garments and to a maximum price. [1346] The women had their share

in making the disturbance and dignified town councils sat in judgment

upon the number of gowns and other articles of apparel and ornament the

ladies of the day might possess without detriment to the community or

hurt to the solvency of their indulgent husbands. The council of

Ratisbon, for example, in 1485 made it a rule that the wives and

daughters of distinguished burghers should be limited to 8 dresses, 6

long cloaks, 3 dancing gowns, one plaited mantle with not more than 3

sets of sleeves of silk velvet and brocade, 2 pearl hair bands not to

cost more than 12 florins, one tiara of gold set with pearls, not more

than three veils costing 8 florins each, etc. But why enumerate the

whole list of articles? It is supposable the women conformed, even if

they were inclined to criticise the aldermen for not sticking to their

legitimate municipal business. Geiler of Strassburg had his word to say

for these innovations of an extravagant age, the women with two dresses

for a single day, their long trains trailing in the dust, the cocks'

feathers worn in the women's hats and the long hair falling down over

their shoulders. The times were cried down as bad. It is, however,

pleasant to recall that a contemporary annalist commended as

praiseworthy the habit of bathing at least "once every two weeks."

Among the artisans and the peasants, the unrest asserted itself in

strikes and uprisings, strikes for shorter hours, for better food and

for better wages. Sometimes a municipality and a gild were at strife

for years. Sometimes a city was bereft at one stroke of all the workers

of a given craft, as was N�rnberg of her tin workers in 1475. The gilds

of tailors are said to have been most given to strikes.

The new social order involved the peasant class in more hardship than

any other. The peasants were made the victims of the rapacity and

violence of the landowners, who encroached upon their fields and their

traditional but unwritten rights, and deprived them of the right to

fish and hunt and gather wood in the forests. The Church also came in

for its share of condemnation. One-fifth of the soil of Germany was in

the possession of convents and other religious establishments and the

peasant leaders called upon the monks and priests to distribute their

lands. In their marching songs they appealed to Christ to keep them

from putting the priests to death. The Peasant War of 1525 was not the

product of the abuse of the principle of personal freedom introduced by

the Reformation. It was one of a long series of uprisings and it has

been said that, if the Reformation had not come and diverted the

attention of the people, it is likely Germany would have been shaken by

such a social revolution in the 16th century as the world has seldom

seen. [1347]

In England, the restlessness was scarcely less demonstrative and the

condition of the laboring classes scarcely less deplorable. Their

hardships in the 14th century called forth the rebellion of Watt Tyler.

The famous statute of laborers of 1350 fixed the wages of reapers at 8

pence a day; the statute of 1444, a century later, raised it to 5

pence. The laws of 1495, Cunningham says, were intended to keep down

the wages of the daily toiler. English legislation was habitually bent

on preventing an artificial enhancement of prices. At the very close of

the Middle Ages,1515, a regulation fixed the day's work from 5 in the

morning until 7 or 8 in the evening in summer and during the hours of

daylight during the winter. Legislation was sought to put a limit on

prices against the inflation of combinations. Frauds and adulterations

in articles offered for sale, bad work and false weights were

officially condemned in 1504. Against the proclivity of the gilds to

fix the prices of their wares at unreasonable figures, Henry VII. set

himself with determination. With the development of sheep-walks farm

hands lost their employment. [1348] To the author of Utopia the act of

parliament in 1515, fixing wages, seemed to be "nothing else than a

conspiracy of the rich against the poor," and, the laboring man was

doomed to a life so wretched that even a beast's life in comparison

seemed to be enviable."

The discoveries in the New World and the nautical exploits, which

carried Portuguese sailors around the Cape of Good Hope, also

stimulated this feeling of restlessness. While the horizon of the

natural world was being enlarged and new highways of commerce were

being opened, thoughtful men had questions whether the geography of the

spiritual world, as outlined in the scholastic systems, did not need

revision. The resurrection of the Bible as a popular book stimulated

the curiosity and questioning. The Bible also was a new world. The

trade, the enterprise, the thought awakened during the last 70 years of

the Middle Ages were incomparably more vital than had been awakened by

the Crusades and the Crusaders' tales. When the Reformation came, the

chief centres of business in Germany and England became, for the most

part, seats of the new religious movement, N�rnberg, Ulm, Augsburg,

Geneva, Strassburg, Frankfurt, L�beck and London.

The Renaissance, as has already been set forth, was another potent

factor contributing to the forward impulse of the last century of the

Middle Ages. All the faculties of man were to be recognized as worthy

of cultivation. Europe arose as out of a deep sleep. Men opened their

eyes and saw, as Mr. Taine put it. The Renaissance made the discovery

of man and the earth. The Schoolmen had forgotten both. Here also a new

world was revealed to view and Ulrich von Hutten, referring to it and

to the age as a whole could exclaim, "O century, studies flourish,

spirits are awaking. It is a pleasure to live!"

But in the Renaissance Providence seems to have had the design of

showing again that intellectual and artistic culture may flourish,

while the process of moral and social decline goes on. No regenerating

wave passed over Italy's society or cleansed her palaces and convents.

The outward forms of civilization did not check the inward decline. The

Italian character, says Gregorovius, "in the last 30 years of the 15th

century displays a trait of diabolical passion. Tyrannicide,

conspiracies and deeds of treachery were universal." In the period of

Athenian greatness, the process of the intellectual sublimation of the

few was accompanied by the process of moral decay in the many. So now,

art did not purify. The Renaissance did not find out what repentance

was or feel the need of it. Savonarola's admiring disciple, Pico della

Mirandola, presented a memorial to the Fifth Lateran which declared

that, if the prelates "delayed to heal the wounds of the Church, Christ

would cut off the corrupted members with fire and sword. Christ had

cast out the money-changers, why should not Leo exile the worshippers

of the many golden calves?" In Italy, remarks Ranke, "no one counted

for a cultured person who did not cherish some erroneous views about

Christianity."

The North had no Dante and Petrarca and Boccaccio or Thomas Aquinas,

but it had its Tauler and Thomas � Kempis and its presses sent forth

the first Greek New Testament. This was a positive preparation for the

coming age as much as the Greek language was a preparation for the

spread of Christianity through Apostolic preaching in the 1st century.

German printers went to Rome in 1467 and as far as Barcelona. In his

work on the new invention,1507, Wimpheling [1349] declared "that as the

Apostles went forth of old, so now the disciples of the sacred art go

forth from Germany into all lands and their printed books become

heralds of the Gospel, preachers of the truth and wisdom." Germany

became the intellectual market of Europe and its wares went across the

North Sea to that little kingdom which was to become the chief bulwark

of Protestantism. In vain did Leo X. set himself against the free

circulation of literature. [1350]

The Greek edition of the New Testament and the printing-press,--that

invention which cleaves all the centuries in two and yet binds all the

centuries together--were the two chief providential instruments made

ready for Martin Luther. But he had to find them. They did not make him

a reformer, the leader of the new age. Erasmus, whom Janssen

mercilessly condemns, remained a moralizer. He lacked both the passion

and the heroism of the religious reformer. The religious reformer must

be touched from above. Reuchlin, Erasmus and Gutenberg prepared the

outward form of the Greek and Hebrew Bible. Luther discovered its

contents, and made them known.

Such were the complex forces at work in the closing century of the

Middle Ages. The absolute jurisdiction of the papacy was solemnly

reaffirmed. The hierarchy virtually constituted the Church. Religious

dissent was met with compulsion and force, not by persuasion and

instruction. Coercion was substituted for individual consent. Popular

piety remained bound in the old forms and was strong. But there were

sounds of refreshing rills, flowing from the fresh fountain of the

water of life, running at the side of the old ceremonials, especially

in the North. The Revival of Letters aroused the intellect to a sense

of its sovereign rights. The movement of thought was greatly

accelerated by the printed page. The development of trade communicated

unrest. But the lives of the popes, as we look back upon the age,

forbade the expectation of any relief from Rome. The Reformatory

councils had contented themselves with attempts to reform the

administration of the Church. Nevertheless, though men did not see it,

driftwood as from a new theological continent was drifting about and

there were prophetic voices though the princes of the Church listened

not to them. What was needed was not government, was not regulations

but regeneration. This the hierarchy could not give, but only God

alone. [1351]

The facts, set forth in this volume, leave no room for the contention

of the recent class of historians in the Roman Church,--Janssen,

Denifle, Pastor, Nicolas, Paulus, Dr. Gasquet--who have devoted

themselves to the task of proving that an orderly reform-movement was

going on when the Reformation broke out. That movement, they represent

as an unspeakable calamity for civilization, an apostasy from

Christianity, an insurrection against divinely constituted authority.

It violently checked the alleged current of progress and popes, down to

Pius IX. and Leo XIII., have anathematized Protestantism as a poisonous

pestilence and the mother of all modem evils in Church and state. In

the attempt to make good this judgment, these recent writers not only

have laid stress upon "the good old times,"--a description which the

people of the 16th century would have repudiated, [1352] -- but have

resorted to the defamation of the German Reformer's character, setting

aside the contemporaries who knew him best, and violently perverting

Luther's own words. Imbart de la Tour, the most recent French historian

of this school, on reaching the year 1517, exclaims, "The era of

peaceful reforms was at an end; the era of religious revolution was

about to open." [1353]

Lef�vre d'Etaples was not alone when he uttered the famous words: --

The signs of the times announce that a reformation of the Church is

near at hand and, while God is opening new paths for the preaching of

the Gospel by the discoveries of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, we

must hope that He will also visit His Church and raise her from the

abasement into which she has now fallen.

The Philosophy of Christ,--the name which Erasmus gave to the Gospel in

his Paraclesis, prefixed to his edition of the New Testament,--was to a

large degree covered over by the dialectical theology of the Schoolmen.

What men needed was the Gospel and the bishop of Isernia, preaching at

the Fifth Lateran council in its 12th session, spoke better than he

knew when he exclaimed: "The Gospel is the fountain of all wisdom, of

all knowledge. From it has flowed all the higher virtue, all that is

divine and worthy of admiration. The Gospel, I say the Gospel." The

words were spoken on the very eve of the Reformation and the council of

the Middle Ages failed utterly to offer any real remedy for the

religious degeneracy. The Reformer came from the North, not from Rome

and as from another Nazareth. The angel of God had to descend again and

trouble the waters and a single personality touched in conscience

proved himself mightier than the wisdom of theology and wiser than the

rulers of the visible Church.

Remarkable the Middle Ages were for their bold enterprises in thought

and action and they are an important part of the history of the Church.

We acknowledge our debt, but their superstitions and errors we set

aside as we move on in the pathway of a more intelligent devotion and

broader human, sympathies, towards an age when all who profess the

Gospel shall unite together in the unity of the faith in the Son of

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[1338] Gregorovius, VII. 273, well says that "theoretically and

practically the Reformation put an end to the universal power of the

papacy and closed the Middle Ages as an epoch in the world's history."

[1339] Gelnhausen in Mart�ne, Thesaur. Nov. anec., Paris ed., 1717, II.

1203. Conclusio principalis ista est quod pro remediando et de medio

auferendo schismate moderno expedit, potest et debet concilium generate

convocari.

[1340] Renaissance, I. 136, II. 185. Ficker p. 13, speaks of "the

incalculable advantage which accrued to the Catholic Church from the

Reformation."

[1341] For the transfer of the centre of the Levantine trade from

Venice to Lisbon at the beginning of the 16th century, see Heyd, II.

505-540. Heyd says that the discovery of the route to India around the

Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese hatte wie ein Donnerschlag am

heiteren Himmel die Gem�ther der Venetianer ber�hrt. To counteract the

stream of trade in the direction of Lisbon, the Venetians proposed a

scheme for cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Suez in 1500 and, in

the same interest, the Turks actually began that enterprise in 1529.

Manuel, king of Portugal, in 1505 stationed a fleet at Calicut to

prevent the Venetians from interfering with the export of Indian goods

to Portugal. For the German Board of Trade at Venice, the fondaco dei

Tedeschi, see Heyd, II. 520, etc.

[1342] Writing in 1458, Aeneas Sylvius said, "The German nation takes

the lead of all others in wealth and power." He spoke of Cologne as

unexcelled in magnificence among the cities of Europe. At N�rnberg he

found simple burghers living in houses, the like of which the kings of

Scotland would have been glad to house in.

[1343] So the Diet of Cologne, 1512. At the same time, however, it

declared that its acts were not designed to prevent the association of

merchants in trading companies. The Diet of Innsbruck, 1518, did the

same, and complained of the trading companies for driving out the small

dealers and fixing prices arbitrarily. Trithemius argued for laws

protecting the people from the overreachings of avarice and declared

that whosoever bought up meat, grain and other articles of diet to

force up prices is no better than a common criminal. See Janssen, II.

102, sq.

[1344] So Christopher Kuppner of Leipzig, in his tract on usury,1508.

He insists that magistrates should proceed against trading companies

and rich merchants who, through agents in other lands, bought up

saffron, pepper, com and what not and sold them at whatsoever price

they chose. According to the secretary of the firm, Conrad Meyer, the

capital of the Fuggers increased in 7 years 13,000,000 florins.

[1345] A preacher in 1515 declared the spirit of speculation then

prevailing to be of recent growth, only ten years old, and that it had

not existed in former times. Janssen, II. 87.

[1346] The diets of 1498 and 1500 forbade artisans to wear gold,

silver, pearls, velvet and embroidered stuffs. They were forbidden to

pay more than one-half a florin a yard for the cloth of their coats and

mantles. Laws regulating dress were also passed in Italy. Elastic beds,

false hair and other fashions came into vogue. Women sat in the sun all

day to bleach their hair. In Florence, money was scented. See

Burckhardt-Geiger, II. 87 sqq. John of Arundel, who was drowned at sea,

1879, had 62 new suits of cloth of gold or tissue. By a parliamentary

act of 1463, no knight or other person might wear shoes or boots having

peaks longer than two inches, Soc. Engl., II. 426 sqq.

[1347] Ficker, p. 107 sq.; M�ller: Kirchengesch. II. 196 sq. Among

these peasant leaders, the piper of Niklahausen was one of the most

prominent. In the last quarter of the 15th century, tracts were

circulated among the peasants, calling upon them to resist the

oppression of the ruling classes and demand the secularization of

Church lands.

[1348] Rogers, p. 143; Cunningham, pp. 399, 457 sq., 468 sqq., 476

sqq., 484.

[1349] De arte impressoria. The printer Gutenberg lived 1397-1468 and

his son-in-law, Sch�ffer, died 1502.

[1350] In his bull of May 4, 1515. See Mirbt, p. 177.

[1351] See Sohm's sententious words in closing his treatment of the

Middle Ages, Kirchengesch.,15th ed., 1907, p. 122 sq. Colet, who was in

Italy during the rule of Alexander VI. said: "Unless the Mediator who

created and founded the Church out of nothing for himself, lay his hand

with all speed, our most disordered Church cannot be far from death

.... All seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ, not heavenly

things but earthly things, what will bring them to death, not what will

bring them life eternal."--Seebohm, p. 75.

[1352] To the other testimonies in this vol. add Erasmus, Enchiridion,

p. 11 sq.

[1353] II. 579. An example of misrepresentation may be taken from

Denifle, Luther u. Luthertum who picks out a single clause from one of

Luther's sermons, Die Begierde ist g�nzlich unbesiegbar, "Passion

cannot be overcome," and holds it up as the starting-point for the

Reformer's alleged profligate life. What could be more atrocious,

unworthy of a scholar and a gentleman, when it was Luther's purpose in

this very sermon to show that Christ imparts the power to overcome

evil, which the natural man does not possess and calls upon men to flee

to Christ's protection. In these last vols. Denifle outdid Janssen. Leo

XIII. praised Janssen as a "light of historic science and a man of

profound learning." Pius X. gave to Denifle the distinction of

receiving the first copy of his book from the author's hand.

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\* Das Auge das da inne ich Gott sehe, das ist selbe Auge da inne mich

Gott sieht. Mein Auge und Gottes Auge, das ist ein Auge, und ein

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\* Enea ist seiner Tage nie gegen den Strom geschwommen: [202]1

\* Epidemie f�r kleine Dynastien: [203]1

\* Er erst hat die christliche Philosophie eigentlich begr�ndet:

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\* Es ist fast ein b�s Ding dass man die Bibel zu deutsch druckt:

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\* Gesch. der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft: [234]1

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\* Hab' ich schon auf dieser Erden, hab' ich in Florenz gefunden:

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\* Hexe: [237]1

\* Hier ist Gottes Grund mein Grund und mein Grund Gottes Grund. Hier

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\* Ludwig der Baier: [284]1

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\* Luther und Lutherthum: [286]1

\* Man wird den Begriff Vorreformatoren getrost in die historische

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\* Nicolas V., der Begr�nder des p�pstlichen Maecenats: [288]1

\* Niht endienent unserin were dar zuo dass uns Got iht gebe oder

tuo.: [289]1

\* Oesterr. Vierteljahrsschrift: [290]1

\* Offene Huren in den Hurenh�usern und solche, die selber H�user

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\* Rulman hat den Gottesfreund einfach erfunden: [299]1

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\* Seine Kinder zu erh�hen war sein vorz�glichstes Ziel: [301]1

\* So verstand er sich endlich zur unbedingten Annahme der Synode:

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\* Um Geld herbeizuschaffen schreckte man vor keinem Mittel zur�ck:

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67. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=26#iii.vi.iv-p31.2

68. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=16&scrV=7#iii.v.iv-p14.2

69. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=16&scrV=15#iii.v.vi-p4.2

70. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=3#iii.iv.v-p35.2

71. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=36#iii.ii.vii-p30.1

72. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=0#iii.ii.iii-p50.2

73. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=11#iii.ii.vii-p30.3

74. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=15#iii.ii.vii-p30.9

75. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=17#iii.ii.iii-p51.1

76. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=42#iii.iv.v-p22.2

77. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=46#iii.iv.v-p22.2

78. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=25&scrV=10#iii.ii.iv-p16.2

79. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=0#iii.ix.i-p3.1

80. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=6#iii.vi.viii-p45.2

81. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=5#iii.vi.v-p53.1

82. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=13&scrV=0#iii.ii.vii-p30.6

83. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=13&scrV=1#iii.ii.iii-p53.1

84. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1495&scrV=0#iii.vii.i-p10.1

85. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=15#iii.ii.iv-p34.1

86. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=16#iii.ii.iii-p54.1

87. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=10#iii.viii.iii-p39.3

88. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=38#iii.vi.vi-p39.1

89. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=19#iii.vi.vi-p39.2

90. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=4&scrV=6#iii.x.iii-p11.2

91. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=7#iii.ix.ix-p49.2

92. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=7#iii.x.vi-p22.1

93. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=17#iii.v.vii-p6.1

94. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3?scrBook=Bar&scrCh=3&scrV=20#iii.vi.v-p24.2

95. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.iii-p18.1

96. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.iii-p20.1

97. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.iii-p8.5

98. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.v-p49.1

99. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.iv-p53.15

100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.iii-p2.3

101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.iii-p2.1

102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.iii-p2.1

103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.ix-p2.2

104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.v-p2.1

105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.v-p2.1

106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iv-p2.1

107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.iii-p2.1

108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.vii-p2.1

109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p2.1

110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.vi-p2.1

111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.vii-p2.1

112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.iv-p2.1

113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.iii-p2.2

114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.ix-p2.1

115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.ix-p2.1

116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iv-p22.3

117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.v-p8.12

118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.ii-p27.3

119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.ii-p21.3

120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.ii-p25.5

121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iii-p62.3

122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.iii-p11.2

123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.v-p52.3

124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.v-p65.3

125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.iii-p58.12

126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.iii-p7.3

127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p50.6

128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.v-p67.3

129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p6.30

130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p6.18

131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p6.24

132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iii-p60.3

133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.iii-p58.6

134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p11.3

135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.vii-p14.3

136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.ii-p16.3

137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p6.12

138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p6.15

139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p11.6

140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p6.6

141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p11.21

142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.iv-p7.3

143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.iv-p27.3

144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.vi-p39.3

145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p50.3

146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p11.9

147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p6.9

148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p6.3

149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p11.15

150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p7.3

151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p88.9

152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p63.2

153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.vi-p10.3

154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.vi-p10.6

155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.ix-p7.3

156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.v-p37.7

157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p88.6

158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.ii-p39.9

159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p65.3

160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.v-p4.2

161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.ii-p39.6

162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.vii-p40.2

163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p76.3

164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.iii-p42.3

165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.iii-p7.6

166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p34.15

167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p83.3

168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.ix-p67.3

169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.ix-p4.6

170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.iii-p15.6

171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p11.12

172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.iii-p15.3

173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.vi-p40.3

174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.xi-p52.6

175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.iii-p58.9

176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.iii-p57.6

177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.iii-p48.3

178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p42.2

179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.ix-p60.3

180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.vii-p19.3

181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.iii-p10.2

182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p38.2

183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.vi-p26.3

184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p65.2

185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.ix-p15.3

186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p30.6

187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.ii-p25.2

188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.vii-p4.3

189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.vii-p8.9

190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p9.2

191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.v-p58.2

192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.ii-p30.3

193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.ii-p15.2

194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.ii-p27.3

195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.iv-p4.6

196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.ii-p5.3

197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p23.3

198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p11.18

199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.viii-p18.9

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201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p88.12

202. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.iii-p4.2

203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.ii-p15.3

204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p67.3

205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p61.2

206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vi-p46.2

207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iv-p22.6

208. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p42.9

209. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p56.3

210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p22.6

211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p45.3

212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p50.3

213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p51.3

214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p69.3

215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p69.6

216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p7.3

217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p12.3

218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p18.3

219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p42.3

220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p47.3

221. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p50.3

222. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.iv-p10.3

223. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.vii-p91.6

224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.v-p43.2

225. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.viii-p17.3

226. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p6.33

227. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.v-p33.3

228. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.viii-p28.3

229. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.viii-p18.6

230. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.ii-p6.3

231. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.vii-p91.3

232. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iii-p32.2

233. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.viii-p18.3

234. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.ix-p22.3

235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.viii-p7.3

236. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.iii-p12.2

237. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iii-p4.12

238. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p49.2

239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p83.6

240. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p6.27

241. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.ii-p23.3

242. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.vi-p14.3

243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p36.2

244. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.ix-p59.3

245. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p11.24

246. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.ix-p11.2

247. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.vi-p10.3

248. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.iii-p36.2

249. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.iii-p58.3

250. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.vii-p34.3

251. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p22.3

252. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p20.3

253. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.vi-p24.3

254. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.vii-p4.3

255. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.vii-p8.3

256. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.vii-p8.6

257. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.vii-p5.3

258. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.vii-p68.3

259. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iii-p5.3

260. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iii-p5.6

261. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.iv-p4.3

262. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.v-p125.2

263. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.xi-p38.3

264. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.xi-p49.3

265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.v-p8.9

266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.vii-p12.3

267. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.iii-p57.3

268. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p88.15

269. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p61.6

270. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p20.3

271. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p28.3

272. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p34.3

273. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p36.3

274. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p41.3

275. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p42.3

276. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p42.6

277. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p61.3

278. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p62.3

279. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p66.3

280. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p88.3

281. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p51.2

282. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.iii-p15.9

283. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p34.6

284. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.ii-p17.3

285. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.xi-p52.3

286. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.ii-p39.3

287. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.v-p18.3

288. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.ii-p4.3

289. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p58.3

290. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.iv-p33.3

291. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p27.2

292. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p73.3

293. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vi-p47.3

294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.ix-p12.3

295. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.v-p118.2

296. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.ii-p14.3

297. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.ix-p32.2

298. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p12.3

299. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.vi-p20.2

300. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.vi-p17.2

301. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.vii-p14.2

302. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.vi-p24.6

303. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.vi-p33.2

304. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.iv-p21.3

305. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.iii-p11.3

306. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.ii-p5.6

307. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.x-p35.6

308. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.ix-p63.3

309. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.vi-p32.2

310. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.vii-p14.3

311. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.x-p35.3

312. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iii-p4.9

313. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iv-p7.3

314. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.v-p29.2

315. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.v-p45.3

316. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vi.iv-p34.3

317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.iv-p27.6

318. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.v-p33.6

319. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.v-p51.2

320. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.v-p27.3

321. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iii-p4.3

322. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.vi-p21.3

323. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p22.9

324. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.viii-p6.3

325. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p39.3

326. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.v-p35.3

327. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p9.5

328. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iv-p11.3

329. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p39.6

330. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.v-p8.3

331. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.v-p8.6

332. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.vii-p22.3

333. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p30.3

334. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.vii-p20.3

335. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.ix-p25.3

336. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.iv-p75.3

337. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.vii-p6.3

338. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.ii-p35.3

339. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.v-p20.6

340. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.ix-p4.3

341. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.vi-p25.6

342. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p33.3

343. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iii.vi-p10.3

344. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.v-p19.3

345. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iv-p5.3

346. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iv-p22.9

347. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iii-p4.6

348. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.vi-p25.3

349. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.vii-p18.3

350. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.vi-p18.3

351. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.xi-p26.3

352. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.viii-p7.3

353. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.ix-p52.3

354. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p11.3

355. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p6.21

356. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.v-p10.3

357. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.viii-p46.3

358. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.vii.viii-p48.3

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360. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.ix-p5.3

361. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.iii-p56.3

362. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.v-p27.6

363. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.v-p23.3

364. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.viii-p6.2

365. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.viii-p16.3

366. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ix.x-p10.3

367. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.v-p37.3

368. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.ix-p5.6

369. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.viii.ii-p29.3

370. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p34.9

371. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p34.12

372. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.ii.x-p28.3

373. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p34.18

374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.x.vii-p34.3

375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.iv.viii-p6.5

376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc6/cache/hcc6.html3#iii.v.iii-p30.3