

THE LIVES OF THE POPES

VOL. VII.

THE
LIVES OF THE POPES
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN

“De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper
existunt” (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D. 747-752, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289*).

HEAD MASTER OF ST. CUTHBERT'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF SPAIN

THE POPES OF THE GREGORIAN RENAISSANCE

ST LEO IX. TO HONORIUS II.

1049-1130

VOL. VII.—1073-1099

SECOND EDITION

LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.: B. HERDER BOOK CO.

1925

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London

To

HIS ALMA MATER

ST CUTHBERT'S COLLEGE, USHAW

THIS VOLUME

Is respectfully Dedicated

BY

A GRATEFUL SON

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS
USED IN THIS VOLUME.

- Jaffé, or Regesta . . . = *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
- Labbe = *Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
- L. P., *Anastavius*, or the } = *Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols., ed. L.
 Book of the Popes } Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
- M. G. H., or Pertz . . . = *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*,
either *Scriptores* (M. G. SS.) or
Epistolæ (M. G. Epp.) or *Poete*
(M. G. PP.).
- P. G. = *Patrologia Græca*, ed. Migne, Paris.
- P. L. = *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, Paris.
- R. I. SS. = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed.
Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.
- R. S., following an } = The edition of the Chronicles, etc.,
edition of a book } published under the direction of
the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.

The sign * placed before the title of a book indicates that the author of these volumes has seen the book in question well spoken of, but has not had the opportunity of examining it himself.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ST. GREGORY VII.,	I
Chapter I. Hildebrand before he becomes Pope, . . .	7
„ II. Hildebrand is elected Pope,	19
„ III. Christendom, ecclesiastical and civil. Gregory's attitude towards it,	26
„ IV. First two years of Gregory's pontificate. Reform at home and abroad. Idea of a Crusade. First relations with Henry IV. and with the Normans,	56
„ V. Less amicable relations between Henry and the Pope. The beginnings of the In- vestiture dispute. The Church of Milan. The attack on Gregory by Cencius, . . .	77
„ VI. The council of Worms. Gregory is declared deposed. Henry excommunicated. The Saxon war. The diet of Tribur. Canossa,	94
„ VII. Henry in Lombardy. The diet of Forcheim and the election of Rudolf as king. Negotiations and battles. Henry again excommunicated by Gregory. The as- sembly at Brixen, and the election of an antipope. The battle on the Elster, and the death of Rudolf of Suabia,	123

	PAGE
Chapter VIII. Henry in Italy; he besieges and captures Rome. Gregory is rescued by Robert Guiscard. His death,	145
„ IX. England, Ireland, and Scandinavia, . . .	172
„ X. France and Spain; Africa and Sardinia, . .	185
„ XI. The Eastern Empire; Hungary and various Slavonic countries,	197
„ XII. Gregory the man; his aims and their realisa- tion,	208
B. VICTOR III.,	218
B. URBAN II.,	245
Chapter I. The early life and election of Urban II., .	250
„ II. Henry and his antipope down to the death of Pope Urban,	262
„ III. The East and the First Crusade, . . .	290
„ IV. France, England, and other countries, . .	310
APPENDIX (Canossa),	347
INDEX,	349

NOTE.

THE latest work in English on Gregory VII. is *The Life and Times of Hildebrand*, by the Right Rev. A. H. Mathew, D.D., London, 1910. It appeared too late to be used for the present work. This is the less to be regretted seeing that it is not founded on the original sources, but consists largely of direct translations from well-known modern authors, and hence is not nearly so valuable as most of the other works we have cited. It is, however, suitably illustrated, contains a useful translation of Gregory's famous letter to Hermann, Bishop of Metz, and views the great pontiff not altogether unsympathetically, but from a very different standpoint to the one taken up in this volume.

ST. GREGORY VII.

A.D. 1073-1085.

Sources.—The most valuable source for the biography of this glorious Pontiff is his Register.¹ Unfortunately, we have only a series of excerpts, and that too an incomplete one, from his original Register. Like the great majority of the papal Registers from Gelasius I. to Innocent III., this one has been lost at some unknown period, very probably during the disorders of the tenth and eleventh centuries, or, possibly, during the wanderings of the papal archives when the Popes went to Avignon in the fourteenth century. As it exists at present in the Vatican archives, Gregory's Register contains three hundred and fifty-four letters divided into eight books. Of these the first seven books correspond with the first seven years of his pontificate; but the eighth book is composed of letters which belong not only to the eighth, but also to some of the other later years of his pontificate. Especially then for the last four years of his reign, the existing Register almost entirely fails us. The first seven books were extracted from the complete Register by the order apparently of Gregory himself; and it seems more than likely that the existing eleventh century MS. was inspected by him. This was perhaps done after Guibert of Ravenna had been proclaimed antipope, and in the year 1081, between the two sieges of Rome by Henry IV. At this juncture Gregory had only spiritual and intellectual arms to rely on, and this collection was compiled to serve as one of the weapons in that canonical armoury which was established in this age, and which was employed with no little effect in the struggle for the

¹ Cf. on *Papal Registers*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 304 ff. of this work.
VOL. VII.

liberty of the Church and of the Papacy. Fortunately, as in the case of the Register of St. Gregory I., the personal note is strong in that of Hildebrand, and enables us to judge what manner of man he was who wrote it.¹

Through the literary impulse given by Gregory to many of those around him, there was formed quite a school of canon lawyers,² whose fundamental tenets regarded the paramount position of the Roman Pontiffs in the Universal Church. Working among the pontifical archives in the Lateran and in the *Turris Cartularia*, these writers have preserved for us not a few papal letters. From their volumes and from other sources, Jaffé³ was able to add fifty-one letters of Gregory to those preserved in his Register; and no fewer than eighty-three are found appended to Migne's edition of the Register.⁴

Mention has already been made of the principal authors who have left us writings for or against Gregory. To those already mentioned we must add Paul Bernried. Paul, a German, called *of Bernried* (in the diocese of Augsburg) because he took refuge there from the persecution of Henry V., and there penned his valuable, if somewhat wordy, biography of Gregory, was ordained priest in 1120. Two years later he went to Rome, and, fascinated by the career of Gregory VII., not only obtained information regarding him from all sorts of persons, from the Pope

¹ Du Pin (*A New Hist. of Eccles. Authors*, ii. 230; Dublin, 1724) says very truly of them: "They are penned with a great deal of eloquence, full of good matter, and embellished with noble and pious thoughts; and we boldly say that no Pope since Gregory I. wrote such strong and fine letters as this Gregory did."

² Such were Bonizo of Sutri; Deusdedit, the anonymous author of the collection *Anselmo dicata*; Anselm of Lucca, who calls himself the diligent imitator and disciple of Gregory, and says that it was through his orders that he undertook his collection; the Roman priest Gregory, Ivo of Chartres, Gratian, Albinus, etc. Cf. Pitra, *De Epp. Rom. Pont.*, 134 ff.

³ His edition of this Register is the best: *Monumenta Gregoriana*, ed. P. Jaffé, Berlin, 1865. It is the second vol. of his *Bibliotheca rer. Germ.*, and is the one here cited. Migne's ed., ap. *P. L.*, t. 148. The Paris ed. (1877) of Gregory's works, in two vols., is very useful, because most of what concerns him is there brought together.

⁴ Cf. Pitra, *l.c.*, p. 129 ff.; Jaffé, i. 594 ff.; Rocquain, *La Papauté au Moyen Age*, p. 371 ff.

(Calixtus II.) downwards, but also closely studied his Register. In pursuing his inquiries into the life of Gregory, Paul would appear to have been most struck by his personal holiness, and his biography is full of stories of miracles which he had been given to understand had been wrought by the holy Pope. Returned to Bernried, he set himself to write a biography of his hero. It was completed in 1128, and, if wanting on the side of critical discrimination, is well founded, trustworthy, and dramatic.¹ It may be read ap. Watterich, i. 474 ff. ; *P. L.*, t. 148 ; *R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. i.

The biography in the *Liber Pontificalis*,² which used, on wholly insufficient grounds, to be attributed to Cardinal Petrus Pisanus, is the work of an anonymous author, and consists of extracts from Gregory's Register, with a few additions drawn from tradition or local annals.³

In the year 1082, Bruno, a cleric of Magdeburg, offered to Werner, bishop of Merseburg, a history of the Saxon war from 1073-1081, which he tells us he had compiled "with brevity and truth, as far as he could, from the narratives of those who took part in it." His style is at once simple and vivid, and, writing as a strong patriot, he does not spare Henry IV., and puts his country before Gregory VII., of whom he only speaks in as far as he came in touch with the war. His *De bello Saxonico* may be read, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v. ; *P. L.*, t. 147 ; or *Script. rer. Germ.*, in usum schol.

Of all the chroniclers of the Middle Ages who wrote of all times and places (universal chroniclers), the best, Sigebert of Gemblours, or Gembloux (c. 1030-1112), was a contemporary of Gregory VII. Most of his life was spent in the abbey of Gemblours, in the diocese of Namur ; but he presided for some time over the monastery of St. Vincent at Metz. Justly regarded as an "ever-flowing fount of wisdom," he was the author of several *Lives* of different saints ; of some very strong pamphlets against Gregory VII. and the Papacy, and in favour of the imperial party ; and, lastly, of a famous chronicle (formerly known as *Chronicon Urspergense*), which, starting with the year 381, was brought down by Sigebert himself to 1111, and by others after him to 1186.

¹ The account of this author in Ceillier, xiii. 373, is not accurate.

² Cf. vol. iii. p. 431 f. of this work.

³ *L. P.*, ii. p. xxxii.

His *Chronica*, with its continuations, has been well edited, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vi., and thence, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160. Sigebert's antipapal bias is generally acknowledged.

Another "universal chronicler," the monk Hugh of Flavigny (Burgundy), was a contemporary of Gregory. Though prolix and rather disorderly and inaccurate, sometimes not faithfully transcribing the documents he quotes, he is an authority of very considerable importance, not only for the history of his own neighbourhood, but also for that of the empire and the Papacy. Born about the year 1065, he died sometime after 1102, the year at which his chronicle (ap. *M. G. SS.*, viii.; *P. L.*, t. 154) terminates. Unlike Sigebert, he is, like the great majority of his order, a supporter of the Popes and reform.

Henry IV. of Germany died in 1106. Not long after his death, his biography was written by an unknown hand, and not, as was formerly believed, by Otbert, bishop of Liège (†1117). Though remarkable for the elegant style in which it is written, it is often inaccurate, and always a panegyric. From *M. G. SS.*, xii., it has been re-edited by Eberhard "in usum Scholarum," Hanover, 1899.

The historian may also glean some facts regarding the life of Gregory from some of the controversial works on clerical continence, investiture, and the rights of the Church and State which the strong measures and lofty stand taken by Gregory called into being. Those from which we shall quote were written either during his lifetime or within a year or two after his death. Such sources must be used with great care, because some at least of their authors, after the manner of their tribe, easily accepted as true any story that would serve their purpose. Of the controversialists who wrote in favour of Gregory and his ideas, mention may here be made of Gebehard, archbishop of Salzburg (†1088), Bernald of St. Blaise (†1100), Manegold of Lautenbach († soon after 1103), Bonizo of Sutri (†1089), Anselm of Lucca (†1086), and Cardinal Deusdedit († c. 1098). With the exception of the last named, every one of them suffered exile for the cause in behalf of which he wrote, and Bonizo even suffered death.

Among those who advocated the pretensions of Henry we may name, in the first place, Petrus Crassus. He was a layman and a jurist of Ravenna, and at the request of Henry compiled his *Defensio Heinrici regis*, which he offered to the king in 1084.

To establish the "justice and equity" of Henry's autocratic claims, he not unnaturally made much use of the imperialistic legislation of Justinian.

It was at the instigation and in the *name* of Theodoric, bishop of Verdun, who changed his views on the respective rights of Pope and emperor as often as the chameleon changes its colours, that Wenric, *scholasticus* of Trier, wrote his *Epistola Hilthebrando Papæ* (c. 1080). It was written during one of the periods when Theodoric (Thierry) thought with the king.

Guido (Wido, †1092) obtained from the schismatics the bishopric of Ferrara, and wrote (1086) in their behalf: *De scismate Hildebrandi*.

Cardinal Beno¹ fell away from Gregory during the stress of the siege of Rome (1084), and wrote several libellous pamphlets against his former master.

In these leading traits of his life he had worthy imitators in Benzo, the schismatical bishop of Alba, and in Cardinal Hugo Candidus.

To Walram, bishop of Naumburg, is ascribed by many the abusive work, *De unitate ecclesie conservanda*,² which appeared about 1091. In estimating the character of Gregory, it is but natural that the evidence of men who have suffered for a cause should be preferred to that of men who have reviled the master they have deserted, and earned profit from the one to whose interests they have attached themselves, or to that of men who have never been sure of their own minds.

Modern Works.—Innumerable authors have written of Gregory in all languages. The first to do him justice was the non-Catholic German historian Voigt. Jager's French translation of Voigt's famous monograph is the one here cited, *Hist. du Pape Grégoire VII.*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1842. Another non-Catholic remarkably impartial biography of Hildebrand is Bowden's *Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh*, 2 vols., London, 1840.

¹ "We are at one with most historians in refusing to attach any weight to his assertions." Rocquain, *La Papauté*, p. 85 n.

² Most of the controversial works for or against Gregory which appeared in his age are to be found in one or other of the three vols. of *Libelli de lite imp. et pontiff. saccc. xi. et xii. conscripti* in the *Mon. Germ. Hist.* series.

The work of A. F. Villemain on Gregory has been translated into English (*Life of Gregory VII.*, London 1874, 2 vols.), but is nothing like so valuable as Bowden's biography. A clear and useful little work is *Hildebrand and his Times*, W. R. Stephens, London, 1888.¹ Of Catholic writers we have used Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, ed. Edinburgh, 1879, vols. vi. and vii. ; Delarc, *St. Grégoire VII.*, 3 vols., Paris, 1889—a work of the first importance—and Trama, *Storia di S. Gregorio VII.*, Roma, 1887. This last voluminous work professes to furnish a number of fresh documents; but to its bulky contents there is an entire absence of all guides in the shape of index, table of contents, etc., and most, at least, of the documents quoted in it had been previously edited. *La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai*, by A. Cauchie, 2 parts, Paris and Louvain, 1890–1891, contains much that is important for the general history of the famous quarrel besides what is of merely local interest.

Such biographies as Tosti's *La Contessa Matilde*, Firenze, 1859,² are, of course, of great help towards a full understanding of the career of Gregory.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.

Michael VII. (Ducas), 1067–1078.

Nicephorus III. (Botaniates), 1078–1081.

Alexius I. (Comnenus), 1081–1118.

(For the other contemporary sovereigns see under Alexander II., vol. vi. p. 262.)

¹ F. Rocquain's *La cour de Rome et l'esprit de réforme avant Luther* (Paris, 1893) opens with a very excellent outline of Gregory's relations with the Church and the empire, to which very little can be objected from a Catholic point of view. The same author's sketch of Gregory VII. in his *La Papauté au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1881) is, I think, less just to him. He attributes to that great Pope a deliberate, if well-meant, intention of subjecting all temporal and spiritual power to himself.

² Of the latest English *Lives* of the great countess, that by Mrs. Huddy is of no historical value whatever; but *Matilda of Tuscany*, by Nora Duff, London, 1909, is a most useful addition to the English historical literature of the period. See also *Matilda of Tuscany* in the *Dublin Review* (July 1906, p. 38 f.), by Viscount Llandaff.

CHAPTER I.

HILDEBRAND BEFORE HE BECOMES POPE.

THE man whose genius, zeal, and piety were to be so powerfully instrumental in effecting the greatest and most enduring reformation of manners ever effected in Europe from within the Church itself was, like most of the great men of the world, a man of the people.¹

The birth and parentage of Hildebrand.

In passing through what are now the Tuscan malaria plains, through what may be called the Tuscan *Maremma*, the train from Grosseto to Rome stops at the little port of Orbitello. Not many miles inland from this once famous town is another, Soana (Sovana), which also in days gone by held up its head among the cities of medieval Tuscany. Now it is but a ruinous village in the fever-stricken valley of the Fiora. Near it was the hamlet of Rovaco, and there, apparently during the pontificate of Benedict VIII., and possibly in the year 1020, the wife of Bonizo² gave birth to a son.³

A writer⁴ who was himself inconvenienced by the heat caused by the Gregorian reformation has told us that, when

¹ William, abbot of Metz, writing to Gregory (ap. Watterich, i. 740), speaks of him as "virum de plebe," whom God set over His people. Benzo (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. 660) would make his father a goatherd (*matre suburbana, de patre caprario*); a poorer authority (*Annalista Saxo*, twelfth century) would make him a carpenter.

² The diminutive of Bonipert. "Diminutives of Lombard names ending in *izo* instead of *bert* are peculiar to Italy in the eleventh century." Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 168.

³ "Ildebrandus, natione Tuscus, de opido Racuaco, ex patre Bonizo." *L. P.*, ii. 282. Cf. Bernried, c. 1.

⁴ Anon. Haserensis, *De epf. Eichstet.*, cc. 3 and 7, ap. *P. L.*, t. 146.

Hildebrand was "archsubdeacon" of the Roman Church he was seen by St. Leo IX., with his cloak (*cappa*) all on fire, and flames issuing from it in all directions. The saint thereon with prophetic soul exclaimed: "If ever you are Pope, which God forbid, you will set the whole world in a blaze." The parents too of the future archsubdeacon, as though also forecasting his destiny, gave him a name, Hildebrand, of which one part at least is indicative of fire, and which his friends decided to mean "a burning of concupiscence,"¹ and his enemies a "brand of hell" (Hoellebrand).²

Legends
connected
with his
early years.

From the many legends connected with fire which Paul found interwoven with the story of Hildebrand's early years, he compared him to the prophet Elias. Sparks of fire were, he says, often seen to spring from his clothes,³ and on one occasion flame was observed to issue from his head. Hildebrand himself is said to have seen fire coming

¹ Bern. (c. 1), reading *Hiltebrand* or *Hillibrand*, and taking *hilli* for *willi*, is responsible for this interpretation. Cf. Watterich, i. p. 474 n. *Brand* unquestionably means a torch, and sometimes indeed a sword; but the force of *hild* does not seem to be certain. According to some it denotes combat; according to others joy or light (Delarc, i. 395). Grotius gives "fiercely burning" as the meaning of Hildebrand. Cf. *R. I. S.S.*, i. pt. i. 375.

² *Impii . . . eum . . . infernalem titionem* (not "ditionem" as in Watterich) *vocaverunt.*" Paul, c. 4. Cf. Montalembert, *Monks*, vi. 459 n.

³ Strange to say, even Gregory's most unprincipled adversary, Beno (*Gesta Rom. Eccles.*, ii. 6), tells us that Hildebrand could make sparks fly from his clothes: "Qui cum vellet, manicas suas discutiebat, et in modum scintillarum ignis dissiliebat: et his miraculis oculos simplicium velud signo sanctitatis ludificabat." That in his youth he gave remarkable promise of future greatness is also asserted in the letter of Wenric, the *scholasticus* of Trier, which was written (1081) at the instigation of that extraordinarily changeable man Theodoric, bishop of Verdun (1047-1088). "Pueritiam vestram non absque *aliquibus* quæ vos procul dubio illustrem, futurum . . . portenderent *signis.*" He then speaks of his youth spent "non sine magnis perfectionis indicis." Ep. Wen., c. 1, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i. 285.

from his mouth which consumed the whole earth; and when, as Pope, he had on Maunday Thursday consecrated the holy oils at the famous abbey of Nonantula, they were suddenly ignited by a bright flame which fell from heaven. Finally, appealing to the chronicles of venerable men,¹ Bernried assures us that Gregory extinguished by the sign of the cross a conflagration which Henry IV. had caused when he was besieging Rome, and which was driving their defenders from the city walls.

Another pretty legend tells how, while still ignorant of letters, the little Hildebrand, playing in his father's workshop, is said to have formed with the shavings he found there the words of the Psalmist: *Dominabor a mari usque ad mare*, "I will rule from sea to sea"² (Ps. lxxi. 8).

Even if we include all the data of legend, very little is known of Hildebrand till his coming to Rome with St. Leo IX. It would appear that he was sent there, in the first instance, whilst still a child, during the pontificate of John XIX., for we are told that he had been trained in Rome under ten of his predecessors.³ And when in 1075 he wrote⁴ himself that he had been living in Rome for twenty years under compulsion, we may suppose that, bearing in mind his leaving Rome with Gregory VI., and his comparatively long period of absence from the eternal city during the reign of St. Leo IX., he must have been speaking of the second period of his practically continuous

Little known of his early years.

¹ Bernald, *Chron.*, 1082, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148.

² *Annalista Saxo* (wrote c. 1150), an. 1074.

³ "Qui sub decem suis antecessoribus a puero Romæ nutritus et eruditus." *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*, c. 14, ap. *P. L.*, t. 151. Bernald of St. Blaise is possibly the author of this valuable liturgical work.

⁴ "Quam (Rome) coactus . . . jam a viginti annis inhabitavi," Ep. ii. 49.

residence therein, and of the compulsion put upon him by one Pope after another to attach himself to the Roman Church. That he had indeed been brought up in Rome is clear from his own words, as well as from those of others.¹

Education
of Hilde-
brand.

On the west of the now unfrequented Aventine Hill, not far from the Tiber, the consul Alberic possessed a house; for in the tenth century the Aventine was the aristocratic quarter. Charmed by the virtues of St. Odo² (879-942), the great reforming abbot of Cluny, and its real founder, Alberic gave him his house, and the monastery of St. Mary, now represented by the Church of S. Maria Aventinense, became one of the twenty abbeys of Rome. To the abbot of this monastery, who was his uncle, the little Hildebrand was entrusted by his parents to be trained in learning and virtue, and we are assured that he soon showed that he profited by the instruction he received.³ Here, it would seem, he embraced the monastic profession;⁴ here, in converse with the famous abbots who ruled the mother-

¹ In ep. i. 39 he speaks of the Prince of the Apostles "qui me ab infantia mea sub alis suis nutritiv." Cf. i. 11, and vii. 23. "S. Petrus a puero me in domo sua dulciter nutrierat." See also n. 1 below.

² Cf. *S. Odon* by Dom du Bourg, Paris, 1905.

³ Bernried, c. 9. Cf. Wenrici, *Epist.*, c. 1, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i. He speaks of Gregory's "Pueritiam . . . in loco sancto a religiosis personis diligenter exultam; adolescentiam . . . assumpto sanctitatis proposito, sub pietatis habitu inter mundi contempores . . . militiae christianae dedicatam; juventutem . . . roboratam sub preclaris totius christiani nominis tutoribus." Cf. *ib.*, c. 2.

⁴ The fact of his having become a monk has been called in question; but if to the evidence of Wenricus, just cited, be added that of the council of Brixen in 1080 (Hildebrandus "pseudomachus," "habitu monachus videri et professione non esse." *Acta synodi*, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 134), it is impossible to doubt it. Cf. also Donizo, ii. 3.

"Hunc (Pope Gregory) monachi deflent, monachus quia noscitur esse"; and Hildebrand's own declaration of his having been a monk on his bronze gates at St. Paul's outside-the-walls.

house of Cluny, and who in their visits to Rome took up their abode on the Aventine, he imbibed the reforming spirit of that illustrious monastery, and here he laid deep the foundations of those virtues and of that strength of character which were to be so necessary for him in accomplishing the work that was in store for him.

Fortunately, Hildebrand's training was not confined to the necessarily somewhat narrow groove of his monastery. His promising parts caused him to be sent to the pontifical *schola cantorum* in the Lateran palace, where he came in contact with many of the most distinguished youths in Rome,¹ and with some of its best masters; with men of the school of Pope Sylvester II., such as Lawrence, archbishop of Amalfi, and John Gratian,² afterwards Pope Gregory VI. Of these men, the first was highly praised by those who knew him both for his virtue and for his learning, especially for his mastery both of Greek and Latin;³ and the second was distinguished for his chaste life, and generally upright character.⁴

So pleased was Gratian with the talents of his pupil that when he became Pope he made him his *capellanus*,⁵ *i.e.*, not his *chaplain* in the modern sense of the term, but one of the palace officials who were guardians of the fabrics of

¹ Ep. iii. 21, where Gregory writes of two "Roman nobles," "familiares nostri, Albericus et Cincius (the city prefect, the son of the prefect John), et ab ipsa pene adolescentia in Romano palatio nobiscum enutriti." From this it would appear that the palace school of the Popes was frequented both by clerical and lay students.

² If to this extent we may rely on Beno, *Gesta R. E.*, ii. 3 and 7.

³ *E.g.*, by St. Peter Damian *in vit. S. Odilonis*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 144, p. 944.

⁴ See his biography in vol. v. of this work.

⁵ Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. v. p. 630. On *capellanus* see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, in voce. "Capellanus vel palatii custos," says Hincmar (*De ordine palatii*, c. 16, ed. Prou, Paris, 1884), speaking of the capellanus of the Carolingian Court.

churches. In his capacity of capellanus he became one of the guardians of the altar of St. Peter's.¹

Begins to
put down
anarchy.

When Gregory VI. ascended the Throne of the Fisherman, Rome, reeling from the disorders of the pontificate of Benedict IX., was in a state of anarchy. The sword of the robber and the dagger of the assassin held the city in terror. The public revenues of the Papacy had been seized by the nobility;² its private resources had been filched or dissipated. Pilgrims from other lands, who, "even at the peril of destruction, longed to offer their prayers at the tomb of the apostle, were waylaid; and if they succeeded in escaping the barons of the Campagna, and the bandit nobles who beset the forum, they became a prey to further horrors. Even over the very bodies of the holy apostles and martyrs, even on the sacred altars, swords were unsheathed, and the offerings of pilgrims, ere well laid out of their hands, were snatched away and consumed in drunkenness and fornication."³

Realising the uselessness of trying to suppress such flagrant abuses with words, Gregory authorised his capellanus to put them down by the sword. He could not have addressed himself to a better man. Ever on fire with a love of justice, and ever full of feeling for the poor and the oppressed, the young monk studied the art of war, raised men and money, and soon made the profligate nobility feel that there was a master among

¹ "Optinuit ab eo, ut fieret unus de custodibus altaris b. Petri." Beno, *l.c.*, 9. Beno makes him receive this appointment from Leo IX., and depicts him as a magician of the school of Gerbert (Sylvester II.).

² See a fragment of one of his letters as Pope, Jaffé, 5273.

³ These details, which William of Malmesbury (*De Gest. Regum*, ii. c. 13) had "learned from ancient men," are no doubt substantially accurate (see vol. iv. p. 27 and vol. vi. p. 11 of this work). They are abundantly confirmed by what Bonizo (*Ad amicum*, l. vii., an. 1074) has to say of the 60 mansionarii of St. Peter's.

them.¹ By a display of wisdom and prudence above his years, he was not long in acquiring the greatest influence with all classes of the community.² And though the reign of Gregory VI. was but short, a good beginning of suppressing the barbarous licence of the Roman feudal nobility was made during his pontificate by his able and energetic capellanus. The worst violences of the tenth century were not to return again; while the finances and civil authority of the Popes began to give evidence of greater stability.

When, through the action of the council of Sutri, Gregory VI. had to resign the Papacy, and to return with the Emperor Henry into Germany, his faithful capellanus would not leave his side.³ During the long, weary journey from the Tiber to the Rhine, the condition of the Papacy, to which the congregation of Cluny was especially loyal,⁴ must have largely occupied his thoughts. The pontificate of Benedict IX. had shown him to what it could be reduced by the petty tyranny of local nobles; the council of Sutri had proved that it could fare even worse at the hands of an imperial master. He had already begun the work of freeing it from the former; but though with all his soul he

Hildebrand
accompanies
Gregory to
Germany,
1047.

¹ With Malmesbury (*l.c.*) cf. Wido. Ferrar., *De scismate Hildebrandi*, l. ii. p. 554. "Nam cum adhuc adulescentulus monachus diceretur, magnam sibi peccuniam congregavit et quasi sub specie defendendi et liberandi Romanam ecclesiam satellitium fecit." Of course Hildebrand's calumniators turned his vigorous conduct against him.

² "Qui (men of all grades) omnes illum ab ipsa etiam puericia . . . unanimi devotione amplexati sunt . . . quippe qui ultra proprie juventutis annos morum gravitatem assumens, licet juvenis, etate maturum se ac provectę annositatis seniores sensu et sapiencia exhibuerit," etc. Manegold, *Ad Gebehardum liber*, c. 8, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i. 326.

³ Cf. vol. v. p. 268 of this work.

⁴ In a bull in behalf of the monks of Cluny (A.D. 1100), Paschal II. praises their "inconcussa charitatis unitas qua inter procellas omnes Sedi Apostolicę adhesistis." Ep. 31, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 51.

longed to see it once again no longer in slavery but in honour, he had little thought or intention of himself striking the blows that were to break its fetters. Like his great predecessor (St. Gregory I.), who had enjoyed the peace of the cloister before he became Pope, Hildebrand had no wish for anything but his monastery. It was against his wish that he left it¹ to be the adviser of Gregory VI., and to accompany him across the Alps; and it was still more against his dearest wishes that he left it to return again to Rome with St. Leo IX.²

Hildebrand
in Germany
and at
Cluny.

The unfortunate Gregory VI. did not long survive his exile at Cologne. And although by his deeds and by his sermons his capellanus, Hildebrand, had made a profound impression upon the Emperor Henry III.,³ who treated him with the greatest consideration,⁴ he did not remain with him after the death of his master, but betook himself to Cluny, the mother-house of his monastery on the Aventine. There for a few months, during the course of the year 1048, he tasted again of that monastic peace he loved so well. This was whilst St. Odilo, who had known him at Rome, was still abbot, and whilst the high-born St. Hugh, who was to succeed to the abbacy in 1049, was grand-prior. A quasi-contemporary, Rainald, abbot of Vezelay, and afterwards archbishop of Lyons (†1129), has left us a picture of the young Hildebrand assisting at a chapter held at Cluny

¹ Paul (cc. 10, 11) says that in his youth Hildebrand visited Francia to subdue the desires of the flesh by the hardships of travel and study, and that but for a prohibition conveyed to him in a vision by St. Peter, he would have made a second voyage there. But, as we have seen in the text, Hildebrand's first journey across the Alps was in 1047.

² "Invitus ultra montes cum D. P. Gregorio abii, sed magis invitus cum D. meo P. Leone ad vestram specialem ecclesiam redii." Ep. vii. 14 a.

³ Paul, c. 10. The emperor declared he had never heard the word of God preached with as much earnestness as by Hildebrand.

⁴ Epp. i. 19; ii. 44.

by the grand-prior,¹ who was a few years younger than himself, and to whom he was to be attached in the closest bonds of friendship all the days of his life. It was an all-engrossing love of justice,² which they saw everywhere so outraged, that drew these two souls together.

Business on behalf of his monastery took Prior Hugh to the imperial court, and, knowing that Hildebrand stood well with the emperor, he caused the young Italian monk to go with him.³ It was at Worms that Hildebrand met Bruno of Toul; there that his destiny was decided, for there he agreed to return to Rome.

It is hoped that the foregoing narrative has told at sufficient length the rise of Hildebrand under St. Leo IX. and his successors, and how far he succeeded, as their adviser and agent, in reaffirming the authority and prestige of the Papacy both at home and abroad. We have noted his being made subdeacon of the Roman Church by St. Leo IX., and archdeacon by Nicholas II.; we have beheld him, as director of St. Paul's outside-the-walls, making it as bright with monastic virtue as with marble and the precious metals;⁴ we have seen from his signature attached to various bulls that he belonged to the papal chancellery since the days of Pope Victor; we have accompanied him on his missions of reform to France,

Hildebrand as the adviser of five popes.

¹ *Vit. S. Hugo.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 159.

² "Tulit justitiæ sanctam esuriem," says Peter the Venerable (*Rythmus de S. Hugone*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189, p. 1021) of Hugh. Hildebrand's love of the same virtue will be treated of later.

³ Cf. c. 3, with its important note, of the attractive and important *Vie de S. Hugues*, by Dom L'Huillier, Paris, 1888. The mistakes of Voigt and others regarding the relations of Hildebrand to Cluny are there corrected.

⁴ "Domus quoque b. Pauli apost. per Gregorium VII. reparata, claret nunc in religione monastica." Geroh of Richersperg, who visited Rome, in his *Lib. de corrupto eccles. statu*, n. 52, p. 41, ap. *P. L.*, t. 194.

and on his diplomatic journeys to the German Court, so to arrange the papal elections that they should be freed from imperial control; and we have watched the growth of law and order in Rome through his vigorous administration. There was much of the character of Oliver Cromwell in the young Hildebrand. No man ever trusted more in God; and at the same time no man ever less despised the power of the sword; for he believed it was the duty of the rulers not to bear the sword in vain (Ros. xiii. 4). His soldiers,¹ whom he sometimes accompanied in person, curbed to some extent at least the tyranny of the Roman nobles, and the nations once again crowded to the tomb of the Apostles.² For much of what was accomplished under Leo IX. and his successors, Hildebrand received due credit;³ for if some allotted all the praise to those who were at the head of the Church and State in Rome, the enlightened and the thoughtful knew from whom proceeded the wisdom that devised the reforms, and the vigour which carried them out. To them he was the eye of the Papacy,⁴ the shield of the Roman Church,⁵ the pillar of the Apostolic See.⁶ They declared that the archdeacon's voice had more power than the soldiers of Julius Cæsar, and that

¹ Landulf (*Mediol. Hist.*, iii. 14) speaks of Hildebrand "qui residens in palatio, militiam Romanam quasi imperator regebat." Cf. Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, l. iii., quoting from one who had the particulars from St. Hugh of Cluny; and Wenric, c. 2.

² Cf. *supra*, vol. vi. p. 215, with Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, ii. 13.

³ Especially from the observant S. Peter Damian:

"Vivere vis Romæ, clara depromito voce:
Plus domino papæ quam domno pareo papæ."

"More than the Pope his master I obey." Ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 961. Cf. *ib.*, p. 967.

"Papam (Alexander II.) rite colo, sed te (Hildebrand)
prostratus adoro:
Tu facis hunc dominum; te facit iste deum."

⁴ Damian, ep. i. 7.

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. 6.

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. 9.

Rome owed more to him than to the Scipios.¹ "If I obey the Lord Pope," said St. Peter Damian, "still more do I obey the Lord of the Pope." Nor was the saint alone in this, for the Popes themselves obeyed the dark little monk on whom they leaned. He was the confidant of St. Leo IX., who discussed all important matters with him; and he was equally trusted by Popes Nicholas and Alexander.²

Hence, if St. Peter Damian, in writing to those Pontiffs, did not hesitate sometimes to couple with their names that of "Hildebrand the venerable archdeacon,"³ so they in their turn had no hesitation in joining his name to their own when they sent their greetings to distinguished

¹ Cf. the poem of archbishop of Alphanus to the archdeacon Hildebrand.

"Quanta gloriam publicam
Rem tuentibus indita
Sæpe jam fuerit, tuam,
Hildebrande, scientiam
Nec latere putavimus.

Quanta vis anathematis?
Quicquid et Marius prius,
Quodque Julius egerant
Maxima nece militum,
Voce tu modica facis.

Roma quid Scipionibus
Ceterisque Quiritibus
Debit mage, quam tibi?
Cujus est studiis suæ
Nacta jura pontentiæ."

Ap. Giesebrecht, *De litt. studiis in Italia*, pp. 42, 43.

² Leo "talibus ejus studiis . . . tantum est delectatus, ut illum jam juvenem auricularium sibi a secreto assumeret . . . decernenda queque cum illo examinaret. . . Successores vero ejus Nicolaus et Alexander pari voto illum amplexati sunt, pari studio coluerunt." Manegold, *Ad Gebehard.*, c. 8.

³ "Bb. P. Nicolao, et Hildebrando ven. archdiac. Petrus . . . servitutem." Ep. i. 8; cf. epp. i. 10, 16.

personages.¹ Hildebrand himself too, when Pope, occasionally lets fall in his correspondence a few words which throw out in the clearest light the fact of his great influence in the councils of the Holy See.² Surely no man had ever served a better apprenticeship to the Papacy.

¹ Cf. ep. Nic., 26, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143.

² Alexander grants a favour "me etiam favente atque assensum præbente." Ep. ii. 77. Cf. epp. i. 13; ii. 51; iv. i.; epp. coll. 14. As archdeacon he received the letters and ambassadors of kings (ii. 51).

CHAPTER II.

HILDEBRAND IS ELECTED POPE.

WHILST Alexander lay dying, his archdeacon made unobtrusive but effective preparations to secure a peaceable and free election after his death. He caused not only the regular fortifications of Rome, its walls, its gates, and its bridges, but also such monuments of antiquity as the old triumphal arches which the Roman nobles had long been using as castles, to be occupied by soldiers.¹ So well arranged were his precautionary measures that, when the Pope died (April 21), the Roman people, "contrary to their custom," remained perfectly quiet, and entrusted to Hildebrand the task of carrying out the details for the election of his successor.² The archdeacon at once proclaimed the usual three days' prayer and fast which had to precede a papal election. On the following day he assisted at the funeral obsequies of Alexander in the Church of St. John Lateran, to which in life the deceased Pontiff had been a great benefactor.³

Suddenly, in the midst of the hush of the solemn funeral service, a cry arose: "Hildebrand bishop." It was at once taken up by the vast assembly of clergy and people that filled the great basilica, and, anticipating the archdeacon in his efforts to reach the ambo and calm the excited multitude, Cardinal Hugo Candidus, who was afterwards to

¹ Cf. *Acta synod. Brix.*, ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 134.

² Ep. i. 3. "Romanus populus contra morem . . . quievit et in manu nostra consilii frena dimisit."

³ Cf. John the Deacon, *De eccles. Lat.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1387, or ap. *P. L.*, t. 194.

betray him, fanned the flame of the people's desires. "My brethren, you know that from the days of Pope Leo it is Hildebrand who has exalted the Holy Roman Church, and freed the city. Since, then, we cannot have a better Pope, or even so good a one, we bishops and cardinals elect him to reign over us, who has received sacred orders in our midst, and who is known and approved by all of us." A unanimous shout: "St. Peter has chosen Gregory,"¹ followed the cardinal's words, and, despite his sorrowful protestations, Hildebrand was clad in the customary red cloak or cope, and, with the papal mitre on his head, was hurried off in triumph to the Church of St. Peter *ad vincula*, and enthroned.²

The official
relation of
the elec-
tion.

Before this eventful day had reached its close, a notary of the Roman Church had drawn up and deposited in the archives of the Lateran the following official document: "In the year 1073 of the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the eleventh year of the indiction, and in the eleventh moon, on Monday the 10th of the Calends of May (April 22), and on the day of the burial of the Lord Pope Alexander II. of good memory, in order that the Apostolic See [deprived of a pastor] might not long remain in grief, congregated in the basilica of Blessed Peter *ad vincula*, we, cardinals, clergy, acolytes, subdeacons, and deacons of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, in the presence of venerable bishops and abbots, with the consent of the clergy and the monks, and amid the applause of a multitude of both sexes and of every rank, chose for our pastor and supreme Pontiff a religious man, distinguished for his learning, both sacred

¹ Hildebrand took the name *Gregory* in memory of his master Gregory VI., according to Otto of Frising, *Chron.*, vi. 32; but his contemporaries suppose it was given to him after Gregory the Great.

² With Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. vii., cf. *Cod. Vat. A*, ap. Watterich, p. 308 f., and epp. i. 1 and 8.

and profane, most remarkable for his love of equity and justice, strong in adversity, but temperate in prosperity—a man, according to the dictum of the Apostle (1 Tim. iv. 2), of good behaviour, blameless, modest, sober, chaste, learned, given to hospitality, one that ruleth well his own house, and who had been from his youth well brought up in the bosom of this mother church, and had for the merit of his conduct been raised to the archdeaconate,¹ to wit, the Archdeacon Hildebrand, whom now and henceforth we wish to be and to be called Gregory Pope and Apostolicus. . . . Done at Rome on the 10th of the Calends of May, in the eleventh indiction.”²

When the inevitable, which hitherto he had contrived to Gregory ill shun,³ had come upon him, when it was borne in upon him that he would now have to bear the responsibility of the acts he had long been advising, and when he thought of the magnitude of the evils he believed he was called by God to redress, and of the small means at his disposal wherewith to combat them, he was completely overwhelmed. He was filled with fear, his strength gave way, and the fire of fever exhausted him. From his bed of sickness⁴ he wrote to tell his friends how very much against his will he

¹ Cf. Wenric, *ubi infra*.

² Reg., i. 1 a, or ap. *L. P.*, in vit., ii. 282. The calumnies of Beno and others to the effect that Hildebrand secured the Papacy by violence and bribery are refuted not only by the details given in the text, but by the express testimony of some of his enemies. Cf. especially Guido of Ferrara, *De scismate Hild.*, i. c. 1. “Sunt qui Ildibrandi calumpnientur ingressum. . . . Sed re diligenter inspecta, falsum videbitur omne quod profertur. . . . Æcclesiam non precio, ut prædicant, sed Christi gratia gubernandam suscepit.” Cf. Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 172.

³ Wenric declares (Ep., c. i.) that he knew that he “ad summum christiani regiminis culmen decedentibus patribus sepe electum et accitum semper quidem animi, aliquando etiam corporis fuga dignitatis locum declinasse.”

⁴ “Lecto jacens valde fatigatus.” Ep. i. 1. Cf. viii. 21.

had been made Pope,¹ and to implore their prayers.² Indeed, not only then, but throughout the whole of his pontificate he continued to beg for prayers, declaring that they were the one thing of which he stood in need:³ prayers not for himself only, but for his enemies also.⁴ "I am come," he cried in the words of the Psalmist, "into the depth of the sea, and a tempest has overwhelmed me. I have laboured with crying: my jaws are become hoarse."⁵

Begins at once to rally his friends round him.

No sooner did he begin to recover than he commenced to prepare for a more vigorous war against the vices which were eating away the life of Christendom than he had hitherto waged upon them. He endeavoured at once to rally his friends around him. Some, such as Desiderius of Monte Cassino,⁶ and Gisulf, prince of Salerno,⁷ were asked to come to him without delay; and others, the empress-mother Agnes⁸ and Guibert,⁹ archbishop of Ravenna, were entreated to give him their patronage and support. He lost no time in endeavouring to reconcile those able men whose little misunderstandings so often retard the advance of good. He implored Hugh, abbot of Cluny, to come to an understanding with Cardinal Hugo Candidus,¹⁰ whose feeble character seems to have been better understood by the abbot than by the Pope.

Notifies his election to the great ones of the world.

Nor did he delay to inform in the usual way the great ones in both Church and State of his election to the supreme

¹ "Quanta violentia . . . universalis ecclesiæ, multis perturbationum fluctibus concussæ . . . onus et regimen suscipere sim coactus, occultum vobis . . . esse non credimus." Ep. i. 39. Cf. i. 70. "Navem (Petri) inviti ascendimus." "S. R. Ecclesia me invitum ad sua gubernacula traxit," says Gregory in his solemn excommunication of Henry IV. *Regist.*, p. 224.

² Epp. i. 9.

³ Epp. i. 2, 7, 34, 53, 62; ii. 27, 49. Epp. coll. i and 2.

⁴ Ep. coll. 30.

⁵ Ps. lxxviii. 3 and 4, ap. ep. i. 1.

⁶ Ep. i. 1.

⁷ Ep. i. 2.

⁸ I. 1.

⁹ I. 3.

¹⁰ I. 6.

pontificate. But among his extant letters¹ on this subject there is no note of his having sent any information to Henry of Germany regarding it. Are we then to conclude that none was sent? Certainly not. The only explanation of his putting off his consecration till the end of June, and till then styling himself "Gregorius in Romanum pontificem electus," is that the king might thus have an opportunity, not of confirming his election, but of satisfying himself that it had been canonical, and of sending representatives to his consecration.² But those who feared the just judgments of Gregory, or who wished to see the Church in subjection to the State, urged Henry not to recognise Hildebrand's election. Chief of these was "that devil Gregory (bishop) of Vercelli," the imperial chancellor for Italy.³ However much he may have been moved by the representations of Gregory's enemies, Henry did not feel justified in making any attempt to prevent his retaining the chair of Peter. He seems to have simply acquiesced in the situation.⁴

Accordingly, on the Saturday of the Ember week which follows Whitsunday, Gregory was ordained priest (May Gregory is consecrated.)

¹ *E.g.*, i. 4, to the Countess Beatrice of Tuscany, to Sweyn of Denmark, etc.

² The assertion of Bonizo (ap. Watterich, i. 309), and his copyist Boso, or whoever was the author of *Cod. Vat. A*, that Gregory warned Henry not to consent to his election, but that Henry nevertheless did confirm it through Gregory of Vercelli, is generally discredited. *Cf.* Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 173. In the controversies regarding Gregory's election which arose later on, it was never urged that it had been confirmed by the king.

³ *Cf.* ep. of William, abbot of St. Arnoul in Metz, to Pope Gregory, ap. Watterich, i. 740 f. "Unde et ille diabolus Vercellensis cum suis complicitibus elaborat, ut tu in sede non debeas confirmari." Lambert, (an. 1073) says that like efforts were made by "episcopi Galliarum."

⁴ Lambert (*ib.*), who shows himself ill informed regarding Gregory's consecration, pretends that Henry dispatched Ebehard of Nellenburg to examine into the validity of the election, and that on Gregory's declaration that he was awaiting the royal consent before he would receive consecration, the king "ut ordinaretur mandavit."

22),¹ and received episcopal consecration on Sunday, June 30,² in St. Peter's, in presence of the Empress Agnes, the Countess Beatrice, and the Chancellor Gregory of Vercelli.³

Rome and
Gregory
the hope
of the
world.

On the new Pope were now fixed the eyes of the world, of the bad and of the good alike. The dissolute glared upon him with looks of sullen hate, because they knew he would try to check their lawless careers;⁴ while all those who longed for a reformation of manners realised that it must come from Rome,⁵ and regarded Gregory as its glorious champion. "If the Roman Church leads not the way back to the path of rectitude," declared St. Peter Damian, "the whole world will assuredly remain sunk in its miserable errors. That must be the beginning of the renewal of our salvation which was its first foundation."⁶ "God," wrote William of Metz to Gregory himself, "then especially shows mercy to His people when He sets at their head one whose life may serve them as an example. This He has now done when He has set you on that chair from which the light of virtue is shed on the whole earth, and to which, as do its rays to the centre of a circle, all things converge. . . . But the more you please the good, the more you will displease the wicked, though to be hated by them is no small mark of uprightness. Now, most powerful of men, gird thy sword on thy thigh, that sword which the prophet declares (Jeremias xlvi. 10) must not be withholden from

¹ Bonizo, *l.c.*

² *Chron. S. Benedicti*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii.

³ Bonizo, *l.c.*, and l. ix., ad an. 1085.

⁴ Ep. iii. 14. "Longobardi atque nonnulli Teutonicorum episcopi in nos insaniendo tam vehementi odio inardescunt. . . . Sed scimus, ob nil aliud eos illo conamine niti, nisi quod . . . illorum perversitatibus obviamus."

⁵ "Inter hæc tam profunda periclitantis mundi naufragosa discrimina . . . unicus . . . portus Romana patet Ecclesia." Damian, ep. ii. 1.

⁶ *Ib.* 9. Cf. ep. Greg. IV., 28 init.

blood,¹ and which the Lord promises shall devour flesh. You see how against the camp of Israel, the Amalecites, the Madianites, and so many other pests conspire. What care, what prudence, what ceaseless zeal must you employ to be able to stay or tame such monstrous brutes! But let no fear nor threats hold you back from this holy conflict. . . . On you, set on the highest pinnacle, are fixed the eyes of all men. They know the glorious combats you have sustained in an inferior station, and one and all long now to hear great things of you.”²

¹ This is a text which Gregory himself is very fond of quoting, and which he explains to mean that he is accursed who refrains from blaming the sins of men. *Cf.* ep. ii. 66.

² Ap. Watterich, i. 740 f. “*Ecce te in sublimi et in specula positum oculi omnium vultusque suspiciunt, singuli magna de te audire desiderant.*”

CHAPTER III.

CHRISTENDOM, ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL. GREGORY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS IT.

The tem-
poral rulers
of the
Christian
world.

BEFORE we enter into the details of Gregory's pontificate, it will be well to take a glance at Christendom, to see what conditions therein called for amelioration, especially from an ecclesiastical point of view. We will examine Gregory's position, and how far that position justified him in undertaking to reform the world, and inquire into his aims, and into the motives for his endeavours, into his views with regard to the powers for or against him, and into the means he adopted for putting into effect the ideas of reform which he conceived in his mind.

Henry IV. If the moral condition of Christendom in the year 1073 were to be gauged from that of its principal rulers, it would have to be rated low indeed. Henry IV., the heir-at-law to the Western Empire, was a dissolute young man, twenty-three years of age. In his private life he was a slave to sexual immorality,¹ and as a consequence was deceitful, cruel, flippant, and greedy of gold, to gain which he sold in the most unblushing manner the ecclesiastical offices of the empire.² Making advisers of the companions of his base

¹ Cf. *supra*, vi. pp. 293 f., 297. On Henry's generally vicious character the most respectable ancients and moderns are agreed. St. Anselm regarded him as a worthy "successor of Nero" (*Lib. de Azyro et Fermentat.*, init., ap. *P. L.*, t. 158). With Manegold (c. 29, p. 363) cf. Guido of Ferrara (i. 3). Dunham (*The Germanic Empire*, i. 144) calls him "a monster of immorality." "Il est intelligent, mais violent, emporté, de mœurs irrégulières." Lavissee et Rambaud, *Hist. Gén.*, ii. 88.

² Cf. *supra*, vi. p. 362.

pleasures, he chose as his counsellors men who were foolish and young¹ and of no standing.² Encouraged by them, he behaved in the most irresponsible manner to the great nobles of the empire, and derided those who came to complain to him of the wrongs his favoured subordinates had inflicted upon them. Especially, but to his own great disadvantage, as he was to live to find, did he flout the Saxons, against whom he had conceived a violent prejudice. He was, in short, a capricious tyrant,³ who could not endure that anyone should have the will or the power capable of opposing his own. "That he might be the lord of all, he would not have another lord live in his kingdom."⁴ Nor can it be said that Henry's deep-seated vices were adjusted by personal activity and bravery, by perseverance and fertility of resource,⁵ and by transient fits of penitential piety or generosity.

The nominal ruler of France was the feeble Philip I., Philip I. strong only against the weak, and like a typical French monarch in his lewdness. Surrounded by mistresses, he finished by discarding his lawful wife and marrying one of them. He trafficked in ecclesiastical preferments in the

¹ Guido, *l.c.*, who adds that he was fond of the society of beautiful boys, but "utrum id vicio feret, ut aliqui confixerunt, non satis compertum erat."

² Lambert, an. 1076.

³ Mr. Bryce (*Holy Roman Empire*, p. 153) speaks of Henry's "tyranny and irregularities of life." Cf. ep. i. 29 a, for Henry's letter to Gregory, in which he acknowledges his failure to be just, his disgraceful simony, etc.

⁴ Bruno, c. 60. Cf. Lambert, an. 1076. "Ultimum, si possit, nobilitati exterminium machinaretur." The historian goes on to say that the princes declared at Tribur (1076) that the castles Henry had built were not to restrain the enemies of the empire, but to take away the freedom of his subjects, "(ut) liberis cervicibus durissimæ servitutis jugum imponatur."

⁵ "Homo magni consilii et mirabiliter sagax est." Bonizo, *Ad am.*, l. viii., an. 1077. Cf. l. ix., an. 1085.

most cynical manner,¹ and did not blush to adorn his concubines with what he had filched from the merchants who came to his territories. His reign was the longest and most disreputable which the annals of France have known. It need not be added that both in the empire and especially in France the nobles waged war on one another as they listed, and that the one who finally bore the heavy weight of misery caused by all this misconduct was the man who wielded the hammer or followed the plough.²

William
the Con-
queror.

Though William the Conqueror was "very rigid and cruel, so that no one durst do anything against his will . . . though poor men were greatly oppressed by him, and though he took many a mark of gold from his subjects for little need,"³ he was the best of the great rulers of Christendom, and for that reason had ever a friend in Hildebrand, both before and after the latter became Pope.⁴

Spain.

But if misery was largely the lot of the people in the countries the rulers of which we have just glanced at, how awful must have been their lot in that part of Spain at least where Christian and Moslem were ever at war, and where that extraordinary national hero, the Cid, was ravaging with mercenary impartiality the lands of friends and foes alike!

Eastern
Europe
and the
Eastern
Empire.

With the east of Europe, or with the Eastern Empire, the biographer of Gregory will have little concern. The Byzantine power had indeed just (1071) received, if not

¹ Cf. ep. i. 35. "Hominem in rebus Dei venalissimum," Guibert de Nogent, *De vita sua*, iii. c. 2. In this respect he was scarcely worse than his predecessor Henry I., who was "multum cupidum et episcopatum venditionibus assuetus." *Ib.*

² St. Peter Damian (ep. i. 15) denounces the princes for plundering ecclesiastical property which is the "stipendia pauperum," and tells how they "mox arundineas rusticorum tegetes aggrediuntur exurere," and vent their spleen on the helpless peasant. For the private wars in France, cf. ep. ii. 5.

³ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, an. 1087.

⁴ Epp. vii. 1; viii. 28.

its *coup de grâce*, at least a mortal wound at the battle of Manzikert, where the Seljukian Turks defeated the emperor Romanus Diogenes. It would seem that Gregory, when bewailing the falling away of the East "from the Catholic faith," alludes to this terrible battle, when he writes that "the old enemy, the devil, by his members (the Turks?) is killing the Christians of the East, and is thus destroying them spiritually and temporally."¹ This blow, which sent the eastern Roman Empire reeling, was felt in all its provinces; and Bulgaria and eastern Europe generally suffered in the shock. The East had just broken with the centre of Catholic unity, and experienced the first pressure of the Turkish heel which was to crush it.

Gregory, then, was justified in declaring that in his time there were no princes who preferred the glory of God to their own, or justice to filthy lucre;² and that, with regard to those at least in the midst of whom he had to live, Roman, Lombard, and Norman, they were in some ways, as he used to tell them to their faces, "worse than the Jews or the pagans."³

The ecclesiastics of the West.

From this alone we might at once safely conclude what was his opinion about the bishops of the world. Like priest and ruler, like people. But he has not left us to make deductions about them for ourselves. Through being brought into the councils of kings; through accepting the lands, privileges, and the duties of barons;⁴

¹ II. 49. Cf. ii. 31, 37.

² Ep. ii. 49. Cf. epp. coll. I, and vi. 17. "Vix aliquis princeps bonus invenitur." There are some good monks, priests, and knights (*militēs*), and not a few good poor people, "principes autem Deum timentes et amantes vix in toto occidente aliqui inveniuntur."

³ Ep. ii. 49. Cf. iv. 1; ii. 9. "Lex enim et religio christiana ita fere ubique deperit, ut Sarraceni et quilibet pagani suos ritus firmiter teneant, quam illi qui christianum nomen acceperunt."

⁴ In the empire, at least, unmixed evil had not resulted from this close union between the Church and the State. The emperors had

through being chosen by princes,¹ instead of by the clergy and the people; and through the relaxation of discipline caused by the anarchy of the tenth century, they had become, speaking generally, the counterpart of their secular peers. "Whether, throughout all the regions of the West, I look north or south, I scarcely find any bishops worthy of their positions by their lives or by the manner in which they have acquired their offices, or who rule Christ's flock from love and not from worldly ambition."² As their own lives would not bear inspection, stained as so many of them were with the vices especially of simony and of impurity, they not only made no effort to check the vices of their subordinates,³ but rather encouraged than fought against them.⁴ Pre-eminent among the delinquents were the bishops of Lombardy,⁵ who were singled out for reprobation by Manasses, archbishop of Rheims, who was far from being a model of virtue himself.⁶ Hence in the

cleaved to the bishops, to find in them a counterpoise to the power of the lay nobility; and if from this union the Church had gained riches and material independence, the empire had gained in unity. It was the intelligent political support of the hierarchy that caused the empire to reach its highest point of power in the middle of this century (the eleventh). Henry IV. himself declared that he was certain that "if he honoured and protected the churches of God, there would result stability for the empire, and profit for himself, both in this world and in the next." Cf. diploma of May 11, 1071, ap. Chapeville, *Gesta pont. Leod.*, ii. 11, cited by Cauchie, i. p. vii. n.

¹ It was especially from the days of Henry I. that the emperors began to assume to themselves the right to nominate the bishops; and from his time to that of Henry IV. they proceeded more and more to set aside the rights of the properly constituted electors to choose the bishops, and even of the metropolitans to confirm the elected candidates.

² II. 49. Cf. iv. 11. ³ II. 45; i. 42. ⁴ I. 9; epp. coll. 20.

⁵ Those of "the Teutonic land" were scarcely much better: "quorum multi non solum carnali scelere sed etiam simoniaca labe fœdati." Ep. i. 77.

⁶ See his letter to the Pope, ap. Delarc, iii. 355. Cf. epp. coll. Greg., 20.

great struggle between Henry and Gregory, who in the eyes of most of the men of their time stood for vice and virtue respectively, if many of the German bishops adhered to the former, nearly all the Lombard bishops did.¹ No doubt Gregory's bitterness of soul did not lead him to understate the case against the bishops; but the colours he selected with which to paint their doings were the suitable ones,² though perchance they were laid on too heavily at times.

The contemplation of this sad state of things made Gregory think that the barque of the Church was well-nigh shipwrecked. He believed that the times had never been worse since the days of the blessed Pope Sylvester I., when the Church was freed;³ and the barbarity which he beheld in all countries⁴ caused him to see Antichrist everywhere.⁵ His sorrows at the sight of the world's misery were so great that, adopting the words of the prophet,⁶ he declared that "every hour he suffered the pains of a woman in labour."⁷

¹ Epp. coll. 14, p. 538. Cf. ep. iii. 14. Manegold's description of the vices of these bishops is better left unquoted. Cf. *Ad Gebhard.*, p. 338.

² Cf. what the *scholasticus* of Liège wrote about 1060 (ap. Mabillon, *Vetere Analecta*, p. 444 ff.): "In primis hi qui in populo Dei Magistratus et Duces locum regiminis occupant, sine respectu Dei videntis, sine metu hominis corrigentis, omnes pæne quæ sua sunt quærunt, non quæ communiter et aliorum; quia non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum. . . . Pro studiis divinarum Scripturarum invaluerunt studia partium . . . et dum divitiis et honoribus gestiunt alter alterum pervenire, nec timent profanis mentibus odiis et contentionibus deservire. . . . Cum in nudinis sanctum videmus Evangelium, venales in Ecclesia columbas et cathedras vendentium, nec longe ab his mensas nummulariorum, quia hodie nec gratis quidquam accipitur nec gratis datur," etc.

³ II. 45.

⁴ E.g., bishops mutilated at the very altar (ep. viii. 53); the *Scoti* (or Irish? On the time when the Irish ceased to be called *Scoti*, see Brennan, *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, 209 n.) selling their wives (ep. coll. 1), etc.

⁵ IV. 1.

⁶ Jeremias xxii. 23.

⁷ II. 9.

Gregory's
view of the
situation.

It must be reformed.

But Gregory was not the man to stand idly by uttering vain lamentations when the ship in his charge was in danger. He had an intelligence quick to see the perils with which the Church was surrounded and to devise remedies against them; he had a heart to feel for the oppressed, and courage and energy to work for their liberation.

Justice required it.

He was consumed with a violent hunger and thirst for justice. "Right, not might," was his motto.¹ The "justice of God" he would not give up for gold,² nor leave for kings.³ No bribe can make him swerve from the right line of justice.⁴ "Truth and justice" he must announce,⁵ and from this course he cannot be turned away.⁶ "To abandon justice would be for him to make shipwreck of his soul."⁷ If his views were not just, he would not wish to be followed.⁸ If his legates would be like him, they must pursue justice.⁹ The advice he gave to kings was that they should be slaves of justice.¹⁰ He would not tolerate a breach of justice even in his dearest friends, the Countess Beatrice of Tuscany and her daughter, the great Matilda.¹¹ Even if his predecessors have granted any privileges which

¹ "Neque enim ad hoc praelati sumus, ut nostræ commissos providentiæ potenter magis quam juste tractemus." Ep. i. 81.

² II. 12. Had he been willing to let kings rule as they liked, they would have given him "amicitias, munera, subjectiones, laudem et magnificas honorificentias."

³ I. 56. ⁴ III. 3; viii. 25, 34, 45; epp. coll. 23; Brenried, c. 43.

⁵ "Scire vos volo . . . veritatem et justitiam annunciare compellamur." I. 15.

⁶ VII. 3.

⁷ I. 39; iii. 8.

⁸ I. 19. Hence his friends declared that "Justice was always with his judgments :

'Omne iudicio tuo
Jus favet.'

Alfano, ubi supra.

⁹ He bids them "justitiæ semper et nullo modo partibus faveatis, sicut habetis formam nostræ." Epp. coll. 31.

¹⁰ I. 70; ii. 31.

¹¹ I. 77.

trench on the domain of justice, he would have them quashed.¹ Constancy in working for justice is what he impresses on his friends; ² punishment for injustice is what he threatens to those who are knowingly unjust,³ even if they are the great ones of the world.⁴ "Justice! justice!" was his incessant cry during life; it was on his lips in his death.

Now to Gregory's mind the first step in the way of reform which justice demanded was to free the Church. She was the natural mistress of souls. He was determined she should cease to be the "worthless bond-woman" which the kings of the earth had made her.⁵ For this he would fight with both his hands, and as if they were both right hands;⁶ for this no fear should ever prevent him from crying out;⁷ for this he would resist to the shedding of his blood,⁸ or even unto death itself,⁹ for which indeed he not unfrequently sighed.¹⁰

If the Church was to be free, its members must be freed: freed from dependence on princes, and from solicitude for

The Church must be free.

Its bishops must be freely elected, and simony and clerical incontinence checked.

¹ VIII. 42.

² "In facienda justitia fideli constantia accingamini." I. 8.

³ VI. 6.

⁴ II. 18.

⁵ "Principes hujus mundi . . . (ecclesiam) quasi vilem ancillam opprimunt." I. 42. In this, his main contention, Gregory was certainly in the right. "On general grounds," says Mr Poole, "it is perfectly clear that if the Church was to exercise that sway which all Christians agreed it ought to exercise over the consciences of men, it must be as free as possible from all those ties which bound it to the secular state; if, for instance, the churchman had to look to his king for preferment, he was not likely to be as vigilant or as courageous in the carrying out of his duty as if he depended solely upon his spiritual chief" (p. 228 f.). *Illustrations of Medieval Thought*, London, 1884.

⁶ Ep. ii. 49. Cf. Judges iii. 15.

⁷ Epp. coll. 46.

⁸ I. 11.

⁹ "Magis enim volumus mortem . . . subire, quam . . . ut ecclesia Dei ad confusionem veniat, consentire." IV. 24. Cf. viii. 57.

¹⁰ V. 21. "Frequenter hæc vita nobis est tedio et mors carnis desiderio."

the things of the world.¹ Simony and clerical marriage¹ must be wholly eradicated. These evils had been growing worse from the latter part of the ninth century, and so far the reforming action which had set in strongly with St. Leo IX. had not effected much.

In his determination to enforce continency on the part of the clergy, from the subdeacons² upwards, Gregory believed he was acting in accordance with what had been enacted by the canons in the West, at least, from very early times. Besides, in what other way was it possible to check the growing worldliness of the clergy,³ and to preserve for the poor and for divine worship the resources of the Church which were being squandered on their families?⁴ Men

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 32, 33: "He that is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God. But he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and he is divided."

² "Sed et illa b. p. Leonis nos impulit auctoritas, qui subdiaconis ineundi connubii licentiam prorsus abstulit; quod decretum . . . ita pro lege sanxerunt, ut deinceps tribus his ordinibus ecclesiasticis sacerdotibus, levitis et subdiaconis, omnino vincula conjugalia sint prohibita." Epp. coll. 8. Gregory was certainly correct in his contentions. The discipline of the West had been proclaimed by the council of Elvira (c. 305), which imposed continence on bishops, priests, and all "who served the altar." Cf. Thomassin, *Vetus et nova Eccles. discipl.*, c. 60 ff.; *Cath. Dict.*, art. *Celibacy*; and Galanté, *Fontes juris canonici*, p. 380 ff. (Oeniponte, 1906).

³ Bardo, in his *Life of S. Anselm of Lucca* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 912), says of the clergy of the empire at least: "Ille sacerdos laudabilior, cujus vestis comptior, cujus mensa copiosior, cujus concubina splendidior."

⁴ Victor, *Dial.*, l. iii., *init.* "Cœperunt ipsi presbyteri . . . laicorum more uxores ducere, susceptosque filios testamento relinquere." As Dean Stephens (*Hildebrand*, p. 11) well observes: "The clergy were commonly married, and there was a tendency amongst the ecclesiastical aristocracy to become an hereditary caste, transmitting their benefices to members of their own rank. . . . Had this gone on, the clergy would have become intensely local in their sympathies; the divisions of the Church would have followed the divisions of the empire, and its dependence on the Papacy, as the central and supreme authority, would have been loosened."

who openly flouted the laws of the Church on this important matter of celibacy were not likely to be particular about the commandments in general.¹

The other great evil which was choking the Church was Simony. simony. The princes sold bishoprics and abbasies to any who would pay their price for them, and imposed their nominees on the Church often without allowing the semblance of an election; and in their turn the bishops, "heretical brigands," as St. Peter Damian called them,² sold every ecclesiastical office in their power. It requires no imagination to guess what sort of men bought themselves into authority in the Church. The crushing of simony, as practised by the offering of money, of obsequious servility, or of flattery,³ was naturally the second great item on Gregory's programme of reform. This he would effect not merely by direct prohibition of the degrading vice, and by making every effort to render ecclesiastical elections really free, but by striking at their root, by anathematising lay investiture.

Through the lands that had been bestowed upon bishops Investiture. and abbots, and through the large share in the affairs of government that had been given them, inasmuch as they were at once the most capable and the most willing to work for law and order, kings had begun to look upon them in much the same light as they regarded the secular nobility. This tendency became more marked with the complete collapse of the Roman Empire in the West under the blows of the barbarian, and with the replacement of Roman organisation and of Roman codified law by barbaric disunity and traditional customs. Owing, therefore, to the importance in their kingdoms of the ecclesiastical aristocracy, sovereigns endeavoured to secure to themselves

¹ Cf. Bowden, i. 144.

² *In vit. S. Romuald*, c. 35.

³ Such is Gregory's threefold division of simony. Ep. vi. 34.

the appointment to bishoprics and abbasies. And when they had found a candidate whose knowledge of statecraft, whose gold or whose strong right arm would be useful to them, there was no question with very many of them as to whether by moral character and piety and learning he was fitted for the cure of souls. But by force or by the exercise of undue influence in one form or another, they placed him in the vacant post, presenting him in sign thereof with what were the recognised symbols of spiritual jurisdiction, the crosier and the ring,¹ *i.e.*, they *invested* him with the words, "Receive the Church." The bishop or abbot before being thus invested took an oath of fealty² to his prince, and did homage to him after the manner of the holders of secular fiefs. And if his loyalty was not thought satisfactory, the hand that gave the ring and the crosier took them away, and the prelate was deposed. Action of this sort caused both prince and cleric to lose sight of the source of spiritual jurisdiction, with what resulting degradation of the Church we have seen.

This practice of lay investiture sprang up in the ninth century. But, as the real question underlying the quarrel about lay investiture was freedom of election, the practice of such investiture may be said to have been already prescribed; for the general council of Nice (787; can. 3) condemned all ecclesiastical elections made by the secular authority. Some, indeed, at this period were quite alive to the fact that the real issue between the Church and the State was the question of freedom of election. Our northern author, Hugh the Chantor, in his history of

¹ Cf. Bowden, i. 326 ff. Honorius of Autun (twelfth century), in his *Gemma animæ*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 172, p. 609, says: "Pontifex ergo anulum portat ut se sponsum ecclesiæ agnoscat." For "accipe ecclesiam," see St. Peter Damian, ep. i. 13.

² Cf. § 209 ff. for formulas of rendering homage, ap. *A Source Book for Medieval Hist.*, by Thatcher & M'Neal, New York, 1905.

certain archbishops of York, relates that the distinguished canonist Ivo of Chartres used to point out that it mattered not by what symbol investiture was given, if only freedom of election and consecration were safeguarded. Many, however, wholly failed to appreciate the true bearings of the investiture dispute, and well merited Hugh's reproach that in laying all the stress on the symbols of investiture, and in not putting prominently forward the question of freedom of election, they were swallowing the camel, and straining at the gnat.¹ Gregory, at any rate, had the real end of the controversy well in view when, to give a definite point to the prohibition² of Nice, and other similar prohibitions, in 1075, and more explicitly in 1078, he forbade lay investiture,³ "investitura episcopatus," as he called it.⁴ The quarrel over investiture was only settled by the compromise effected at the council of Worms in 1122. Round it the struggles in the first great contest between the empire and the Papacy may be said to have crystallised. The "age of Hildebrand" was "the age of the investiture dispute." The Popes of this epoch attached such importance to this question because "to have left to princes the investiture of bishops, with the significance that then attached to that act, would have been to laicise the Church, to crush the episcopacy, and to make of the priest only the chaplain of the great."⁵ To the men of the

¹ Ap. *Historians of York*, ii. pp. 110, 111, R. S.

² Cf. Montalembert, vi. 481 n. ³ Delarc, iii. p. 131 ff., 439 ff.

⁴ Ep. iv. 22.

⁵ Such is the conclusion of Imbart de la Tour, in his *Les élect. épiscopales*, p. 350. In this work (pp. 341-360) will be found the most satisfactory account of "investiture." See also Gosselin, *The Power of the Pope*, ii. 345 ff. St. Peter Damian well expresses how, by investiture, the princes made the bishops: "Nisi per hanc investituram (of the pastoralis baculus) ille (sæcularis princeps) secuturi sacerdotii tibi prius imprimeret titulum, futurus ordinator nequaquam per manus impositionem, sacerdotii tibi traderet sacramentum." Ep. i. 13.

eleventh century it appeared that "the bishop had become *the man* of the laic, and that the power of the lord extended over both the bishop himself and over the goods and effects of his bishopric."¹

The case of
Godfrey,
arch-
bishop of
Trier.

An outline of the career of Godfrey, archbishop of Trier, may serve to illustrate the evils inflicted on the Church when monarchs, like Henry IV. and his son, could trample despotically on her laws. Arnold, provost of Trier, we are told, had a young clerical nephew, Godfrey, who fell into vicious ways. Accordingly, because, "on account of his evil life, his uncle saw that there was no hope of his obtaining promotion in the regular way, he sent him to the court of King Henry IV., in order that he might be intruded by the royal power into a position which he could not hope to obtain canonically."²

When once the king's authority had put Godfrey in an important position, he soon obtained a large sum of money by the practice of the grossest simony, and then, by the gift, "it is said," of more than 1100 marks of silver, he procured the archbishopric of Trier, though his ignorance was on a par with his other vices (1124).³ The money he had had to pay for his promotion, and his attempts at fulfilling the promises of bestowing favours he had had to make, caused the whole diocese to fall into confusion. The distracted people at length appealed to Rome. Honorius II. took up the matter, and his legate, Cardinal Peter, held a synod at Toul (March 13, 1127). Calling upon witnesses to speak "by the obedience they owed to the Roman Church,"⁴ the truth about Godfrey's evil

¹ De la Tour, p. 359; *cf.* p. 350.

² "Ut . . . si nequiret canonice, regia saltem intruderetur potestate." *Gesta Godefridi arch. Trev.*, c. 1, ap. *M. G. SS.*, viii. p. 200 ff.

³ *Ib.*, c. 2.

⁴ "Obediencia Romanæ ecclesiæ quam prevaricari nefarium est." C. 7.

courses was brought to light and he was at last compelled to abdicate (May 1127).

To fulfil his burning desire that, "for God's honour, and the renovation of Christendom," there might be a true pastor in every church to rule God's people,¹ and that the clergy, free from lay control, might be conspicuous for their virtues,² Gregory felt compelled "to rise up against many and to rouse them up against his soul."³ Of the difficulties in his way he was not ignorant, and what toil and trouble he was preparing for himself he knew full well. But he believed it was his duty to fight the good fight for the souls of men, because he believed he was the head of Christ's Church on earth and was responsible for the souls of the highest and the lowest, of cleric and lay alike.

In his famous letter "to all the faithful in Christ who truly love the Apostolic See," he reminds them that "all those who throughout the whole world are accounted Christians, and have a true knowledge of the Christian faith, know and believe that Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, is the father and the first shepherd after Christ of all Christians, and that the holy Roman Church is the mother and mistress of all the churches."⁴ She is ever firm and without spot.⁵ As the mother of all, she must be obeyed by all;⁶ for the Apostolic See has the

¹ "Nos ad honorem Dei et salutem totius christianitatis innovare et restaurare cupimus, videlicet, ut ad regendum populum Dei in unaquaque ecclesia . . . talis . . . eligatur episcopus, qui . . . non fur . . . dici debeat sed nomen et officium pastoris habere dignus existat." Ep. v. 5.

² "Noluit (Gregory) ut æcclesiasticus ordo manibus laicorum subiaceret," etc. Bernald, *Chron.*, 1085.

³ "Nos . . . contra multos insurgere et eos in animam nostram provocare compellimur." Epp. coll. i.

⁴ Epp. coll. 46. Cf. iv. 27.

⁵ III. 18.

⁶ Ep. iii. 9. "Sicut durum est contra stimulum calcitrare, sic asperum est S. R. ecclesiæ contraire, cui vos tamquam matri semper oportet obœdire."

power to bind and loose whomsoever and wheresoever it pleases.¹ As men, the king and the beggar are equal;² hence when he speaks in accordance with the statutes of the holy fathers, kings must obey him like anyone else.³ Bishops, inasmuch as they have the same faith as the Pope, and, moreover, know their duty from the writings of the fathers, must devotedly, lovingly, and faithfully attach themselves to the Apostolic See,⁴ and submit to its commands, which "neither patriarch nor primate may contravene."⁵ Such of them as prefer to follow the king rather than the Pope are confounding the Christian religion with kingdom and country.⁶ If they are not in agreement with the Apostolic See, he must remind them that St. Ambrose has laid it down "that he is a heretic who is not in concord with the Roman Church;"⁷ and he must therefore impress upon them that they are in imminent danger of damnation, if they are outside the circle of its unity.⁸ And what was Gregory's belief as to his position in the Church, was, as he asserts himself, the belief of

¹ Ep. vi. 4 *init.*

² IV. 28. He warns the princes of Spain not "*humanæ condicionis, quæ æqua est regum et pauperum, oblivisci.*" Cf. viii. 21, p. 457. The destiny of both king and beggar is dust and ashes. II. 51, to Svend II., king of Denmark.

³ Ep. iii. 10, Gregory's last letter to Henry IV. Cf. viii. 21, p. 457. "*Quis dubitet: sacerdotes Christi regum et principum omniumque fidelium patres et magistros censeri.*"

⁴ III. 12.

⁵ I. 60. Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz, is warned not "*Apostolica judicia, non dico tibi, sed nec ulli patriarcharum aut primatum retractandi licentiam fore existimes.*"

⁶ IV. 1.

⁷ VII. 24. "*Dicente b. Ambrosio: Ereticum esse constat, qui Romanæ ecclesiæ non concordat.*" According to Jaffé, the reference is to i. 11 of the saint's letters.

⁸ VII. 6. "*Sicut certa spes salutis est his, qui in observatione fidei et doctrinæ hujus sanctæ apostolicæ sedis permanent, ita illis, qui ab ejus concordia et unitate exorbitaverint, haut dubiæ damnationis terror imminet.*"

Christendom. And one of its most distinguished representatives in the days of Hildebrand declares that "beyond all doubt Rome is the head of the entire holy Church, and its principal see."¹

It was then Gregory's conviction that, in the spiritual order, he was the father² of all Christians without exception, and that, while he owed them all the thoughtful care and affection he could bestow upon them, it was their duty to love and obey him, and to submit as dutiful children to such correction as he believed he was in duty bound to inflict upon them. "God is my witness," he wrote, "that it is not any hope of the applause of men that impels me to oppose myself to wicked princes and unholy bishops, but the thought of my duty and of the power of the Apostolic See which is ever urging me."³

Believing that to him had been committed by Christ the supreme direction of the Christian people;⁴ that he was a debtor to the believer and to the unbeliever;⁵ and that it was his, in the last resort, to decide what Christians had to believe and practise if they would attain to eternal life, he admonished kings and princes of their duties as a father would his sons.⁶ And when, relying on their position, they thought they could break the laws of God and man

¹ St. Peter Damian, Serm. 66, ap. *P. L.*, t. 144, p. 880.

² "Sicut ad patremfamilias quælibet domesticæ facultatis jactura refertur, sic etiam dignum est, ut summo pontifici patientis Ecclesiæ læsio nuntietur." S. Peter Damian, ep. i. 13.

³ IV. I.

⁴ "Nos qui populum Christianum instituendi magisterium suscepimus." II. 68.

⁵ "Ex consideratione sedis, cujus licet indigni administrationem gerimus, debitores . . . sumus fidelibus et infidelibus." II. 72.

⁶ II. 63, 75. In the latter letter we read: "Apud antecessores nostros juris et consuetudinis erat, caritativis legationibus docere viam Domini universas nationes, corripere in his quæ arguenda erant omnes reges et principes, et ad æternam beatitudinem cunctos invitare legalibus disciplinis."

with impunity, and attempted to put their beliefs into practice, he did not hesitate to let them know, first by words and then by deeds, that they were not above the law. They were Christians equally with their subjects; and when they outraged Christianity, he avenged it as its lawful and recognised head. In the manner in which he vindicated it, he generally followed precedent, though occasionally no doubt he created it. But even in those exceptional cases it would seem that he did not act in violation of the ideas of his age, and that consequently he had with him the sympathy of the great bulk of the intelligent and of the virtuous of his time. And it may well be asked whether his methods of dealing with unsatisfactory rulers which won their approval have not at least as much to be said in their favour as many of those which have been practised in modern times. As Viscount Llandaff has well observed: "Almost all moral writers are agreed that there is some point of oppression and misconduct at which subjects are justified in throwing off their allegiance to a sovereign whose rule has ceased to be legitimate by his misdeeds."¹ But it is another thing to decide when that point has been reached. During the last hundred years every country in Europe has seen that question settled by secret meetings of conspirators, by violence, and by bloodshed. It appeared to Gregory and to the more weighty thinkers of his time that such a moral difficulty should be solved by the judicial decision of the one who was universally recognised as the great *censor morum* .²

Again, it must be repeated that it would be a mistake to

Gregory
only their
superior on
moral
grounds.

¹ *Matilda of Tuscany*, p. 52. Hence Gregory defines that fidelity to an earthly sovereign ceases to be due when God would be offended if that fidelity were offered. He says: "Fidelitatem terreno domino tunc non recte servari, cum cœlestis Domini et creatoris gratia per illam probatur offendi." Epp. coll. 41.

² *Ib.*

suppose with some writers that Gregory claimed a right to rebuke and even to punish kings, because he regarded all the kingdoms of the earth as his, because he looked upon himself as the king of kings. He believed with the great men who had gone before him, both in Church¹ and State,² that there were two powers in the body politic, one spiritual for dealing with the affairs of the soul, the other temporal for the care of the body. He wished the *sacerdotium* and the *imperium* to work together in harmony, to be as the two eyes which guide the body.³ And as, on the one hand, "the Roman Church was the universal mother of all Christians,"⁴ and, on the other, Henry "had been placed by God in the very highest position,"⁵ Gregory was ready to greet him as "the head of all the laity,"⁶ and "his lord, brother, and son";⁷ and that, not on any condition of temporal subjection to himself, but simply on the understanding that he honoured God. Henry, on his side, had

¹ Pope Gelasius (an. 494) wrote to the Emperor Anastasius: "Duo sunt quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur, auctoritas sacra pontificum et regalis potestas." Jaffé, 632 (387).

² However Justinian may have acted, he laid down (Novel., 6, ed. Lingenthal, p. 44) that the greatest gifts God had given to men were the Church (*ἱερὸσύνη*) and the empire (*βασιλεία*); the one attending to the things of God, and the other looking after human affairs, "*καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἑκατέρα προϊούσα καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον κατακοσμοῦσα βίον*," etc. The warlike Byzantine emperor, John Tzimisces, held the same views, according to Leo the Deacon, quoted by Schlumberger, *L'épopée Byzantine*, i. 32.

³ "Sicut duobus oculis humanum corpus temporali lumine regitur, ita his duabus dignitatibus in pura religione concordantibus corpus ecclesiæ spirituali lumine regi et illuminari probatur." I. 19. Henry in his turn declared to the Pope that "regnum et sacerdotium . . . ab invicem minime dissentiant," etc. I. 29 *a* inter epp. Greg. In ep. vii. 25 the two powers are compared to the sun and moon.

⁴ I. 29.

⁵ He writes to Henry "quem Deus in summo rerum posuit culmine." III. 7. Cf. iii. 10, "Cæteris gloria honore virtuteque potentior," and ii. 31.

⁶ "Laicorum caput." I. 20.

⁷ III. 7.

at one time no difficulty in calling the Pope "his lord and father,"¹ and there is no reason to doubt that, if he had acted in any way becomingly as a man and a sovereign, Gregory would never have interfered in the least degree with the temporal affairs of the empire.

At the same time, considering from a Christian standpoint the superiority of the soul over "the whole world," he contended that spiritual authority was of higher importance in itself than temporal. Following in the wake of Gregory the Great² and other earlier writers, he maintained that "gold is not so much more precious than lead as the sacerdotal dignity is higher than that of kings."³ It becomes them, therefore, to look up to the more honourable, to the head (*magister*) of the Church, *i.e.*, to Blessed Peter,⁴ and, so far from regarding the Church as their handmaid, they must consider it as their mistress.⁵

Even from their respective origins, the superior dignity of the spiritual power is, according to Gregory, obvious. Princes, he said, have sprung from those who, unmindful of God, by the perpetration of every crime, and with intolerable presumption, succeeded in lording it over their equals, *i.e.*, men. Shall such a power, he asks, not be subject to that dignity which God Himself gave to the world through

¹ "Domine mi et pater amantissime." I. 29 a.

² Cf. epp. Greg. I., ii. 45, al. 46; vii. 8.

³ VIII. 21, p. 458. Cf. vii. 25.

⁴ III. 10, to Henry "Decuerat regiam dignitatem tuam, cum te filium ecclesiæ confiteris, honorabilius magistrum ecclesiæ, hoc est b. Petrum . . . intueri."

⁵ IV. 3. Imperialist writers throughout the Middle Ages were "almost always willing frankly to admit that, when compared with the State, the Church, having the sublimer aim, might rightly claim, not only a higher intrinsic value, but also a loftier external rank." Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*, p. 17. Voigt's exposition of Gregory's views (p. 172 ff.) is set forth, rather more than is quite satisfactory, in terms deduced from Gregory's words, and not in those words themselves.

His Son, the great High Priest, who despised the power of this world, and of his own accord embraced "the priesthood of the Cross"?¹

But Henry IV., whom in all this Gregory had chiefly in view, was not an Alfred the Great, who, if we are to credit Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx² (†1166), understood his position as a Christian king, and knew how to expound it in beautiful words. "He realised," records Ailred, "what few nowadays seem to be willing to profess, viz., that the greatest kingly power has no manner of authority in the Church of Christ. True kingly dignity," he used to say, "requires that I should acknowledge that in the kingdom of Christ, which is the Church, I am no king, but a citizen, and that it is not for me to rule the priests by my laws, but humbly to submit to the laws of Christ which they have promulgated." If Henry was ever animated by similar sentiments, it was but in one of those brief and rare moments during which he allowed virtue to make some impression upon him. His normal attitude towards the Church was that of one who would rule it as a master, and crush it as he would a viper if it turned upon him.³ And it may be safely affirmed that the tyranny of Henry IV. was one of the factors which brought about, towards the close of this century, a change in the theories of ecclesiastical writers as to the origin of temporal authority. Up to the epoch named, they had assigned God as its source, but from the eleventh to the fourteenth century they held that the people were the source of the power of governments.⁴

¹ VIII. 21, pp. 456-457.

² *De genealogia Reg. Anglor.*, p. 352, ap. Twysden, *Script. decem.*

³ "Majorum ascendens currum, omnem Ecclesiam superbienti calcaneo supponere, calcandamque præbere vilem ut ancillam pro viribus conabatur." Bernried, c. 60.

⁴ Cf. Carlyle, *Medieval Political Theory in the West*, i. 63, and *passim*. Carlyle's work is, in my opinion, much superior to that of

Gregory did not strive to obtain temporal dominion over all nations.

But with such a man as Gregory VII. as its head, it was not easy for Henry to make a bondwoman of the Church; and it was not long before a struggle which was to outlast the life of Gregory began between the empire and the priesthood. And when once a contest had broken out between powers which ought to have been equal, because each ought to have been supreme in its own domain, it was inevitable that the struggle should issue in a fight for supremacy. But though in the heat of battle Gregory may have given utterance to propositions that were capable of very great extension,¹ there is no evidence that he wished to establish a theocracy, and "obtain supreme dominion over all nations." It is true he claimed an *altum dominium* over some countries, as he did over many monasteries,² and that too on much the same grounds, viz., because those who had power over them had either really commended them to the Holy See to secure its protection, or were believed to have done so. Sometimes, indeed, he would appear to have based his pretensions on documents which were not authentic,³ but which were

Gierke, as it gives the views of each age as they went on changing; whereas Gierke sets forth a theory compounded of the ideas of such different ages as those of Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

¹ *E.g.*, "If the see of Blessed Peter sits in judgment, and gives decisions on concerns that are spiritual and heavenly, how much more on matters that are of this world and earthly." IV. 24; vii. 14 *a*. Carlyle concludes the second volume of his most scholarly work thus (p. 254): "We think that an examination of the subject will have made it clear that while the Church had come (by the thirteenth century) to claim a tremendous authority in relation to the empire, it is not the case that the Church as represented in the deliberate judgments of Canon Law claimed to be supreme over the State."

² VIII. 30.

³ Though he makes no claim to Saxony, he says that Charlemagne offered it to St. Peter "sicut ipsi Saxones habent scriptum." Ep. viii. 23. He *appears* to be referring to the spurious charter, ap. Sickel, *Acta Karol.*, p. 393. Cf. Rohrbacher, *Hist. Univer. de l'Église*, vii. 528. He never mentions the False Donation of

accepted as genuine by the whole world. But if he made claim to Spain and Hungary, to Bohemia, Russia and Croatia, it was because those countries had previously placed their rising liberties under the ægis of the authority of the bishop of Rome, and in feudal style acknowledged their dependence on him by a payment of an annual tax.¹ By degrees this payment came to be regarded in Rome as a sign that the place whence it came was placed under the suzerainty of the Pope. This idea was in the main true, and *may* have been the reason which moved Gregory to claim the *altum dominium*² over England also—a claim indignantly rejected by the Conqueror. Possibly, too, he may have regarded William's action in appealing to Rome,

Constantine, though he once (viii. 26) speaks "de terris vel censu quæ Constantinus imperator vel Carolus S. Petro dederunt." Should any, however, suppose that it was before his mind when he put forth some of his claims, it must be remembered that in his age its authenticity was not called in question.

¹ *Spain*: "Regnum Hispaniæ ex antiquis constitutionibus b. Petro et S. R. E. in jus et proprietatem esse traditum." Ep. iv. 28. Cf. i. 7. To what ancient charters Gregory here refers is not known. But when he says that Spain had been made over to the Roman Church "in jus et proprietatem," he is using the phrase that was then in vogue to denote the subjecting of monasteries immediately to the Pope. Cf. *supra*, vi. p. 326, for Ramiro's placing of Aragon under the Apostolic See; Jaffé, 5098. *Hungary*: Its first king, Stephen, had made the Holy See its suzerain: "Regnum Ungariæ S. R. E. proprium est, a rege Stephano olim b. Petro cum omni jure et potestate sua oblatum et devote traditum." Ep. ii. 13. This passage is not noticed by Gregorovius (*Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 176 f.), whose whole account of Gregory's attitude towards these countries is inaccurate. Cf. *Epp.* ii. 63, 70. *Bohemia*: I. 38; ii. 7, and *supra*, vi. 357 f. *Russia*: II. 74, where he writes to Demetrius, king of the Russians, that his son "regnum (Ruscorum) dono S. Petri per manus nostras vellet optinere, eidem b. Petro app. principi debita fidelitate exhibita . . . postulavit." *Croatia*: VII. 4. Cf. *supra*, iii. pp. 242, 248.

² Unfortunately, we do not exactly know what Gregory claimed in regard to England. According to the Conqueror's letter to Gregory (ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 748, or inter op. Lanfranc), the Pope's legate had asked that "tibi et successoribus tuis *fidelitatem* facerem," and he had refused "to do fealty," "*fidelitatem* facere nolui." Cf. ep. Greg., vii. 1.

and accepting the banner from Alexander II., as betokening some manner of dependence on the Holy See.¹ In any case he did no more than repeat a claim which had been made by his predecessor.²

Gregory was naturally led to try and revive old rights to temporal suzerainty when he saw new ones bestowed upon himself. He received the donation of Provence from its count, Bertram II.;³ and his supreme jurisdiction over Sardinia, if not over islands in general, was acknowledged by the numerous requests made to him for permission to invade that island.⁴ Perhaps Gregory was as anxious for princes to place themselves under his suzerainty as some of them were to submit themselves to it. But if that were so, his object was not merely that the pecuniary advantages arising therefrom might help to replenish the depleted papal treasury, but that the good of Christendom might be thereby promoted. "Religious bishops," he said himself in his famous apologetic letter⁵ to Bishop Herimann of Metz, "who, led by divine love, wish to rule (*præesse*), do so that God's honour and the salvation of souls may be thus advanced." And if Gregory's overlordship had been everywhere respected as it was with regard to Sardinia, there can be no question but that the peace and happiness of Europe would have been very greatly extended.

Gregory's
resources.

In his untiring efforts to better the temporal and spiritual

¹ Wace (v. 3337 ff., or p. 115 of Taylor's translation) says that Alexander, in sending "the gonfannon," told William to conquer England "and hold it of St. Peter." But Wace wrote in the days of Henry II., when there was question of that king's holding Ireland, of St. Peter.

² Cf. *supra*, vi. p. 332 ff.

³ VIII. 35. Cf. *L. P.* for the gift to Blessed Peter of the castrum Moriciela (cf. *Reg.* vi. 5 a), and Lavisse and Rambaud, *Hist. Gén.*, ii. 85, or Fabre, *Étude sur le lib. Censuum*, p. 117, for another example. Cf. Jaffé, 5375 and 5377.

⁴ VIII. 10.

⁵ VIII. 21, p. 459.

condition of his children, on what had the Father of Christendom to rely? Certainly not on those who ought to have been his natural allies; not on kings and princes; for they, as usual, were, for the most part, the principal agents of the degradation against which he was struggling; and not on the bishops, who, as a body, were little better than the secular princes.¹ And of those in the episcopal order who were not wholly bad, the greater number would not act.² He could not even count on the members of his own household. Beno³ has left us a list of cardinals and other functionaries of the pontifical court who abandoned their master in the time of stress in 1084. Among the deserters were over ten cardinal priests and deacons, the primicerius of the *schola cantorum*, with all his subordinates (*cum omnibus suis*), the oblationarius, the prior of the regionary subdeacons, the archacolyte, the *subpulmentarius* (an almoner), the primicerius of the judges, and all the banner-bearers of the different regions (*cuncti milites signa banda gestantes*), the prior of the scribes, and many others.

He had to rely, then, in the first place, on God and on himself. We have seen how he begged for prayers; for he trusted in God more than in man,⁴ and believed that He was with him and worked with him.⁵ Writing within a year or two⁶ of his death to the clergy of Gaul, he took

¹ Epp. coll. I; ii. 11, 49. Throughout the whole of his pontificate the majority of the German bishops were opposed to him.

² From the days of Pope Leo IX. the German bishops "adhuc tamen inobedientes, exceptis perpauca, tam execrandam consuetudinem (simony and clerical incontinency) nulla studuerunt prohibitionem decidere, nulla distinctione punire," etc. II. 45. Cf. epp. coll. 23.

³ We may be sure Beno has not abbreviated the list. *Gesta Rom. Eccles.*, i. 1.

⁴ "In potentia divinæ virtutis magis quam in homine fidem, spem et omnes cogitatus collocavimus." III. 15.

⁵ I. 25.

⁶ Epp. coll. 23, an. 1083, and not 1078. Cf. Declarc, iii. 592 n.

occasion to thank God for having protected him from the violence of his persecutors; for having defended in his person that justice for which his conscience had made him contend; for having strengthened his weakness, and for never allowing either bribes or threats to turn him to iniquity.

In his efforts to defend the oppressed and to uphold justice, obligations which he believed his position as successor of St. Peter forced upon him,¹ he was ever upheld by confidence in the prestige of Rome—he was fond of repeating that Rome, through its faith or through its arms, was ever invincible²—by the glorious idea of duty,³ and by the hope of eternal rest with Christ our Lord.⁴

The legates
of the Holy
Sec.

But with all the self-reliance which the thought of duty and of working in the cause of God and man inspired him, he knew he must have fellow-workers. The vineyard of the Lord was so vast, and was so woefully overgrown with weeds! His first care was to multiply himself by his legates, by men whom he strove to animate with the same spirit as himself. "Ever act with becoming dignity," he used to tell them,⁵ "as though I were with you, or rather because I am with you, my representatives." He would have them at once heroes and sages, all on fire with charity, so that the oppressed might find in them defenders, and that oppressors might learn that they were lovers of justice.⁶ He sent

¹ "Ex cujus sedis (that of St. Peter) successione imminet nobis inevitabili necessitate, ut omnibus oppressis debeamus opem ferre," etc. VIII. 57.

² Geoffrey of Anjou, or really Berengarius of Tours, wrote to Hildebrand (1054): "Gloriabar autem tu et quasi proludebas in eo, Romam tuam fide atque armis semper fuisse invictam." Ep. Gaufridi, ap. Sudendorf, *Berengarius*, p. 218.

³ I. 13.

⁴ I. 9; ii. 49.

⁵ VIII. 23.

⁶ VI. 3. "Viriliter et sapienter agite; vestraque omnia in caritate fiant, ut oppressi vos prudentes defensores inveniant, et opprimentes amatores justitiæ recognoscant." Cf. ep. coll. 46.

them north and south, east and west. They were seen in England and in Denmark, as well as among the Normans in south Italy; they found their way not only into the more civilised lands of the Eastern Empire, into Germany, France and Spain, but also into Hungary, Poland, and Russia. And wherever they went they were followed by Gregory with eager interest; and he strove to secure for them a favourable reception everywhere. "He who receives you, receives us,¹ *i.e.*, receives Blessed Peter himself,"² he used to declare. As he pointed out to the bishops of southern France and Spain: "From its very foundation it has been the custom of the Roman Church to send legates to every land that boasted the name of Christian; so that through them the ruler of that church might effect what he could not in his own person, *viz.*, instruct the churches throughout the world in apostolic faith and practice."³

But if he strove to make the path of his legates smooth, and to punish any interference in the commissions with which he entrusted them,⁴ he never ceased to impress upon them that they must use the power entrusted to them with the greatest moderation and prudence;⁵ and he occasionally made them feel the necessity of so doing by revising or by annulling their decisions.⁶

Other allies on whom he confidently reckoned were the monks. Amid the general defection which he was constantly deploring, he thanked God that among those who still feared Him were the monks.⁷ Hardly a monastery

Gregory
and the
monks.

¹ IV. 26; v. 2, etc.

² Epp. coll. 21, the fullest letter regarding *legates*.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.* 37; v. 15. Cf. vi. 2.; vii. 12; and viii. 17, for the case of Manasses I., archbishop of Rheims, and his opposition to the most famous of Gregory's legates, Hugh de Die.

⁵ Epp. coll. 39.

⁶ I. 16; viii. 38. Cf. Rocquain, *La Papauté*, p. 111 ff.

⁷ VI. 17.

can be cited which adhered to the cause of Henry, simony, and clerical concubinage. There was Farfa¹ in Italy, which was imperialistic by tradition; and among those which had been forced to accept creatures of Henry as their abbots, and were thus pressed into his service, may be named those of St. Gall in Switzerland, and Hersfeld in the diocese of Halberstadt. A monk himself, Gregory protected and favoured the monastic orders²—the more so since no care was taken of them by the great ones of the world.³ “Do you think,” he wrote to Bishop Cunibert of Turin, “that bishops have received with their pastoral staff such an amount of power and licence that they may oppress as they please the monasteries which are in their dioceses, and diminish religious fervour there by capricious and unlimited requirements? Are you then ignorant that popes have frequently freed the monasteries from the rule of bishops, and bishops from that of metropolitans, on account of the vexations inflicted by superiors? Do you not know that it has been their object, by the gift of lasting liberty, to attach the churches to the Apostolic See, as the members are attached to the head? Consider the privileges granted by our predecessors, and you will see that it has been forbidden even to archbishops to fulfil their office in abbeys unless invited by the abbots, lest the peace of the cloister should be disturbed by the influx and the conversation of secular visitors.”⁴

The monks were not ungrateful for his care. They

¹ Hence by its monks was published in VIII, *Orthodoxa defensio imperialis*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, II. They conclude, c. II, “Patrocinium autem imperatorum numquam amittere volumus.”

² Jaffé, 4864–4865, etc. Cf. Montalembert, *Monks*, vi. 401.

³ “Oportet nos,” he writes bitterly to Hugh, the great abbot of Cluny, “quandoquidem non est princeps qui talia curet, religiosorum tueri vitam.” II. 49.

⁴ II. 69. Montalembert’s translation. Cf. Jaffé, 5301.

everywhere showed themselves staunch and able friends of the Papacy, and gave up their most promising subjects to its use. From them Gregory drew his best bishops,¹ his counsellors, and his legates. First among his confidants was Hugh, the great abbot of Cluny, whom we may call the patriarch of the monks of his day, who had been the trusted friend of the emperor Henry III., and who was the godfather of Henry IV. He was a man whose moderate and amiable character well enabled him, without sacrifice of principle, to act as mediator between Henry IV. and Gregory, whom, like St. Peter Damian, he regarded as a gentle tyrant (*blandum tyrannum*), a lion in striking and a lamb in pardoning.² Also from Cluny there came to the service of Gregory, Gerald, its grand-prior, to be made cardinal-bishop of Ostia, and its prior Odo, who was to succeed Gerald in the See of Ostia, and to become Pope Urban II. The legate Hugh de Die, who in Gregory's name practically ruled the Church of France for ten years, had been prior of St. Marcel-lez-Châlons, and Jarenton, who brought Guiscard and his Normans to save Gregory from Henry, had been educated at Cluny, shared Gregory's exile at Salerno, and for his sufferings in the cause of justice merited to be called by the Pope his fellow-captive.³ The dearest of Gregory's friends,⁴ one who as his legate in Germany suffered exile and imprisonment in his cause,

¹ He wrote (1077) to Hugh of Cluny to bid him "ut sibi aliquos de monachis suis viros, sapientes transmittat, quos competenter episcopos ordinare possit." *Hist. Tornacenses*, iv. 1, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv. The *Historiæ* were compiled c. 1150.

² Cf. Montalembert, *l.c.*, p. 408. In his c. 3 of book xix. (Co-operation of the Monastic Orders with Pope Gregory VII.) Montalembert gives a brief but graphic account of each of the monks mentioned in the text. Cf. cc. 16-19 of *S. Hugues de Cluny*, by L'Huillier.

³ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, ii. p. 334, ap. *P. L.*, t. 154.

⁴ "Re vera sibi dilectissimum d. papa unice sibi prærogavit." Berthold, *Chron.*, 1079, p. 438.

was Bernard, abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles. Monks also were such steady allies of Gregory, as Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino; Alfano, the famous archbishop of Salerno; Cardinal Stephen, who, with Gregory himself, deserved to be called by St. Peter Damian "an impregnable buckler" of the Holy See; Bruno of Asti, bishop of Segni; St. Anselm of Lucca, the adviser of the great countess; and William, abbot of Hirschau, who in his last agony exhorted his monks to persevere till death in subjection to the Apostolic See.¹

The people
side with
Gregory.

Also on the side of Gregory were not merely such comparatively few bishops as were by virtue and learning fitted for their office, and such rare secular princes as Matilda of Tuscany (at once almost a nun and a knight), who had a thought above their own sordid interests, but generally the great mass of the people. Even the fickle populace of Rome, as was proved by their conduct during the siege of their city by Henry, were exceptionally loyal to Gregory. The devotion of the people at large to the Pope is set down as a fact by contemporary historians;² and in full faith of its truth we see Gregory himself finding his consolation.³

The aims
of Gregory
acknowledged
to be good.

With these allies, such as they were, "monks, simple priests (*sacerdotes*), the lower order of the nobility, and the poor,"⁴ Gregory assailed iniquity in high places; and, as he declared only a few months before his death, strove with all his might (*summopere*) to bring it about that the

¹ See his *Life* by his disciple Haimo, c. 24, ap. *P. L.*, t. 150. "Omnes obsecrans et contestans ut in unitate ecclesiæ et subiectione sedis apostolicæ . . . usque ad mortem inviolabiliter permanerent."

² Marianus Scotus, *Chron.*; Beno, *Gest. Rom. Eccles.*, i. 1. Hence the assertion of Henry IV.: "Tibi favorem ab ore vulgi comparasti" (Ep. ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 101), and that of the rebel bishops of Worms that he had prostrated the whole ecclesiastical administration, "plebeio furore." *Ib.*, 104.

³ Epp. ii. 11; vi. 17.

⁴ Ep. vi. 17.

Church should hold the honoured position that was its due, and "should remain free, chaste, and catholic."¹

That, in truth, Gregory's aim was as pure as he professed it to be, that it "was a righteous one, few," writes a non-Catholic author, "will now venture to dispute."² The most eminent modern writers on the age of Hildebrand are generally agreed that Gregory's struggle was that of mind against matter, of moral against physical force, of the laws of love and justice against those of selfishness and might.

Now that we have seen something of the motives which animated the great Pontiff, and of the forces which were at work for or against him in his gigantic efforts to secure the independence of the Church, we may now let the course of the narrative of the events of his pontificate run freely on, unchecked by reflections on the intentions which inspired his several actions.

¹ Epp. coll. 46.

² Stephens, *Hildebrand*, p. vii. Cf. p. 153, "He had no selfish or sordid aims." Cf. Bowden, i. 10, "He was a witness for the truth delivered to the Church's care, and a reformer of the abuses of his time." See Voigt, p. 605, and *passim*; and Miley, *Papal States*, ii. 500, for the views of Sir James Stephen and others.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST TWO YEARS OF GREGORY'S PONTIFICATE. REFORM
AT HOME AND ABROAD. IDEA OF A CRUSADE.
FIRST RELATIONS WITH HENRY IV. AND WITH
THE NORMANS.

Promotion
of order
in and
around
Rome.

AS Pope, Gregory continued the administrative work on which he had been engaged as a *capellanus* and as the *æconomus* of the Holy See. In the first place he persevered in his efforts to make the Roman barons and those of the Campagna respect the law,¹ and to force the Normans to confine themselves to their own territories. To effect these ends he paid as before no little attention to the armed forces of the Roman Church.² With their aid and with that of Landulf, prince of Benevento, and Richard, prince of Capua, who had taken the oath of fealty to him,³ he not only garrisoned the cities and towns, and held what was still left of the papal inheritance, but recovered much of what had been lost of it by violence, fraud, or negligence. So actively was this police work carried on that in a few months there was no one bold enough to touch the property of Peter.⁴ Even before his consecration he had to defend

¹ Cf. Bonizo, l. vii. p. 659, for his designs against the counts of Bagnorea.

² "Fecit sibi militum copiam, non ob inanem, ut æstimant, gloriam sed ad propagandam Romanam ecclesiam, quæ a Normannis vim passa et a cæteris finitimis conculcata in nichilum videbatur pene redacta." Guido, *De scismate*, i. 2. Cf. Benzo, iii. 10, and Walram, *De unit. eccles.*, ii. 2.

³ See their oaths ap. *Regist.*, i. 18 a and i. 21 a.

⁴ Guido, *ib.* But when the quarrel with Henry began, attacks on the property of the Roman Church commenced immediately. Jaffé, 5273.

the temporal rights of the Holy See against the usurpations of Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who to the prejudice of the Roman Church endeavoured to subject certain towns of the exarchate to his own authority.¹

But it was even more necessary that order should be restored in Peter's own home. The great Roman basilica that bore his name was under the care of over sixty *mansionarii* or sacristans. These men were laics, of whom some were married,² and who at this period were one and all scoundrels. Shaved and wearing mitres, they gave out to the simple that they were priests and cardinals; and during the day received money from the peasants in return for their prayers, and during the night committed robbery, murder, and adultery. The behaviour in St. Peter's of some of the cardinals themselves was not above reproach. They only had the right to say Mass at the high altar, or altar over the body of the Prince of the Apostles. For the sake of gain, they came to the basilica and began to offer the great Christian sacrifice before the dawn. To put an end to these most disreputable customs, Gregory, after expelling with no little difficulty the lay *mansionarii*, replaced them by good priests, and forbade the church to be open before daylight, and the cardinals to say Mass till nine o'clock.³

By encouraging the payment of Peter's Pence and other means, he endeavoured to raise the funds necessary for the purposes of government. Through his good management of the monies at his disposal, it resulted, not that the poor were robbed,⁴ but that, as always happens when revenues are well expended, there was enough for necessities and for charity. Hence even Guido of Ferrara praises him⁵ as

¹ Ep. i. 10.

² "Laici conjugati et plerique concubinati." Bonizo, l. vii., an. 1074.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ As Walram asserts, *l.c.*

⁵ *L.c.*

“the protector of the widow and the young, the helper of the orphan, and the advocate of the poor,” and also for his profuse liberality to the needy and the helpless.

The Normans, 1073.

Full of enthusiasm and of the hope begotten of it, the energetic Pontiff resolved to approach Robert Guiscard and the Normans, trusting to be able to induce these enterprising and warlike neighbours to leave his dominions in peace. Leaving Rome in July, he spent a day by the sea at Laurentum, a town now no more, which lay between Ostia and Ardea, and seemingly in the neighbourhood of the existing hamlet of Capocotta. Thence he betook himself, by Albano, first to Monte Cassino to secure the company of its abbot Desiderius,¹ ever a *persona grata* to the Normans, and then to Benevento. There, on August 12, he received from the Lombard prince Landulf an undertaking that, on pain of being instantly deprived of his position, he would be faithful to the Roman Church, and would not in any way lessen the integrity of his duchy by granting investiture of any portion of it without the consent of the Pope.² But though Gregory had given proof of his goodwill towards Guiscard when a false report of his death had reached him,³ the wily Norman contented himself with promising in general terms that “he would serve the Pope faithfully.”⁴ It is true that in 1059 Robert had taken an oath of fidelity to Nicholas II., but his lust of conquest had gone on increasing, and he would not have his designs on Salerno, on Capua, and perhaps, too, on Benevento, hampered by further oaths. Gregory, like Leo IX., soon saw that arms alone would keep the ambition

¹ *Chron. Cass.*, iii. 36.

² Ep. i. 18 a. Landulf was to lose “suum honorem” if “fuisset infidelis S. R. Ecclesie . . . aut aliquam (publicam rem Beneventanam) absque nutu papæ . . . alicui fecessisset investitionem.”

³ Cf. Aimé, *Lystoire*, vii. 8.

⁴ *Ib.* “Li promist de lo servir ñdèlement.”

of Guiscard within bounds. To meet force with force, he endeavoured to ally to his own forces those of Gisulf of Salerno, of the Norman, Richard of Capua, and of Beatrice and Matilda of Tuscany. On September 14 he received from Richard an oath of fidelity, such as he had previously taken to Nicholas II. (1059).¹ He swore to do all that in him lay to help to recover the possessions of St. Peter; to pay annually the money due for the lands which he held of the Roman Church; and to restrict any oath of fidelity he might be called upon to take to King Henry by the clause saving the fealty he owed to the holy Roman Church.²

Satisfied with what he had already accomplished, Gregory seems to have imagined that he had practically checkmated Robert.³ Writing a week or two later to the knight Herlembald, the leader of the reform party in Milan, he told him that he was at Capua in good health, and happy because he believed that his residence in that city had resulted in great advantage to the Church. "For the Normans, who, with manifest danger to the empire (*reipublicæ*) and holy Church, had been contemplating peace with one another, are obstinately continuing in the state of unrest in which we found them. It will only be through us that they will obtain peace. For if we had judged it for the advantage of holy Church, they would already have humbly submitted to us, and have displayed towards us their wonted reverence."⁴ But he had strangely underrated the energy, ability, and power of Guiscard.

¹ Cf. Delarc, ii. 127.

² Ep. i. 21 a.

³ There is good reason to believe that he reckoned on securing the assistance of the Byzantines, naturally infuriated against the Normans by their expulsion from Bari. Cf. Delarc, iii. 30 ff.

⁴ "Si enim discretio nostra S. ecclesiæ utile approbaret, ipsi jam se nobis humiliter subdidissent et, quam solent, reverentiam exhibuissent." Ep. i. 25.

Summoning his brother Roger, count of Sicily, to his aid, the Norman duke began at once to ravage the territory of Richard, and before the Pope had returned to Rome (c. December 17, 1073) had inflicted material damage on his Capuan ally.¹

The idea of
a Crusade,
1074.

About this time advices which he had received from Constantinople² inspired Gregory with a new idea, and made him more anxious than ever to assemble troops. After the disastrous defeat of the Byzantine forces at Manzikert, and the subsequent irritating but impotent conduct of the imperial government towards the victorious Alp Arslan, the sufferings which the Turks inflicted on the helpless Christian population of Asia Minor surpass belief.³ And in the midst of their unspeakable afflictions the oppressed turned for help to the common Father of Christendom,⁴ whom their chief priests had rejected. When messenger after messenger reached him telling him that the heathen had laid waste the whole land almost to the very walls of Constantinople, and had slain many thousands of Christians as though they had been beasts of

¹ Delarc, iii., 43 ff.

² Ep. i. 46.

³ "Every calamity of this unfortunate period sinks into insignificance when compared with the destruction of the *greater part of the Greek race* by the ravages of the Seljouk Turks in Asia Minor." Finlay, *The Byzantine and Greek Empires*, p. 51. William of Apulia sang (l. iii., *init.*):—

"*Maxima pars horum ruit interfecta nefandis
Turcorum gladiis, i.e., the greater part of those
Qui Romaniae loca deliciosa colebant.*"

The Christians were being slain "more pecudum." Epp. coll. II. Cf. i. 49; ii., 31, 37, 49, etc.

⁴ Ep. i. 46 speaks of the Eastern Christians: "Qui, nimium afflicti creberrimis morsibus Saracenorum inianter flagitant, ut sibi manum nostri auxilii porrigamus." Cf. ii. 31: "Ad me humiliter miserunt nimia compulsi miseria, implorantes, ut modis quibus possem eisdem fratribus nostris succurrerem, ne Christiana religio nostris temporibus quod absit omnino deperiret."

the field,¹ Gregory's heart was wrung with grief, and he longed himself to die to save his brethren.² "He would rather," he declared,³ "lay down his life for them, than neglect them and have the whole world submissive to his will."

Though convinced he could himself raise troops enough to bring the refractory Normans "to a sense of justice,"⁴ he tried to realise a plan which he thought would result in saving Christian blood, both in Italy and in the East. He would gather together a great Christian army, the very sight of which would bring about the submission of the Normans, and which would be powerful enough, under his own personal leadership,⁵ to stop the ravages of the Turks. These great plans we see unfolded in the following letter which he dispatched to William I., count of Burgundy, on February 2, 1074: "Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to William, count of Burgundy, health and apostolic benediction. Your prudence may remember with what a large-hearted welcome the Roman Church formerly greeted you, and what special love she has ever displayed towards you. It does not then befit you to be unmindful of the promise you made to God before the body of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, in the presence of our venerable predecessor, Pope Alexander, of a considerable number of bishops and abbots, and of a very great concourse of people of different nationalities, to the effect that when necessary your right arm would be ready to strike a blow for the defence of the possessions (*rerum*) of St. Peter, whenever it was called upon to do so. Hence, mindful of the nobility of your faith, we admonish you to make ready your armies to lend aid to the liberty of the Roman Church, and, if need be, to march hither with your troops as servants of St. Peter. We beg you also to instruct to act in like

¹ Ep. i. 49.² Ep. ii. 31.³ *Ib.*⁴ I. 46.⁵ II. 31.

manner, the count of St. Giles,¹ the father-in-law of Richard, prince of Capua ; Amadeus,² the son of Adelaide ;³ and the others you know to be loyal (*fideles*) to St. Peter, and who, with hands raised to heaven, have given the same undertakings as yourself. If you have any definite response to make to us, let your messenger be so instructed as to be able to remove all doubt from our mind ; and let him on his way to us call upon Beatrice, who, with her daughter and son-in-law,⁴ is an earnest worker in this matter.

“We are not labouring to collect this great number of soldiers because we wish to shed Christian blood, but that they (*i.e.*, the Normans), seeing the strength of our forces, may fear to fight, and may the more readily submit to what is just. We have, moreover, a hope that perchance a further good result may follow from this expedition : *viz.*, that, when the Normans are quieted, we may pass over to Constantinople to assist the Christians, who, suffering terribly under the repeated blows of the Saracens, unceasingly implore us to stretch out to them a helping hand. For were it a question merely of the rebellious Normans, we have ourselves sufficient forces to deal with them.

“Doubt not that, as we believe, Peter and Paul, the Princes of the Apostles, will bestow a manifold recompense on you and on all who with you will share in the toil of this expedition.

“Given at Rome on the fourth of the nones of February (February 2), in the twelfth indiction.”⁵

A month later a circular letter, addressed “to all those who wished to defend the Christian faith,” and entrusted

¹ Raymond, afterwards the fourth count of Toulouse, and famous in the first Crusade.

² The second count of Savoy.

³ The countess of Turin.

⁴ Godfrey the Hunchback, duke of Lower Lorraine.

⁵ I. 46.

to the charge of one newly come from the East,¹ informed the Western world of the terrible sufferings which the heathen Turks were inflicting on the Christians of the East. "Wherefore, if we love God and regard ourselves as Christians, we ought to be overwhelmed with grief at the misfortune which has befallen so renowned an empire, and at the terrible slaughter of Christian men. But we must do more than grieve; the example of our Redeemer must move us to sacrifice our lives for them. We ourself intend to do all in our power to help the empire. In the name, then, of that faith in which through Christ we are united by the adoption of the sons of God,² we exhort you, and by the authority of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, we urge you to let the wounds and blood of your brethren, and the dire peril of the empire, stir up your sympathy, so that you may be ready to undergo the toil of bearing help to your brethren. Let us know without delay, and by reliable messengers, what the mercy of God shall move you to do."³

But Europe was not yet ready for a Crusade. The story of the Turkish atrocities had not yet been told often enough, and great masses are not moved at the first essay. The echo to Gregory's resounding trumpet-call to arms was but feeble; and meanwhile Guiscard continued contumacious and threatening. In the Lenten council of this year (March 1074), Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, with all his supporters, was excommunicated and anathematised,⁴ in the presence of Matilda of Tuscany, the Marquis Azzo, and Gisulf of Salerno.⁵

¹ "A quo sicut a plerisque aliis, cognovimus gentem paganorum contra christianum fortiter invaluisse imperium," etc. I. 49.

² Ros., viii. 23.

³ I. 49, March 1, 1074.

⁴ I. 86, which is really an historical notice closing the first book of Gregory's Register.

⁵ Bonizo, l. vii.

Gregory aims at compelling his submission.

Gregory, however, knew enough of the audacious nature of the duke to realise that no censure of the Church would put a curb on his ambition. The sword of Guiscard must be crossed with another of like temper and material. But whence was he to procure it? He had already discovered that the transalpine princes would not take up arms either against the Turks or the Normans. "You," he wrote to Duke Godfrey, "have done like so many others. You have been false to your word. Where is the aid you promised? Where are the soldiers you promised to lead in person to bring honourable succour to St. Peter?"¹

A papal army at Mt. Cimino, June 1074.

His Italian allies were, however, truer to Gregory. Beatrice and Matilda undertook "to force the enemy to restore what he had taken from the Prince of the Apostles."² Accordingly, in the summer of 1074 an army from different parts of Italy assembled by the woods of Mt. Cimino, between Sutri and Viterbo. But the expedition came to naught. The Pisans would not fight with Gisulf, who had basely ill-treated some of their traders; an insurrection among some of their dependants necessitated the departure of Beatrice and her daughter;³ and Gregory himself fell grievously ill.

Final abandonment of the idea of a Crusade, and of using force against Guiscard.

When, after about two months and a half of sickness, contrary to the prognostications of those around him, and to his "grief rather than joy,"⁴ Gregory recovered his health, there were reopened with Guiscard negotiations into which the military preparations of the Pope had caused him to enter, but which had been closed by the former's illness. The Norman duke offered to renew under every guarantee of fidelity his allegiance to the Pope.⁵ But, seemingly on account of the difficulty of inducing Guiscard to respect

¹ I. 72, April 7, 1074. Cf. Aimé, vii. 12.

² Aimé, *l.c.*

³ Aimé, *l.c.*; ep. i. 85; Bonizo, l. vii.; and *Cod. Vat. A.*, p. 315 f.

⁴ 11. 9, October 16, 1074.

⁵ Ep. cit.; cf. Aimé, vii. 14.

his allies, Gregory delayed acceding to his offers;¹ and in the beginning of the year 1075 relations between the two were so far strained that there is some ground for believing that the Pope thought of calling upon a son of the Danish king, Svend Estrithson, to measure swords with Robert for his duchy.² He was the more anxious that the Norman duke should be reduced to peaceful subjection, seeing that fresh messengers had come from the East to implore his aid against the Turks. Not only had he made another effort to induce "all the faithful of St. Peter, especially those beyond the mountains," to cease fighting for perishable goods, and to come to him in order that together they might defend the Christian faith,³ but he had asked the assistance of Henry IV. He had told him of the heart-rending appeals for succour which he had received from the East, and of the efforts he had made to move men to give their lives for their brethren. "Already," he had written, "more than 50,000 men are arming themselves, and, if they can have me as their priest and leader in the expedition, are ready to attack the enemies of God, and, under His guidance, to march even to the Lord's tomb. I am especially moved to undertake this expedition, because the Church of Constantinople, differing from us on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, longs for reunion with the Apostolic See. Almost all the Armenians have fallen away from the Catholic faith. And most of the Orientals, in the midst of their diverse opinions, await the decision of the faith of the Apostle Peter. Especially in our time is ful-

¹ II. 9, to Beatrice and Matilda. "Scitote R. Guiscardum sæpe supplices legatos ad nos mittere. . . . Sed nos, non incertas rationes, cur illud sit adhuc differendum, considerantes, supernæ dispensationis et apostolicæ procurationis consilia præstolamur." Cf. Delarc, p. 103 ff.

² II. 51; Delarc, p. 106 ff.

³ II. 37, December 16, 1074, "De adiutorio faciendo fratribus nostris, qui ultra mare in Constantinopolitano imperio habitant."

filled the injunction which our Holy Redeemer deigned to impose on the Prince of the Apostles: 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and thou being once converted confirm thy brethren' (St. Luke xxii. 32). . . . But as great designs need great forethought and the help of the great, I shall turn to you for advice and support, if God gives me to make a beginning of this undertaking; for if, under God's favour, I shall go to the East, I shall entrust the care of the Roman Church to you, after God, to guard and defend it as your holy mother."¹

But the time for the Crusades had not yet come; it was for others to reap what Gregory had sown. The princes were wrapped up in the pursuit of their own selfish ends; and knowledge of the sufferings of the Christians in the East had not yet spread deep enough to move the masses of the people. Gregory himself, too, had soon to cope with troubles nearer home than in Palestine. In little more than a year from the date of the dispatch of the letter just cited, he had written his last letter to Henry, had well-nigh lost his life at the hands of an assassin, and at the bidding of Henry IV. had been declared deposed from the Papacy by a council of German bishops.

General
reform of
the Church.

In the midst of all his exertions to effect local reforms, to put a curb on the grasping ambition of the Normans, and to carry through such a gigantic undertaking as a Crusade, Gregory did not lose sight of the necessity of furthering the general reform of the Church, so well inaugurated by his immediate predecessors. To this end, he began at an early date in his pontificate to make preparations for the holding of the first of the customary² Lenten

¹ II. 31. Cf. epp. coll. II.

² "Non incognitum vobis esse credimus, in Romana ecclesia jam dudum constitutum esse, ut per singulos annos ad decorem et utilitatem S. ecclesiæ generale concilium apud sedem apostolicam sit

synods which occupy such an important place in his reign. They were assembled not merely to make laws, but to advise the Pope in questions of religion, law, and policy; for, as Gregory himself wrote when summoning the Patriarch of Aquileia to the synod of 1074, "the more securely and firmly shall we be able to work for the good of ecclesiastical liberty and religion, the more abundantly and closely we are supported by the society and provident forethought of many of our fellow-bishops."¹

With the exception of a few from France and Spain, most of the bishops who were present at Gregory's first synod were Italians. Among the distinguished laity who assisted at it were Gisulf, prince of Salerno, and the Countess Matilda. The principal work of the council was to renew the prohibitions already issued against simony and clerical incontinence.² All who had received holy orders or benefices by simoniacal practices were to lose them; and such as were guilty of incontinence were forbidden to exercise any sacred function. Should they presume to do so, the faithful were forbidden to assist at any celebration held by them.³ Various particular cases tenendum." I. 43, January 25, 1074, summoning the suffragans of Milan to the synod.

¹ I. 42, *ib.*

² "The prejudice and narrow-mindedness of modern times may see in Hildebrand nothing but an ambitious Pontiff, endeavouring to enforce on the clergy a restriction contrary to the Gospel. Not so thought his contemporaries; not so thought the morally earnest men of that time: to them, as to Hildebrand, the marriage of a priest seemed little short of adultery." Reichel, *The See of Rome in the Middle Ages*, p. 190, London, 1870.

³ The *Acts* of this council are lost; but we know its decrees from letters written by Gregory to some of the great metropolitans, ordering them to publish and enforce them. II. 25, 45, and epp. coll. 3-5. Cf. a contemporary apology for the decrees of this synod, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 752 ff. It was the work of Bernald, among whose pamphlets it is reprinted, *ib.*, p. 1107 ff. See also Marianus Scotus and Siebert, *Chron.*, 1074, and certain MSS. of Ekkehard of Aura, an. 1074, p. 946.

First
Lenten
synod,
March
1074

were also decided at this synod,¹ and, as we have seen, Guiscard was excommunicated by it.

Papal
legates pro-
ceed to
Germany,
1074.

To secure the observance of these decrees, and, at the same time, to bring about a satisfactory understanding between Henry and the Holy See, and between the king and the rebellious Saxons, Gregory dispatched to Germany Cardinals Humbert and Gerald, bishops of Palæstrina and Ostia respectively. With them went the Empress Agnes,² full of anxiety for the spiritual condition of her son. Henry, as we shall see presently, seemed prepared to satisfy the legates in everything, and, outwardly at any rate, made no objection to their calling a council in order to deal with the bishops and abbots guilty of simony and incontinency. Headed, however, by Liemar, archbishop of Hamburg, the bishops at once raised a cry of "Privilege!" They maintained that, in accordance with ancient custom, the archbishop of Mainz was the Pope's representative in Germany, and that, therefore, mere legates could not hold a synod in the country under his jurisdiction. It would have to be held by the Pope himself.³ According to Bonizo, it was at Henry's suggestion that the bishops put forward this specious argument, as he did not wish the synod to be held. But Lambert will have it that Henry was really anxious for the holding of the synod, because, as most of the bishops were tainted with simony, he hoped to bring about the deposition of his enemies, especially the Saxon bishops. And as Henry was not averse to abandoning a friend if he could serve himself, Lambert is probably right. The result, however, was that the synod could not

¹ Cf. epp. i. 51-58. Cf. Hefele, *Conc.*, vi. p. 476 ff., § 569, French ed.

² Bonizo, l. vii. p. 657, ed. Jaffé, and the chroniclers Berthold, Lambert, etc., an. 1074.

³ Bonizo, l. vii., and *Cod. Vat. A*, both ap. Watterich, i. 310 f. Cf. Lambert, *l.c.*

be held, and that, after a time, Liemar was suspended by the Pope from the performance of his episcopal functions till he should present himself in Rome to explain his conduct.¹ Liemar was furious, and gave vent to his feelings in a letter which he wrote² to the bishop of Hildesheim: "A dangerous man wishes to order bishops about as if they were his stewards; and if they do not fulfil all his behests, they are summoned to Rome, and suspended before being tried."

Before returning to Rome, loaded with presents from Henry, the legates instructed the metropolitans to put the decrees of the Roman synod into force. An attempt to do so on the part of the archbishop of Mainz caused a furious outburst of indignation among his clergy. The Pope must be a heretic, they exclaimed, to want to force men to live like angels. They would give up their orders rather than their wives, they said, and the Pope might get angels to take their place.³ So strong, indeed, in certain parts of Germany was the feeling aroused by the attempt to enforce the law of celibacy, that some of the metropolitans, in endeavouring to do so, barely escaped with their lives. The opposition was the stronger since, no doubt, not a few of the clergy had taken to themselves wives, because they really believed that custom at least allowed them to do so.

¹ Ep. ii. 28, "Prædictis etiam delictis nobis persuadentibus, ab omni episcopali officio . . . te suspendimus."

² Seemingly about January 1075. The letter will be found in Bernheim's useful collection: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites*, i. p. 58 f.

³ "Malle se sacerdocium quam conjugium deserere, et tunc visurum eum . . . unde gubernandis per æcclesiam Dei plebibus angelos comparaturum esse." Lambert, 1074, p. 199, ed. Holder-Egger. Cf. the opposition of his clergy on this subject to the holy bishop, Altmann of Passau. See his *Life*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 878. Some authors refer these disturbances to 1075.

Disturbances caused by attempts to enforce the decrees of 1074.

The laity
to help in
the reform
of the
clergy.

Though similar disturbances took place in France¹ also, Gregory was not the man to be daunted by displays of violence when there was question of his duty. If the bishops would not be reformed by the Pope, nor the clergy by the bishops, he would bring both to a sense of their duty by the people. Writing to the dukes, Rudolf of Suabia, and Bertulf of Carinthia, he reminds them that most of the bishops have done nothing to give effect to the decrees of council after council since the days of Pope Leo IX. As these decrees concern such weighty matters as simony and clerical incontinence, he will have to employ fresh means to see that they are observed. "It seems to us much better to reconstruct the justice of God even by new methods, than to suffer the souls of men to perish along with the neglected laws. We, therefore, exhort you and all men, whatever henceforth the bishops may say or not say, to refuse, nay, if possible to hinder by force, the ministrations of all those whom you know to be tainted with simony or incontinency. If any should protest that to take such action is outside your province, tell them that they must not interfere with your salvation or that of the people, and that they must come to us to complain of the obedience we have laid on you."² Another letter addressed to all the clergy and laity "in the kingdom of the Teutons," bids them not obey those bishops who countenance want of chastity on the part of their clergy, since they themselves do not obey the orders of the Apostolic See, nor the authority of the Fathers.³

There is no doubt that this "lay remedy" was a drastic one, and productive of some harm by its giving the laity the idea that they were the judges of their pastors; but

¹ Delarc, iii. 86.

² II. 45.

³ Epp. coll. 10, December 1074.

then all severe remedial measures cause at least some temporary harm, and yet are justified by the permanent gain obtained by them. And so the firmness of Gregory ultimately triumphed over the frantic opposition which it aroused, for men and not angels have since been found in every land ready to serve God and His Church in the observance of that chastity on which he insisted.

As his relations with Henry IV. constitute the most salient feature in Gregory's career, it is of importance that they should be clearly traced from their commencement. The first point in connection with them which makes itself at once manifest is the effort made by Gregory to develop in Henry a sense of responsibility, and to promote the harmonious working of the spiritual and temporal powers for the benefit of mankind. Understanding, however, that it was with them as with individual men, and that, therefore, each of them could work best when most free, he ceased not withal to strive for the full freedom of the Church.

First relations with Henry IV.

He began his pontifical life, as we have seen, by notifying his election to Henry, and perhaps by a request, *pro forma*, that he would acknowledge it. At the same time, writing as "Roman Pontiff elect" to Duke Godfrey of Lorraine, he laid bare to him "his mind and wishes" with regard to the king. "No one," he wrote, "is more anxious and solicitous for his present and future honour than we are. It is our intention on the first opportunity to approach him through our legates with paternal love, and to treat with him on what we believe of importance for the advantage of the Church, and the honour of his royal dignity. If he will listen to us, we shall rejoice in his salvation as much as our own, for he will certainly attain it, if, in maintaining justice, he will give heed to our admonitions and advice. But if, which we trust will not

be the case, he returns us hatred for love, and, setting aside what is justly due to God, he repays Him with contempt for the honours He has bestowed upon him, the threat: 'Cursed be he that withholdeth his sword from blood' (Jer. xlvi. 10), shall, by the mercy of God, not fall upon me. After the words of the apostle: 'If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ' (Gal. i. 10), we may not put aside the law of God for the sake of anyone, nor for man's favour leave the path of rectitude."¹

What was, at this time especially, distressing Gregory in Henry's conduct was his continuing to consort with those worthless favourites of his who had been excommunicated by Alexander II.;² not to speak of his attitude towards the Saxons, and towards the Church of Milan. It was not, as he assured Rudolf of Suabia, that he was animated by any malevolent feelings towards Henry; for "we have chosen him king,³ and, among all the Italians at the court of his father, the Emperor Henry, of praiseworthy memory, we were specially honoured; and, when the said emperor came to die, he entrusted this son of his to the Roman Church in the person of Pope Victor, of venerable memory." That there might be true harmony between the Church and the State,⁴ he thought it advisable to hold a

¹ I. 9, May 2, 1073. Cf. i. 11 to Beatrice and Matilda, in which he writes to the same effect.

² I. 21. Cf. i. 20.

³ I. 19. "Ipsium in regem elegimus." Was it by Gregory's advice that, to avoid the risk of a disputed succession, the Emperor Henry III. had his child-son crowned? When that event took place (July 1054) he was north of the Alps. In i. 20, he declares that it is his one wish that no one should surpass Henry in worldly prosperity or in holiness of life, and that he would do all that in him lay, in order that, when he came into Italy, he might find everything tranquil.

⁴ "Sed quia concordiam istam, scilicet sacerdotii et imperii, nihil fictum nihil nisi purum decet habere, videtur nobis omnino utile," etc. I. 19.

conference with Rudolf of Suabia, the Empress Agnes, the Duchess Beatrice, and other God-fearing persons, in order that his relations with the king might be regulated by their advice.¹

Before this projected conference could be realised, the Pope received from Henry a letter "full of sweetness and deference (*obedientia*), such as," wrote Gregory,² "neither he nor any of his predecessors ever, as far as we can remember, wrote to a Roman Pontiff." The fact was that Henry had received a serious blow from the Saxons,³ with whom he had been at enmity for some time, and was anxious to secure the friendship of the Pope. His letter was addressed: "To the most watchful and most beloved Lord Pope Gregory, gifted from heaven with the apostolic dignity, Henry, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, loyally offers the homage which is his due (*debiti famulatus*).

Henry writes most submissively to the Pope, autumn, 1073.

"That the Church and the State (*regnum et sacerdotium*), fitly directed in Christ, may endure, they have ever need of one another's help. Hence is it proper, my lord and well-beloved father, that they should never quarrel, but should rather, by the bond of Christ, ever most closely adhere to one another." Henry then proceeds to acknowledge that he has not always treated the Church as he ought to have done, and that he has not always used the sword of justice aright. Led astray by youth, by the possession of unlimited power, and by interested advisers, he has seized ecclesiastical property, and handed churches over to unworthy men. But now, touched by the mercy of God, he begs the Pope's forgiveness and help to amend matters,

¹ I. 19. Cf. i. 20, 21. Gregory will do all he can for Henry if he will honour God "et formam sanctorum regum, omissis puerilibus studiis, sapienter imitari." I. 24.

² I. 25. Cf. epp. coll. 14; iii. 10.

³ Cf. *infra*, p. 107.

and he would have him assist him in the first place to bring order into the Church of Milan.¹

Legates
dispatched
to Ger-
many, 1074

Supposing Henry to be in earnest, Gregory was much touched, and began to look forward with confidence to the great reforms which could be effected by a Pope and an emperor working together. It was not, however, till after his Lenten synod (1074) that he was able to send legates to Germany to take advantage of the king's good disposition, so that peace might be made between him and the Saxons, and that joint action for the reform of the Church might be concerted. He had been much distressed at the news of the slaughter of men, of the plundering of churches and the poor, and of the general devastation which reached him from the seat of war.² And he had written both to the king and the Saxons, imploring them to refrain from hostilities till his legates could arrive, and bring about a lasting peace.

When Cardinal Humbert and the other legates of the Pope³ reached Germany, Henry was at Bamberg; but as its bishop was guilty of simony, and the legates would not, therefore, go thither, the king came to Nuremberg, where they had halted.⁴ He was the more anxious to meet them, seeing that he had been completely worsted by the Saxons. In demolishing the fortress of Harzburg, which he had built to

¹ I. 29 a. Cf. i. 25. Writing to Herlembald, the champion of reform in Milan, he says: "Quidam etiam ex majoribus fidelibus suis (Henry's) promittunt nobis ex parte sui eum de causa Mediolanensis ecclesie sine dubio consilio nostro obedire."

² Writing to the Saxon chiefs (December 1073) he says that the war between them and King Henry, "their lord," is one of the greatest of his anxieties, hearing as he does of the resulting "homicidia, incendia, deprædationes ecclesiarum et pauperum," etc. I. 39.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 68.

⁴ "Noluerunt (legati) esse in pascha cum rege in civitate Bamberg, ne societatem Hermanni ejusdem civitatis episcopi, qui olim comparavit episcopatum . . . haberent." Marianus Scotus, *Chron.*, 1074. Cf. Bernald, *De damn. Scism.*, ii. 36, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii.

