

4570. f. 9

Morney (P. de)

THE MYSTERIE OF INIQUITIE:

That is to say,
The Historie of the Papacie.

Declaring by what degrees it is now mounted to this height,
and what Oppositions the better sort from time to time have made against it.

Where is also defended the right of Emperours, Kings, and Christian Princes,
against the assertions of the Cardinals, Bellarmine and Baronius.

By PHILIP MORNEY, Knight, Lord du Plessis, &c.

Englisbed by SAMSON LENNARD.



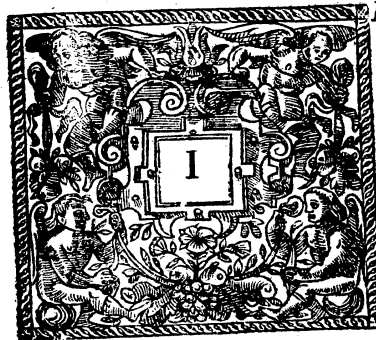
*Falleris aeternam qui suspicic ebrius Arcem,
Subruta succensis mox corruet ima tigiſſu.*

LONDON

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TO THE MOST HIGH
AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, HENRIE,
Prince of Wales, Sonne and Heire apparent
to our Soueraigne Lord the King.



F the Lord du Pleſis (moſt high and mightie Prince) hauing finiſhed this worke, out of that reuerend and honourable conceit hee had of your Fathers greatneſſe, that vnſained loue which true religion wrought in his heart, and that hope he had of his future endeours to beat downe Antichriſt, thought it a ſinne, though a ſtranger, to thinke of any other Patron but himſelfe, to whom hee might dedicate theſe his labours; much more I, his naturall ſubiect, linked vnto your Highneſſe, his naturall ſonne, with the ſame bond, rapt with the ſame admiration, fed with the ſame hope, muſt ſay, hauing finiſhed theſe my labours, Cui dicere debeam ambigere nefas: For the ſame reaſons that moued him, muſt likewiſe encourage me; your greatneſſe muſt encourage, becauſe the ſame, being a Princelie branch ſprung from that Royall ſtocke; your religion muſt encourage, becauſe the ſame which your worthie father, and all the Fathers of the Primitiue Church, haue made profeſſion of; your hopefull endeouours muſt encourage, becauſe the ſame for what he conceiues of your Princelie father, the whole world expects ſhould be performed, if not by his, by your hand. His pen hath made way for your ſword, and his peace, if God giue long life, may farther your warres: Glorious be his peace and your warres, and Gods glorie the end of both. His Highneſſe can beſt iudge what is fitting; we can but wiſh, and if hee haue begged at Gods hands with Hezekiah, That there may be peace in his daies, we all ſay Amen, and with one voyce we all crie out, Let there be peace vpon Iſrael: onely we wiſh he may neuer haue reaſon to ſay as Dauid did, I ſeeke



The Epistle Dedicatorie.

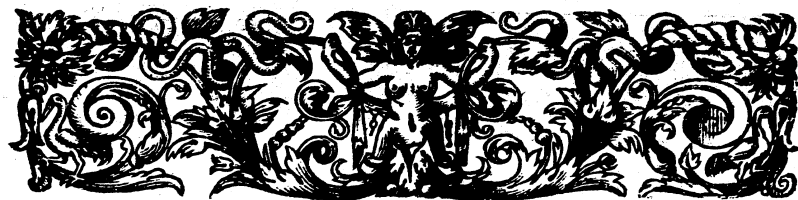
peace, and when I speake thereof they are bent to warre, they intend mischief. And therefore renowned Prince (leaving your royall father to Gods peace and his owne hearts desire) giue me leaue, though altogether unworthie in a matter of such moment to aduise, yet to wish with du Plessis, that I may liue to march ouer the Alpes, and to trayle a pike before the walls of Rome, vnder your Highnesse Standard. It was my first profession, oh that it might be my last. The cause is Gods, the enterprise glorious, O that God would be pleased, as he hath giuen you a heart, so to giue power to put it in execution. In the meane time (whilest our hopes are in the bud) let me humbly beseech your Highnesse, till my sword may doe you seruice, to accept of the poore endeouours of my vnskilfull penne; and as it hath pleased your Highnesse, not long since, graciously to protect my sorie labours bestowed vpon Charron his three bookes of Wisedome, so now to pardon my boldnesse, in vndertaking a worke so farre vnbefitting my strength, and to protect my infirmities. The God of heauen euer blesse your Highnesse, and euer defend you from Antichrist and his bloudie designements, that you may liue, and liue long euen in perniciem, to the ruine of him and all his Antichristian rabble, Amen, Amen.

To your Highnesse

most humbly

denoted,

SAMSON LENNARD.



TO THE RIGHT REVEREND
Fathers in God, GEORGE Archbishop of
Canturburie, and Metropolitan of England: and JOHN Bi-
shop of London.

Right Reuerend and my verie good Lords, I am bold, out of that duetie I owe to two so great Prelats and pillars of this our Church of England, to present vnto your learned and judicious censures, my vnlearned and simple labours, bestowed vpon a worke worthie the reading in it selfe, howsoever by my vnskilfull pen it may be disfigured. I confesse I was vnfitting, amongst a thousand, to vndertake a worke of such consequence, and yet better I (as I thought) than none, being a Mysterie fit to be layd open to as many as can read it in their mother tongue. My good Lords, pardon such faults as either by too much speed, or too little skill, or otherwise, haue slipt my pen: There is nothing past that may not be amended in a second edition, if your Grace shall be pleased to giue the encouragement. The God of heauen, as he hath multiplied his gifts and graces vpon you, fit for so high a calling, euen in the highest measure, so euer assit you with his holie spirit, in that great worke you haue vndertaken, to his glorie, and the good of his Church.

Your Graces and Lordships in all dutie

to be commaunded,

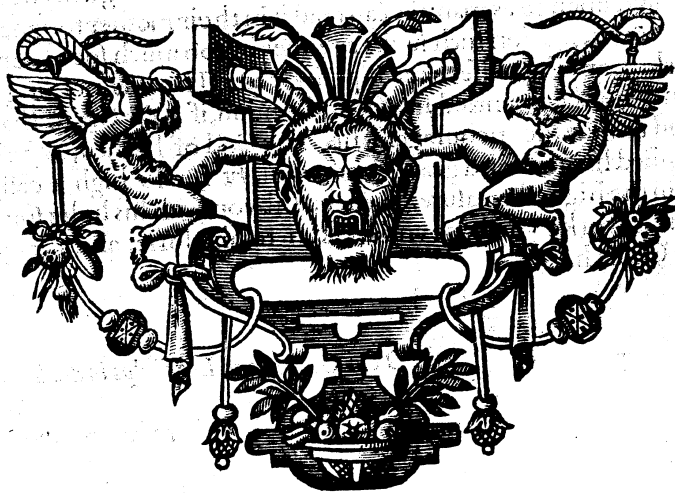
SAMSON LENNARD.



TO THE READER.

Gentle Reader, I have once againe adventured my selfe vpon your gentle censures, with this onely request, That, though perhaps a curious eye may find faults ynow, yea, sometimes where there are none, you would be pleased to doe mee this fauour, that if at any time you shall find mee to disagree sometimes from the Latine copie, sometime from the French, not to condemne me without the examination of both; because in this translation I have followed both the one and the other, as occasion was offered; and as I found them agreeing in one and the same sence. This is all I request, and so much I be rather, because I know the most vnskillfull is more readie to iudge, than he that can iudge iudiciously.

S. L.



TO THE FRIENDS AND FOLLOWERS of the Church of Rome.

B Et me once againe (my brethren and friends) speake vnto you, and though perhaps I shall seeme to importune you ouer much, yet it is with the same importunitie which the Apostle commends to his disciple, *Be instant in season and out of season*; yea with that wholesome and opportune importunitie, wherewith we pluck those that are neereft and deereft vnto vs, euen by the haire of the head, out of the furious rage of fire and water: wherewith we pinch and prick those euen till they bleed, that are dying of a Lethargie. What shall I then say vnto you? To some that are floating, or rather flouting betwixt many opinions; and to others that haue alreadye stept ouer the threshold, gotten one foot out of Babylon, the huge height and greatnesse of the Popedome, like a scar-crow, is obtruded? She is old indeed, and by how much the more stricken in yeares, in so much that she lyes groueling vpon her bellie, by so much the more suspensiu. Whereas contrariwise the reformed Church being little, and of small continuance, either by the noueltie thereof, or the pouertie, is contemptible. And here that common crye of the Iewes to Christ, of the Philosophers to *Paule*, they double vpon vs euen till they be hoarse, *what new doctrine is this? we know that God hath spoken to Moses, but this man we know not whence he is.* To whom preposterously boasting of their antiquitie, we may easily answer with the words of Christ himselfe, *From the beginning it was not so, Had ye beleued Moses, or his writings, yee had likewise beleued me.* Had yee beleued the sacred word of God, the holic Scriptures inspired from above, the true antiquitie, the onely treasure of the Charters of the Christian Church, ye had likewise beleued me. But truly if yee be not ouer hard of beliefe, I doubt not but in this worke I shall satisfie you touching both these scruples. Let them not make you beleue the Popes haue bin alwaies such as you now adore. Behold here their beginning, their progression, their encrease, their secret, subtle, cruell, outragious enterprises, violences, assaults. A Myserie (not without myserie so called) vnder pretence of the ministerie, ending in this prodigious estate that we see in this two-headed monster; whilst the ministers of the Gospel, the Prelats, Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarches, partly vnder Heathen Princes, endured cruell persecutions, partly vnder Christians, though greatly enriched by them, whom they obeyed willingly, and in all humilitie at the first, but afterwards their desires encreasing with their meanes, more carelessly, and rather for a fashion than otherwise; shortly after by open ambition, and flattering some in their finnes, especially *Phocas* in his murder, they were made Vniuersall Bishops, and secular Princes in Italie, excluding Emperours; and not content to withdraw themselves from their obedience, they likewise absolued both the nobles and people, of that oath of allegiance wherewith they were bound. At the last, threatening with both swords, they mingled prophane things with holic, confounding

2.Tim. 4.v.21

Mark. 9. 27.
Act. 17. 2. 19.
Math. 12. v. 8.
Job. 9. v. 29.
Job. 5. v. 16. 17.

A

To the followers of the Church of Rome.

and deuouring the holie in the prophane. They set kings together by the eares, **A** that so they might ruinate one the other, and they by their ruine and ouerthrow rise to the highest step of their power. They crowne Emperours, make and vnmake them at their pleasure, trampling them vnder their feet. They are now Emperours and Popes together, the Lords and Monarches of the world, now higher than the Angels, equall with God himselfe, nay gods, great and omnipotent, subrogating and abrogating the commandments of the highest God, creating God himselfe at their pleasure, nay causing him to be created by those whom they call their creatures. Now let him whosoever he be that yet doubteth, couple & compare these two extreames together, **A** minister of God, sometime a Prelat of the Church, now made a god, sitting in his throne, vsing God (if we may belecue it) **B** as his officer: Sometime humble and gentle, yea the seruant of seruants, yielding obedience to all Princes whatsoever, now proud, cruell, treading vpon the neckes of the greatest powers, the greatest Princes: Sometime glorious for the sanctitie of his life, suffering ioyfully for the name of Christ all torments and tortures whatsoever, now prophane, puffed vp with a vaine title of holinesse, embriued & made drunken with the bloud of Saints. What reason, what proportion can there be, I pray you, betwixt two extreames so different, so repugnant? And what should stay vs but that with astonishment we may crye out, *A Myserie, great Babylon?* In so strange a noueltie, so diuers changes, is it possible that any man should object the antiquitie of the Popedome; where Satan raigneth so visibly vnder the onely **C** name (to say no more) the maske of *S. Peter?*

Let them not abuse you with the name of the Church, the *Catholike* they call it, thereby inferring the *Roman Church*: For the Church of Rome is not, nor euer was, the Vniuersall, the *Catholike Church*; a part thereof it was, so long as it continued pure and vnpolluted: but yet but a part with others, not aboue others. And therefore by her fall, her ruine, the flock of Christ cannot perish, though that perish vtterly; by her defection the flocke of Christ cannot fayle, though that faile vtterly. True it is, that the Church of Rome was once pure and chaste, and no small part of the Spouse of Christ, so long as she hearkened to his voyce, and stopped her eares against the voyce of strangers, nauing alwayes before her eyes her vow and contract of marriage: But the adulterer with false keyes crept into her bed-chamber, nay perhaps by her selfe was let in by the posterne. Hee hath defiled her bed, and with that contagious copulation her beautifull countenance is become pale and gastly, her naturall colour defiled with paintings, her true doctrine infected with forged tales, in so much that in a manner she is become nothing else but falshood and lyes. Other Churches haue done their best endeouours to oppose themselves against her, as that of Africa, France, Germanie, Greece, and other the East Churches. Neither were there wanting in her selfe faithfull dogs, who, with the danger of their liues, ceased not, so long as they might to barke at him when he began first to increase, to dig and to breake through the wall, opposing and interposing their defences, making head against him euen in the breach, vntill at the last by the collusion of the Roman Clergie, hauing obtained the end of his designments, and ouerrunning all things at his owne pleasure, he made the house of God (according to the prouerbe) the stable of *Augia*, the caue of *Cacum*, miserably oppressing all the godlie, yea pietie it selfe. From thence forward the suppressed groanings of the godlie brake forth, and the mournfull plaints of that *woman that flew from the dragon*, of our doue, the purer Church, were euery where heard. Her footsteps sometimes, though flying from the face of the persecuters, you might discern,

To the followers of the Church of Rome.

A come, but yet by the persecuting rable vnmanured, defaced, halfe covered, Her voice amongst the Salmoean thunders of the Popes was hardly heard, being euery where interrupted by the noise of the sparkling flames about her, and as it were in Phalaris bull, in the writings of the Monks, and the murtheres of her aduersaries (least we should lament the tortures of the godlie) turned into the bellowing of an Oxe.

Doest thou aske therefore where our Church was so manie ages past? *where it fed her flockes, where it lay at noone?* Heare I pray thee what *S. John* the Euangelist saith, *The woman*, that is the Church, persecuted by the Dragon, *did flee into the wildernesse, where shee hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there, one thousand, two hundred, and threescore dayes*, that is, propheticall daies, a time certaine, and that not short. Shee is not therefore to be sought in the Popedome, in the light of the world, in the midst of pride and excessse. It is likewise sayd that the dragon which deuoured the whole world hauing great wrath, persecuted the *woman*, and cast out of his mouth water after the woman, like a flood, that shee might be carried away of the flood; But there were then giuen to the woman two wings of a great Eagle, that shee might flee into the wildernesse. And of a flight in the ayre there remaines no trace; In such sort that we are not bound to search after it, much lesse to shew it, accounting it sufficient that we beleue the Scriptures: That God knoweth who are his: That the Church is knowne vnto God, as in the time of **C** *Eliah*, though vnknowne to the Prophet, whereof, after so many ages past, there is no reason why any account should be demanded of vs.

But I will not deale so rigorously with you, will you know where, and what manner of Church ours was in all your time? Our Church was that *Primitive Apostolike Church* inspired with the holie Ghost, grounded vpon the word of God, which hath left vnto vs the Canon of the holie Scriptures the rule of our faith and life, the *Symbol* of the Apostles, the badge of our Christian warfare, To vs therefore that embrace all these, and to hold and defend them, reject all humane inuentions, stoppe our eares against the voice of a stranger, the societie of this Church, spread farre and wide through the world, and, as our Sauiour saith, continuing to the last day of the world, cannot be denied. But on the other side, **D** against you is that curse threatened by *S. Paule*, who besides and against this preach another Gospel; *If we or any angell from heauen preach vnto you otherwise, let him be accursed.* Our Church is that which hath continued with this, yea hath been euer ioyned vnto it, shining with so manie and so great miracles, made red with so many and glorious martyres; For these are the miracles that witness the truth of this Gospel, Martyrdomes that gaue testimonie to Christ the onely begotten sonne of God, the onely redeemer of mankind, Mediator, Sauiour, the onely true Priest of the new Covenent, which we onely yrge, refusing all other, and are readie to seale it with our blood: Ours therefore are these miracles, and these **E** Martyrdomes, since we are incorporated with them, by one and the same faith into one and the same Church. Now tell me I pray, haue your traditions bene confirmed by these miracles? Can you or dare you affirme, that any of your martyres haue suffered for the Papacie, for the Popish doctrine, for the adoration of Images, the worship of Saints, the traffike of Purgatorie, the sacrifice of the Masse, Transubstantiation? By what right then doe you arrogate vnto your selues the miracles and martyrdomes of that Church, by what right, nay rather what wrong, doe you take them from vs the true heires of their faith? I would to God, wee could as truly say of their constancie. Againe our Church is that, that heretofore

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fore confuted and confounded *Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, Eutiches, Pyrrhus*, yea **A** Pope *Honorius* himselfe, who called into question the diuinitie of the onely begotten sonne of God, and of the holie ghost, and the two natures and two wils in one Christ. Ours are those generall Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and others; In which they with theirs were condemned and ouerthrowne. Forasmuch therefore as we approue and embrace all these, and consequently the Catholike Church represented in them, as we neuer wandered in any thing from their doctrine, so are we not to be seperated from their bodies. Tell me againe whether you dare to say as much; And if for shame you will seeme to dare, See ye not that your Pope is to be brought into order, that he is presently to fall to the ground? Find you any where in any of those approued and auncient Councils any place for those your inuentions? And yet these bring vs to the six hundredth yeare after the natiuitie of our blessed Sauour. In all which time, if those points of doctrine which we affirme, are confirmed by the holie Scriptures, Symboles, Myracles, Martyres, decrees of Councils, and contrarily those things we denie, doe no where appeare, nay are not so much as affirmed, may we not by good right and reason professe that Church to be ours? And with better reason aske you, where your Church was for those six hundred yeares together? *Vbinam Gentium?* for to say the truth, *there stode there shee fed;* Not vpon the hill of Sion, but the litle hils and groues of Garisim, the mountaines of Seyre, the pastures of Paganisme: From whence ye haue gathered, whatfoeuer, **C** either the proud schoole of the Pharisees, brought into the Sinagogue, or the vaine superstition of the Greeke Philosophers, into their Academy.

From thence forward the authoritie of one man by the contempt of the word of God, gathering strength in the Church of Rome, the Princes likewise, according as it was foretold, struing to giue their assistance, he made and vnmade lawes at his owne pleasure, preferring humane inuentions before the diuine oracles, his decrees before the Canons of Councils, Nouelties before antiquities, things profane, before holie, borrowed from elsewhere before his owne, adulterat before lawfull, superstition before religion, and all this furniture of Paganisme, before Christian simplicitie, by which meanes the Church by degrees fell into this **D** corruption, and languishing consumption. In such sort neuerthelesse, that in the midst of this corruption, this confusion, a part of our selues did still remaine, and that in a twofold manner. This Church was a part of our selues, though corrupt, cloked, and covered with wood and hay, and stubble, yea in a manner ouerwhelmed; so long as shee stode vpon her onely true foundation Christ Iesus, so long as the saluation of man depended vpon him onely, his merit, the blood of his crosse; Not vpon our owne or other mens workes, nor vpon Popish absolutions and indulgences, and other blasphemous toyes of that nature. And as it falleth out, that the wind changing, the wether altereth, so for a time the matter hung in an equal balance, vntill impietie ouerweighing the mind of man, by a kind of **E** selfe loue, being prone to human inuentions, true pietie was taken away. Againe this Church was a part of our selues, and the purer part, inasmuch as many excellent men famous for their pietie and learning sprung vp therein almost in euerie Nation, lifting vp their heads in the midst of this darkenesse; Assemblies of Bishops and whole vniuersities struing with all their force, against that swift and violent stream, shewed thereby the newnesse of the doctrine: But struing in vaine, broke out into mournings and clamours and complaints, calling heauen and earth to wimesse against the Popes and their followers; who speaking with so

cleere

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A cleere and audible a voice being so manie in number, and in so manie places, and that not out of any compact or agreement, but a common sence of that publike calamitie, is it not to be presumed that manie held their peace for feare, possessing their pure soules in silence? Such of whom the Lord speaketh by *Eliab: I haue reserved vnto my selfe* *quarta* *seuen thousand men who haue not bowed their knees to Baal.* **Rom. 11. 2.** To my selfe saith he: They stand to their Lord and master, inasmuch that thou needst not doubt of them. Much lesse it is to be doubted, that there are seuen times seuentie thousand, yea innumerable numbers in the whole world; since tyrannie and corruption grew more slowly in some places than in other, and *Eliab* alone in Israell withstood the false worship of God. That there were so many in so many **B** kingdomes and Countries, though we had no other witness to proue it, than our aduersaries, than the Popes slaues, who either concealed, or disguised whatfoeuer might be noted in the errors of true religion, as appeares by the example of the Iesuits in these dayes, let no man doubt.

And these things fell out in the seuenth, eight, and ninth ages, in which the East Church was directly opposite against the West, the West at variance with it selfe, their Councils wauering, and in one and the same Council voices diuided, different opinions: we call these times the twilight of the Church, growing by little and litle into an obscure and darke night; A moonlesse night, wherein there are few starres, and those that twinkle most, for the most part wandring, not fastened in the firmament the word of God. In such sort, that whither you respect **C** doctrine or manners, this night seemed to be the last night of the Church, her brest, yea her heart, being pierst, and her throat cut; The doctrine of the onely mediator, redeemer, fauour of mankind, Christ Iesus, of his onely propitiatorie sacrifice, almost extinct, and reserved (if we looke into the outward face of things) amongst a few. This no doubt was that time, wherein that *Woman*, the true **D** Church being put to flight by the Dragon, and borne vpon the wings of that great Eagle, was enforced to retire her selfe to the wilderness: Of that Eagle, the eternall omnipotent Iehoua, who when there is neede, knoweth how to carrie and keepe his Church, as the Eagle doth her young. This likewise was that time, **E** wherein that Dragon cast out of his mouth water after the woman like a flood, that shee might be carried away of the flood. But shee whom thou seekest and persecutest to the death, being got out of thy sight, cutteth the ayre with her wings, seekes the steepie tops of the mountaines, where shee resteth and hideth her selfe vnder the wings of the Almighty: And shee, whom thou like a wretch thinkest to be perished, in the beginning of the twelfth age, tooke her flight towards the plaine, God mouing and leading her the way, into Dauphin, Prouince, Languedock, Guyenne, the plains of Italie, filling all from the Pirenei hills to the Alpes, from the Alpes to the Appenine, with the preaching of the Gospell. At the last her enemies the Popes, exercising their furie against her, after many bloudie slaughters and massacres, being rather sowed than scattered, the springs vp & takes root, in Germanie, Slaunonia, Hungary, & England it selfe, & there hath founded & extended her Colonies: No otherwise than that first Apostolike Church driuen from Hierusalem by the furious priests, dispersed it selfe by the great providence of God into all parts of the world, publishing the Gospell (which otherwise had been included within a litle circuit) in all the corners therof. Read, my good friend the Histories of this time, set downe by your owne writers, we produce our witnesses out of thine owne bosome; we haue no other either for you, or against you: It shall be easie for thee there to note her foot-steps. Heere some by flocks are massacred, **A iij** there

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there others by multitudes are consumed with fire. For feare least thou shouldest loose thy way, and go astray, he hath marked it out for thee, with these euerlasting cinders, the bloud of these Saints, other foot-steps, others to shew thee the way thou needest not.

But thou contemnest this poore and ragged Church, though not so full of wrinkles, and proudly disdainest her natural colour, though it be white, louing rather (delicious and delicat as thou art) a Church proud and glorious, in her vestments of scarlet, painted with colours more glittering, though borrowed, wantonly lusting after noueltries. It is therefore no maruell if thou haue embraced that Babylonian Whore, beautified with false and counterfeit colours. The chosen vinyard of the Lord, like a negligent husbandman, thou sufferest to grow vnto a tree, to be ouer ranked with leaues; and little care thou takest whether it yeeld weeds or grapes. But the eternall God, the true husbandman, doth not so, but humble and lowly as his vinyard is, the better to continue it in that humilitie, hee prunes it, and affords now and then an eye vnto it, and that bedewed with tears, that it might yeeld the more and the better fruit; yea and sometimes hee pluckes away the leaues, that it may lye more open to the beames of the Sunne, and so ripen the better, that when they come to the presse, they may yeeld a more excellent wine. And now thou knowest where our Church was in all this time. Thou, rude and simple as thou art, thinkest perhaps, when thou seest the Sunne to set in the West, that it is swallowed vp in the Ocean, and quite extinguished, where- in indeed when it sets to thee, it riseth to others, and returnes againe to thee in his due time, and misseth not a minute. The riuer Rofne, when it entreteth into the lake of Lozanna, thou thinkest it is quite deuoured, but that liuelie and running water curteth and diuideth that dead and standing pool, making way through her swallowing depthes: Our Church in like manner hath made her way through many ages, hath runne into the lake, yet not overwhelmed, but hath past through the bottomelesse gulfes thereof with glorie and triumph; and many riuers meeting her, she passeth through many countries, and at the last falls into her Ocean, the Church of Christ into God, the bottomelesse sea of all goodnesse, and there is drowned, loosing her selfe to find her selfe in him.

Remember *Ionas*, a figure of the bodie of Christ in the Sepulchre, and therefore of his Church: Thou seest him swallowed by the Whale, and thou thinkest him deuoured, and thou hast reason to beleue too; for he saith, *The waters compassed me about vnto the soule, the depth closed me round about, and the weeds were wrapt about my head, in as much that I said, I am cast away out of thy sight; out of the sight of God himselfe, if we may so say, not of men, not of his aduersaries: But I (saith he) will yet looke againe toward thy holie Temple: Out of the bellie of hell it selfe, the homels of that beast, I cried, and thou heardest my voyce.* At the verie becke of the omnipotent God this monster cast out *Ionas* vpon the drie land, to be sent as an Herald to preach repentance vnto the Niniuites, a people seperated from the Church. What maruell then is it, that the Popedome hauing swallowed vp this poore Church, at the word of the Lord, in these later times should cast it out againe, that so the Gospell might be preached more gloriously than before, euen to your selues?

But now giue me leaue to aske thee againe, In all this long space of time where was thy Church? and of all loues answer me: In those six hundred yeares next after Christ, in the whole world, was there any that was thy Church? and that worshipped, burnt incense, adorned, adored, and inuocated Images? Doubtlesse there

To the followers of the Church of Rome.

- A** there was none such, except thou seeke it among the Heathen with *Simon Magus*, nor *Simon Peter*. In a whole thousand yeares was there any Church that called the Host Lord, thought it a god, adored it? In a whole thousand two hundred yeares, that shut it vp in a box, carried about, appointed vnto it a proper feastuall day, set it out with pomp to be gazed vpon by the people, as in a publike Theatre? Againe, in a whole thousand yeares after Christ, was there any Church, howsoeuer otherwise corrupted, that placed Christ the sonne of God betweene the hands of a Priest, yea created him, that sold his sacrifice for money, to be offered at all times, yea euerie moment of time, and in all places; That abolished the auncient institution of Christ, and Communion of the faithfull, bringing into the place thereof their solitarie Masses for the liuing and the dead, mumbled vp in a corner; That deprived the people of the Cup of the Lord, to feed them with the smoke of this pretended sacrifice? And since I am entred into it, to lay open these monstrous abuses to the view of the world, Was there any Church that accused the Scriptures of insufficiencie, or imperfection, writing bookes to that purpose; That forbade the reading of them, as being dangerous and deadly, vpon paine of grieuous punishment, and that by a publike Decree? Againe, was there any Church in the whole world, for six hundred yeares after Christ, that beleued the Pope of Rome to be the Vniuersall Bishop, an earthlie Prince, armed with both swords spirituall and temporall; That for a thousand yeares, out of Rome, acknowledged him to be Pope and Emperour, the Lord of the world, the true Spouse of the Church; That for twelue hundred yeares did affirme him to be aboue generall Councils, the Catholike Church, the Scriptures; That did affirme or teach, That he had power to dispose of the state of our soules by his Indulgences, That he could shut Purgatorie, open heauen, canonize for a Saint, or damne to hell, at his pleasure, whom it pleased him; commaund the Angels, abrogat the lawes of God, and therefore a god, and aboue God? Adde if you will, to make vp the matter, What Church in those ages euer knew those multitudes of Monkes, the foure Orders of begging Friers, the scarlet Cardinals, this Pontificall pompe, his Ianizaries and Mamalukes, and lastly his Iesuites, who are as it were the reeward of the Popes armie? And yet of these doth your Church now consist, and they must be beleued vpon paine of damnation. Herein *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* spend their labours, and he that abates but a haire of that they affirme, let him bee accounted as a Heathen or Publican. That man on the other side that beleues all this, especially all those poynts that concerne the Pope, though he be otherwise an heretike, a prophane person, an Atheist, yet he is a good Catholike, and in the right way. It is now then your part to proue this your Church out of the Fathers, Councils, Histories, yea euen your owne, for I refuse not any.
- But perhaps thou wilt aske, though against the rules of disputation, By what apparent reason it appeares that your Church hath erred, and how it should bee likely, that it hath hitherto receiued Christ his enemy for Christ his Vicar, and how and in what part that corruption thou speakest of hath crept in? Hearken, my friend, let not this preposterous presumption deceiue thee; the Angels in heauen haue erred, our first parents in Paradiſe haue erred, *Iacob* amongst so many visions of God, *Israel* in the desert, in the midst of so many myracles, haue erred; the Church, the Spouse of God, vnder the Iudges, the Kings in the presence of the Arke, in that holie land, though reprobred by the Prophets; verie often, in the time of the first Temple, and as often vnder the second, and that which is more, puffed vp with the doctrine of the Law, euen to the forsaking of Christ himselfe,

To the followers of the Church of Rome.

the crucifying of him with her owne hands, and consequently in her owne saluation, hath erred: What then should hinder but that it may now likewise erre, euen to the receiuing of Antichrist, *that man of sinne, the sonne of perdition*, and the adoring of him, since both the one and the other proceed from the same spirit of presumption, not to erre; both the one and the other foretold by the same mouth, by the spirit of God in his word, and therefore of like certaintie? Doubtlesse the Church then hath erred, erred by neglecting the word of God; and shall erre as often as she shall forsake the sea-mans compasse, without which all things are to it vncertaine, the heauens, the sea, the earth: In so much that being left to her own discourse, her owne cogitations, it is no maruell if she haue erred, if she doe erre: yea rather it were a wonder, and more than a wonder, if without that compasse she should hold her course but a moment of time, and not bee split in peeces against some rocke, or suffer shipwracke vpon some vnknowne shore. But whereas thou desirest to know the moment of time when this accident happened, vnderstand, my friend; that this Myserie was wrought in the darke: for Antichrist is compared to a theefe that digs through the wall in the dead time of the night. At what watch therefore he began his worke, it is your part to know, and to tell vs that stand fentinell, that haue so long time before bene forewarned by God himselfe, by whose either negligence or treacherie he hath inuaded the Roman castle, and therefore your Church. But thou art perhaps sicke of a dropsie, thy bellie is swolne as big as a tunne, thy bloud turned into water, and yet thou wilt not hearken to the Physitian, change the course of thy life, vntill he tell thee the verie instant time when thy liuer began to be distemperd, to bee inflamed, to grow drie, and to be hardened into a Schyrus; whereas thou shouldst haue bene the first that should haue knowne that, if it might be, because there is no man so neere vnto thee as thy selfe. There is nothing more ridiculous, than to thinke that another should know it before thy selfe, especially considering it is one of those diseases, according to *Hypocrates*, that at the first is most hardly knowne, most easily cured, afterwards by tract of time the symptomes, or accidents belonging thereunto encreasing, it is easily knowne, hardly cured.

But yet I will not refuse to satisfie thee herein, if I can. Thou wouldest know when Antichrist inuaded this chayre, which for a long time hee coueted, and now possesseth. It was necessarie that the *Palladium*, *le Gardé corps* of the Church should first be stolen, before he could be receiued, before that fatall horse could be admitted: The word of God, the Candlesticke of the holie Scriptures must first bee hid vnder a bushell, before the theefe durst creepe in, or make any assault vpon the Church; which still continuing in force, in vaine could that sinke of superstitions besiege it, but we kept it farre off from our Troy, our rampiers, our territories, much more from the porch, the Temple, the Sanctuarie of the Lord. That old Dragon, vnder the colour of a *not written word*, cunningly and closely brought in Traditions to betray the Church; which the wisdom of the flesh, their neere alliance, better agreeing with carnall reason, did willingly and with good countenance receiue, equalled them with the Written word, the sacred oracles, made them sit checke by checke with them. This law of equalitie being often attempted, in the seuenth age, and seuenth Idolatrous Synod, it was established, yea and by vertue thereof Traditions preferred before the Word, opposed against it. Then *Simon*, rather vnder the name than shape of *Simon*, began to appeare, by diuers cunning deuices covering his treacherie, persuading vs to receiue that dangerous engine, that Troian horse, that Epitome as it were of all the Painims impieties,

into

To the followers of the Church of Rome.

A into the place of our Palladium, the word of God: *Captiue* and diuers others who were of a sounder iudgement, fearing their subtilties, and finding them, cried out to haue it burnt. The most famous Fathers of the Church throughout the world, foretold, threatened the euill to come, resisted, banded themselves against it. But you vnaduised, or rather ill aduised, *ita ferantibus factis*, being necessarie that the Prophecies should be fulfilled in their due time,

*Diuiditio murus, & mania panditis urbis,
Et licet — Vtero sonitum quater arma dedere.*

B Diuide your walls, and make them plaine euen with the ground,
Though foure times the armor in his bellie did found.

Nothing regarding either the aduertisements of the Apostles, the counsell of the Fathers of the Church, or the suspicions that it gaue of it selfe: But,

*Instantes operi immemores caecique furore,
Hoc monstrum infelix sacra sistitis Arce.*

C Blind with furie, the more is the pitie,
You place this monster within your citie.

From thence forward he put all to fire and sword in the citie, ransacked the Church, polluted the holie things, left nothing vntouched with the infectious hands of his Harpies, powred out of that fatall horse all manner of superstitious seruices in the Church, calling this horse (although a marke of the Greekes) the Troian horse. These superstitions, Catholike, Orthodoxall, because consecrated and hallowed (these are their owne words) by the Popes, though from their beginning they were Heathenish and Idolatrous. Now in the midst of this fire, this vniuersall confusion, thy neighbours house being on fire, nay thine owne, nay thy beard being singed, thou gapest & stretchest thy selfe, as if thou were halfe asleepe, thou cauillest and disputest where it first tooke fire, where it began, and in the meane time thou burnest thy selfe. *Wife Antenor*, deuout *Aeneas*, did not so, but breaking through the Grecian troups, got themselves out of the citie with their fellowes, gathered together what they could, and to sea they goe, and putting themselves into the first ships they met with, hoise vp sayles to saeke a new countrey, and find it, and there they settle: being still Troians whither soeuer they went, in what place soeuer they rested; carrying with them their household gods, and the ensignes of their countrey: Being still Christians, professors of the Catholike faith, carrying with them the word of God, vntouched by the fire of the Greeks, keeping the Sacraments of our Lord sound and pure. The Grecians are no Troians, though they hold the place, and possess it, what soeuer title they alledge; neither art thou, that hast yelded thy selfe, forsaken thy countrey, a true Christian, since the enemy is, *where Troy was*, Antichrist where Christ was, furious in the midst of the Temple, as once *Antiochus* was, sacrilegious euen betwene the Altars, the sacrifices.

Doe you yet doubt (my brethren) heare what *S. John* saith, *And there was giuen* Apocal. 13. v. 5.
unto him a mouth that spake great things, and blasphemies: S. Paule likewise, Hee dash 2. 1. hebr. 2. v. 4. 1
fit as God in the Temple of God; shewing himselfe that he is God. Hearken now and behold

To the followers of the Church of Rome.

Lib. Benedicti
de Benedictis
Bononie excu-
sus Anno 1648.
Item Theſ.
Caraffe
Neapoli ex-
cuſſe 1609.

behold Paul 5 your Pope at this day. He is placed in the beginning of the books A
lately printed, counterfeited as it were in a table euen to the life, with this in-
scription. PAVLO V. VICEDBO; to Paule the 5 Gods Vicegerent, *The in-*
vincible Monarch of the Christian Commonwealth, and the most valiant Protector of the
Pontificall power. And in the same stile we read at Tolentine: *To Paul 3 The most*
great and excellent God on earth. The scepters and diademes of Princes, Kings and
Emperours are his Trophes, who stand about him beholding him with astonish-
ment bowing downward, strooken with his lightning, adoring him with this
inscription ouer his head, *His countenance presageth an Empire.* The word of God
sounderth on euery side, but God knowes strangely wrested and applied; *The na-*
tion and kingdome which will not serue him, I will visit saith the Lord with the sword,
and with the famine, and with the pestilence. Ierem 27. That which was once fore-
told of Nabuchadnezzar the destroyer of the Church, he like another Caiphas
applyeth to himselfe, and will haue it fulfilled in him the Alastor and vsurper of
the Christian Church. Againe, *He gaue him dominion and honor and a Kingdome,*
and all the people shall serue him, his dominion is an euertlasting dominion, which shall
neuer be taken away, and his Kingdome shall neuer be destroyed. Dan. 7. *With their faces*
towards the earth, they shall lick the dust of thy feet. Esay 49. 23. That which was
spoken of Christ onelic, the eternall sonne of God, governing his Church, and
to be applied to no man else, is without blasphemy communicated to others.
These things were done by the commaund of the Superior, and printed at Bononia, C
and at Naples; And that not rashly, or by the priuat endeours, and inconsiderat
zeale of some priuat men, but by a decrees of the Popes Senat, the matter solemn-
ly deliberated, and in *Loco Maiorum*, in the ptesence of Paul himselfe, in a famous
assembly of Cardinals, and a great concourse of people disputed and determined.
Here Reader thou beginnest to bend thy browes, but they are not secret that I
vter: Rome knowes these things, and these monsters are set out to the view of e-
uery man; And thou art a great stranger in thine owne Church, if thou knowest
them not; a traitor to thy selfe, if knowing them thou dissemblest it. These lug-
lers in the meane time, are not ashamed to tell vs, in bookes printed to that pur-
pose, That Antichrist is borne at Babylon with the teeth of a Cat, with rowling D
eyes, growen to his full stature in an instant; made knowne by his miracles, and
presently marching towards vs with a huge armie. What opinion haue these men
either of your fortifnesse, or their owne sufficiencie, that they should thinke to
blind you with these fooleries? How long shall they with their brazen faces goe
scotfree, or you, euen with the losse of your owne soules, with your leaden
minds? Shall they alwaies lull you asleepe with these fables, and will you neuer
find a time to awaken, neuer haue vnderstanding to discerne them?

Let me therefore speake vnto you, O ye people, why doe ye still make delaiies?
Being so often deluded, why doe ye not obey the voyce of God thundering from
heauen? *Goe out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sinnes, and that ye receiue E*
not of her plagues; And O yekings so long made drunken, why stand ye at a gaze,
not executing the counsell of the Almighty, which cannot be made frustrat,
nay which in a manner is alreadie fulfilled? why doe ye not rather *make that beast*
desolat and naked, and eating her flesh, burne her with fire? In danger otherwise so
lament before her, to be partakers of hir punishment, her ruine, since you haue so
long enjoyed her pleasures, and committed fornication with her. But thou O
my Sauour, in the midst of this cunctation, or rather carelesse securitie, awaken
and rise vp, and come downe and behold the sinnes of this spirituall Sodome

ביעשוכרה

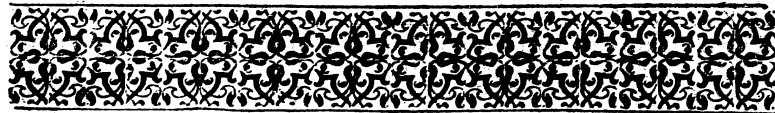
To the followers of the Church of Rome.

ביעשוכרה because they are now consummat and come to their ful height: *Tread*
the wine presse alone, though none of the people, none of the kings, ioyne with thee. Gird E
thy sword vnto thee, euen thy two edged sword, wherewith that man of sinne shall
be slaine, the spirit of thy mouth, thy holie word. And let the wicked at the last cry
out, standing as farre off for feare of her tormonts, *Alas, alas, the great citie Babylon, the*
mightie citie, for in one houre is thy iudgement come: Let the godlie sing together, and
let them repeat it againe and againe, *Halleluiah, Saluation, and glorie, and honour, and*
power, be to the Lord our God, for true and righteous are his iudgements, for he hath con-
demned the great Whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath auen-
ged the blood of his seruants, shed by her hand. And let me, O Lord, sing with old symi-
B on, being wearie of this world, full of yeres, and thirsting after thee, *Now lettest thou*
thy seruant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes haue seene thy saluation: L
The saluation and deliuerance of thy Church from the hands of her enemies, the
Lambe victorious and triumphant, shortly celebrating the mariage of thine
elect with the immaculat Lambe Christ Iesus, to whom with the
Father and the holie Ghost, be all honour and
glorie for euer and euer,
Amen.

To



E



To the Reader.



Open Paule the fist caused himselfe to be portrayed in the first page of diuers Bookes dedicated vnto him, printed at Rome and at Bologna; as hath bene sayd in the Preface: The first words of the Latine inscription are, PAVLO V. VICEDEO; take the numerall letters and you shall find the number of the Beast, Apocal. c.13.v.18.

PAVLO V. VICEDEO.

5. 50. 5. 5. 1. 100. 500.

5.

50.

5.

5.

1.

100.

500.

666.

THE



THE MYSTERIE OF INIQUITIE:

That is to say, The Historie of the Papacie.

Declaring by what degrees it is now mounted to this heighth; and what oppositions the better sort from time to time haue made against it.

THE PREFACE.

Of the person of Antichrist, of the time when, and of the place where he was to be revealed.

A



He Mysterie, whose proceedings we here intend to set downe in writing, is none other, than that which was foretold by S. Paule in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the second chapter; and more particularly by circumstances and signes described by S. Iohn, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, seuenteenth, and eighteenth chapters of his Revelation: which Mysterie, time it selfe from age to age, hath euer interpreted by euents, till now at length all propheties fulfilled, we see it clearly revealed in these our dayes. S. Paule therefore

B

telleth vs, That that day of Christ, meaning that glorious day of his last coming, shall not come, vnlesse there first come that Apostasie and notable reuolt, that is, vnlesse some great part of the Church first fall away from the pure and vndehiled seruice of Christ; and vnlesse that man of sinne be first revealed; that soune of perdition, which shall be ringleader and chiefe director in this desperate reuolt; lost in himselfe, and cause of perdition vnto others, and is therefore called by S. Iohn Αποκάλυψις, that is to say, a Destroyer. And to the end that none should take offence when these things should come to passe, he forewarneth vs of the greatnesse of this reuolt, by representing it to our vnderstanding vnder the name of Babylon, and of an Horrible confusion; comparing him who

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was

Apocal. 9. vers. 11.

Apocal. 17. ver. 3.

was to haue the chiefe direction and commaund in this worke, to a woman sitting vpon a Beast of scarles colour, eminent, and in euerie respect glorious, and consequently admired of all those who should behold her, saue onely those whose names are written in the booke of life: insomuch, that euen Kings, those I meane whom she shall make drunke with the wine of her abominations, shall giue her their authoritie and power, to helpe warre vpon the Saints, and that Peoples and Nations shall serue her for a seat to sit vpon: The waters (sayth he) on which she sitteth are Peoples, and Multitudes, and Nations, and Tongues. So that, that Apocastie and that man of sinne make both together a kind of Estate or Kingdome; whereof the Apocastie is the Bodie, euen the Papacie, which hath long since degenerated from the true doctrine of Christ, drenching the world with Idolatrie and Superstition; and that Man of sinne is the Head, euen the Pope, or Romane Bishop, in whose person all this power and authoritie is combined, and in his name executed. And for this cause, maketh S. Paule mention of an Apocastie, and of a man of sinne, and S. Iohn of a second Beast, and of a whore: By which second Beast, which exerciseth the authoritie of the first, what can be meant but the Romane Hierarchie, which hath deriued vpon her selfe all the authoritie of that ancient Commonwealth, making the earth to adore the first Beast in the second; that is, the old Rome in the new? And that Whore there spoken of, what is she but the Pope, in whom all that abomination is comprised, and as it were incorporated, who holdeth the cup in his hand, presenting it to Kings, and vnto Peoples, and making them drunke therewith? And as S. Paule describeth that Man of sinne, by saying, that it is he which opposeth and lifteeth himselfe up above all that is called God; so that Whore in S. Iohn is described sitting vpon a scarlet coloured Beast, full of names of blasphemies, and her cup full of abominations, filthinesse, and whoredome: Now what greater blasphemie than to call himselfe God, and to make himselfe about his Word? or what greater whoredome than Idolatrie, stiled by this verie name in the holie Scriptures? All which yet must passe vnder a colour of pietie and religion, and covered with a maske of the worship of the liuing God: And so farre forth must this hypocrisie preuaile, that as S. Paule sayth, This man of sinne shall sit as God in the Temple of God, and shall haue, as S. Iohn speaketh, two hornes like a Lambe, thereby to make at least some shew and apparance of the doctrine of Christ, yet speaking (sayth he) like a Dragon, and teaching the doctrine of the deuill; as doe the Pope and Papacie at this day.

Apocal. ca. 13. ver. 12.

Thus then you see what the person of Antichrist is. As touching the place where he shall haue his Seat (for that is the terme which they properly vse) the case is cleere. S. Paule telleth vs, That he shall sit in the Temple of God; that is, in the most eminent place of this visible Church: and S. Iohn more plainly, vpon seuen Hills, i. at Rome, aunciently furnamed Βεβαβυλος, i. a Citie built vpon seuen hills, by vertue of which Seat he shall beare rule ouer manie nations; for the great whore (sayth he) sitteth vpon manie waters: and the Angell expoundeth these words in this manner; The waters which thou hast seene, on which the whore sitteth, are Peoples and Multitudes, and Nations and Tongues.

2. Theff. cap. 2. ver. 4. Apocal. 17. ver. 3.

As for the Time, which is the maine doubt of all, S. Paule telleth vs; And now (sayth he) you know to what time, that which withholdeth him, to the end he may be revealed in his due time, to wit, the Romane Empire; whose place Antichrist was to possesse, which also was of necessitie first to be dissolued, before that other could openly appeare: wherefore also it is said in the verse next following, μόνον ἔσται ὁ καθύπερθε ἄνθρωπος, Onely vntill he which now withholdeth, be taken

2. Theff. cap. 2. ver. 2. Apocal. 13. ver. 11.

Apocal. 13. ver. 11.

2. Theff. cap. 2. ver. 4.

Apocal. 17. ver. 9. ver. 1. ver. 15.

2. Theff. cap. 2. ver. 6.

Apocal. 17. ver. 9. ver. 1. ver. 15.

B

C

D

E

A ken out of the way, or abolished, because that the one must build and raise it selfe vpon the ruines of the other: in which place, by withholdeth or hindereth, is meant the Romane State; and by withholdeth or hindereth, their forme of gouernment, which was Monarchicall: as before by the Apocastie was signified the Romane Church, by that man of sinne the head and gouernour thereof was prefigured. And S. Iohn speaketh yet more plainly, as one that saw Antichrist at a lesser distance, and sayth, That this second Beast exerciseth the power of the first Beast, in his presence; that is, that he arrogateh this power to himselfe in the face of the Empire, and setleth it in himselfe, in such sort, that the deadlie wound of the first Beast, seemed to be healed: to whom

Apocal. 13. ver. 3. & 12. & 15.

B also he giueth life and speech, making the old estate of Rome to quicken againe, and to reuiue in the new. All which could not possibly be done by one man, nor yet in the life of one man (certaine ages sometimes passing betweene the first decline, and the finall ruine of great Empires) but in long continuance of time, and succession of manie yeres, as the manner of one State is, in long time, to raise it selfe out of the corruption and ashes of another. And so much appeareth by that which followeth in S. Paule: for (sayth he) that mysterie of iniquitie now worketh, this thred of Sathan is already set into the loome, nor by open force, but as it is there added, According to the effectfull working of Sathan in all power, in signes and miracles of lies, and in all deceitfulness of iniquitie: and as S. Iohn sayth, seducing the inhabitants of the earth by her signes and wonders, which she had power giuen her to doe before the Beast, and making all nations to drinke of the wine of her fornications, and enforcing them with idolatrous superstitions. And indeed this pestilent Estate and Empire, enemie to God, and to his Christ, is not now (as in some measure we see already come to passe,) begun to be destroyed by force of armes; but as S. Paule sayth, By the spirit of the Lords mouth, and by the brightnesse of his coming; by the preaching of his Word and cleare light of his doctrine, which is to shine in these later dayes; which are opposed to the darkness and mists of Sathan, as the coming of Christ in brightnesse, in truth, is opposed to the coming of that man of sinne in all power of lying: the Lord proclaiming

2. Theff. ca. 2. ver. 9. & 10. Apocal. 13. 14. and cap. 17. ver. 8.

C by his Angell, euen by the ministerie of his true seruants, with a loud voice vnto all the world: If any one adore the Beast and his Image, and take his marke vpon his forehead, and vpon his hand, he also shall drinke of the poyson wine poured out of the cup of his wrath; and shall be tormented with fire and brimstone before the holie Angels, and before the Lambe. But sayth S. Iohn, Here is the patience of the Saints: as also S. Paule sayth in the verie beginning of that second chapter to the Thessalonians, Be not yet troubled, neither by spirit, neither yet by words, neither by Epistles, as if that they were neere at hand: his meaning is, that this mysterie already set on foot, must run on and hold his course, and that in the meane time the Saints of God haue much to suffer, euen betweene that day wherein that Whore glorying in her wantonnesse should say, I sit a Queene, and cannot be a widow, i. that day, euen that instant of time, when her wounds shall come vpon her, that she shall be burnt in the fire, that the Angell shall crie out, saying, She is fallen, she is fallen: Wherefore againe I say, that this cannot be meant of one man, or of one age, but of manie; of the waxing and waining of some temporall Monarchie, of the infancie, youth, perfect age, decline, and finall destruction of some spirituall tyrannie: neither let any man thinke, that this is a chicke of myatching, but the interpretation of the most auncient Fathers, which in all likelihood receiued it by hand from the Apostles: for, to haue named the destruction of the Romane

2. Theff. cap. 2. ver. 8.

Apocal. 14. ver. 9. & 10.

Apocal. 18. ver. 2. & 8. & 17. & 19.

D by his Angell, euen by the ministerie of his true seruants, with a loud voice vnto all the world: If any one adore the Beast and his Image, and take his marke vpon his forehead, and vpon his hand, he also shall drinke of the poyson wine poured out of the cup of his wrath; and shall be tormented with fire and brimstone before the holie Angels, and before the Lambe. But sayth S. Iohn, Here is the patience of the Saints: as also S. Paule sayth in the verie beginning of that second chapter to the Thessalonians, Be not yet troubled, neither by spirit, neither yet by words, neither by Epistles, as if that they were neere at hand: his meaning is, that this mysterie already set on foot, must run on and hold his course, and that in the meane time the Saints of God haue much to suffer, euen betweene that day wherein that Whore glorying in her wantonnesse should say, I sit a Queene, and cannot be a widow, i. that day, euen that instant of time, when her wounds shall come vpon her, that she shall be burnt in the fire, that the Angell shall crie out, saying, She is fallen, she is fallen: Wherefore againe I say, that this cannot be meant of one man, or of one age, but of manie; of the waxing and waining of some temporall Monarchie, of the infancie, youth, perfect age, decline, and finall destruction of some spirituall tyrannie: neither let any man thinke, that this is a chicke of myatching, but the interpretation of the most auncient Fathers, which in all likelihood receiued it by hand from the Apostles: for, to haue named the destruction of the Romane

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Empire,

Cap. 2.

Empire, had in those dayes bene a capitall offence: and therefore S. Paule to the Thessalonians, Remember yee not (saith he) how that when I was with you I told you of these things: he told those things to the disciples in plaine words, which he would write but in cipher: and S. Iohn sayth, A myserie, that great Babylon, &c. and, Here is understanding, who hath wisdom, &c. And they which came after, recounting the euents as they fell out, could more plainely decipher this secret Caball, and (drawing wide the curtaine) see more clearly into this prophesie than they which went before them.

But before we goe any farther, let vs here take a view, and see what was the opinion of the ancient Fathers and Doctors concerning the person of Antichrist, the time of his appearing, and the place of his residing. As touching the first, namely, whether Antichrist be a Man, or else an Estate or Kingdome, Tertullian calleth him Civitatem prostitutam, a People prostituted unto whoredome; meaning no doubt that spirituall whoredome, which is Idolatrie: And S. Ambrose tearmeth it the Citie of the deuill, and Rome the harlot: S. Ierome stileth it by the name of Babylon, and of Rome, and the verie Church it selfe of Rome: S. Augustine brandeth it with the title and appellation of the wicked Citie, and corporation of wicked ones, fighting against the Lambe: A people contrarie to the people of God, which together with their Head is called Antichrist: an hereticall Church, in name Christian, but indeed Infidell, meaning Rome, that second Babylon. S. Gregorie calleth it a multitude or companie of the Preachers of Antichrist. Adde we vnto these our moderne Doctors; Thomas Aquinas sayth, That Antichrist is a Bodie or Corporation, and not a Man: the ordinarie Glosse, The whole Antichrist consisteth of a Bodie and a Head: and lastly, Hugo Cardinalis sayth, That it is an Vniuersitie, that is, a Communitie or People; and in like fort speake manie others.

Concerning the second point, which is the time of his reuealing; they say, that it shall fall vpon the decline of the Romane Empire, whose ruines he shall appropriate to himselfe: First Tertullian, Antichrist (sayth he) shall not come, Donec e medio fiat, vntill he be taken out of the way: who (sayth he) but euen the Romane Empire? which once comming to be distracted into ten kingdomes, shall draw Antichrist after it at the heeles: And thence it was that those old Christians, to put off this lamentable time of Antichrist from their dayes, were wont in their ordinarie Liturgie to pray Pro mora finis, that it would please God to deferre the fall of this Empire. And after him S. Ierome sayth, That Antichrist shall not come, vntill the Romane Empire be first rased to the ground, and that the Nations be first wholly remoued from it: which S. Paule durst not speake openly, because they took it to be an externall Empire, fearing to draw a persecution vpon the tender blasseme of the Church, to wit, vnder pretence of treason against the State: and S. Ambrose vseth almost the same words vpon that place to the Thessalonians: so doth S. Augustine, interpreting the same words of the Apostle in his 20 booke de Civitate Dei: And Chrysostome giueth a reason of his not comming sooner: For (sayth he) so long as the feare of this great Empire shall endure, mannes shall willingly subiect himselfe to Antichrist: but so soone as that shall fall, he shall invade the vniuersall Empire, and shall appropriate to himselfe the authoritie both of God and man, that is, the temporall power in consequence of the spirituall.

As for his Seat, we say, he shall haue it in the most eminent and conspicuous place of the visible Church: Origen saith, That he sitteth vpon the chaire of the Scriptures, whence he taketh the proofes of his false doctrines. He sitteth vpon the buildings of the Scriptures, and vaunteth himselfe as if he were God. And whence I pray you

- Tertul. de Resurrectione, cap. 25.
- Ambros. in Apocal. cap. 17.
- Hieron. ad Marcel. vidua.
- Augustin. Hom. 10. in Apocal. idem, Homil. 11.
- Idem, lib. 13. de Civitat. Dei, cap. 2. & lib. 20. cap. 19.
- Gregor. in Moral. lib. 33. cap. 26.
- Tho. in Apocal. cap. 13.
- Glossordinar. ib.
- Hugo Cardinalis. ib.
- Tertul. de Resur. carnis. 24.
- Idem in Apolog. cap. 12. & ad Scapul. ca. 1.
- Hieron. ad Algafiana.
- Ambros. in 2. ad Thessalon. cap. 2.
- Augustin. de Civitat. Dei. lib. 20. cap. 19.
- Chrysost. in 2. ad Thessal. cap. 2.
- Origen. in Matt. tra. 27.

A you doth Antichrist in these dayes take his proofes, to shew that all power is giuen him both in heauen and in earth, but from the Scriptures? Saint Ierome expounding that place: He shall sit in the temple of God, that is, saith he, either at Ierusalem, as some thinke, (but we know, that according to the prediction of our Saviour, there is now not one stone of that citie left vpon another) or, as we thinke more properly, in the Church. And Chrysostome more resolutely, Not, saith he, at Ierusalem, but in the temple of the churches: and the Scholiast speaketh after the same manner. And againe, That wicked Heresie, That armie of Antichrist shall sit in the holie places of the Church, and shall possesse them; and then he that will know where the true Church of Christ is, where should he find it but in the Scriptures? And Saint Hilarie, Doubt you, saith he, that Antichrist shall sit vpon the buildings of the Church? The wild prophets prophesied, are to my seeming lesse to be feared than the churches. And Theodoret, though so farre off, yet saw most cleerly into this point: The Apostle, saith he, calleth the Church the Temple of God, wherein Antichrist shall take vnto himselfe the Prime seat, seeking to make himselfe to be repued and taken as a God. And Occumenius also speaketh after the same manner. And Theophilact, Not properly saith he, in the Temple which is at Ierusalem, but in the churches, and in euerie holie temple. And Aquinas, In the temple, saith he, that is in the churches rather than at Ierusalem. And S. Augustine goeth farther, Shall Antichrist, saith he, sit vpon the ruines of the Temple of Salomon, or rather in the church? for the Apostle would neuer call that the temple of the diuell, which was Gods temple. And therefore, saith he, some imagine that the Antichrist (note well these words) is a Prince, with the whole bodie of those which belong vnto him; and thinke it more proper to expresse it in Latine as it is in Greeke, in vno in templum, non in templo: meaning that he shall sit as if himselfe were the Temple of God, and his verie Church it selfe: Which jumps with that maxime of the Popes adherents, That in his person the whole Church resideth and consisteth. Wherefore it is now manifest, that Antichrist shall haue his seat in the Church Christian: Now let vs see whether in the Latine Church, or no.

Ireneus surely searching after the number of 666, which is the name of the beast, in this word ualen, though in so obscure a point he pronounce nothing definitiely, yet giueth he vs plainely to vnderstand, that he thought it to be there. For, saith he, it is verie likely, for such is the name of the Empire, which now sitteth in the world, they call themselves Latines. So likewise doe Tertullian, Ierome, Ambrose, Augustine, Andrew B. of Cesarea, Bede, Occumenius, Lyranus, Aquinas, Osiander, and others, when by Babylon they vnderstand Rome, as well in the first Booke, and last chapter of Saint Peter, as in the Reuelations. And Bellarmine himselfe is cleere in this opinion; and Baronijs affirmeth, that by Babylon, in the plaiges before rehearsed, cannot bee meant but Romes moth and eate; when by the whore clothed in scarlet, which in each drunk all the kings of the earth, they vnderstand Rome, as Tertullian, Ierome, Arius, Andrew of Cesarea, the Ordinarie Glosse, Bellarmine also, and Baronijs, and others doe. Nay, woe be for her, that the Ancients vnderstand it of the Romane Church, whose corruption they sawe in those dayes to encrease so fast: so to her applieth Saint Ierome those words of the Apocalyps, Go out of her my people, for she hath made her people to be her plagues; shee out of Babylon, and Ieremie the same his words, for she is fallen, she is fallen, and is made a receptacle for diuels, an habitation of all vnclennes: For surely, saith he, there is the holie Church, where are the prophets and monuments of the Apostles and Martyrs, and there is the confession of Christ: Banish her, saith he,

Ireneus l. 5. c. 25. Tertullian. de resur. carnis. 24. ualen. in 2. ad Thessal. ch. 2. Hieron. ad Algafiana. in 1. ad Pet. c. 2. Euseb. li. 2. c. 25. Ambros. in 2. ad Thessal. c. 2. Augustin. de Civitat. Dei. lib. 20. c. 19. Bede. Occumen. Lyranus. Aquinas. Osiander. Bellarmine. Baronijs. in 1. ad Pet. c. 2. Bellarmine de Romano Pontif. lib. 2. c. 2. Tertul. aduersus Iudaeos & lib. 3. contra Marcia. Hieron. ad Algafiana. que. 17. Arius. Andre. in Apocalyps. Glosa Ordinar. ibid. Hieron. ad Marciam viduam. Idem contra Iovinian. lib. 1.

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there is ambition, and oppression, luxurie of the bellie and of the throat, which goe to **A** overthrow the preaching of the Crosse. And therefore he summoneth all well disposed people to depart out of her, though built upon Christ the true rocke, by the preaching of Saint Peter, and though her Prophets which deceived her, cried out, Peace, peace, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, to lull them asleepe in their owne securitie. And he seemeth farther to strike at her verie Hierarchie, when as in his preface to the bookes of Didymus of the holie Ghost, we find these words, when I liued, saith he, in Babylon an inhabitant of that purple whore after the lawes of the Quirites or citizens of Rome, I would haue written something of the holie Ghost, and haue dedicated the treatise to the Bishop of that citie: and behold, that seething pot which was scene in the Prophet Ieremie, looking out of the North, becommeth alreadie to boyle, and the Senat of Pharises cried out at me all at once: neither was there so simple and meane a scribe of all that ignorant rabble, which conspired not against me: wherefore I am now as it were out of captiuitie returned to Hierusalem, and, after that cottage of Romulus, and those Luperall sports, come to visit againe the hosterie of the Virgine Marie, and the sepulchre of our Saniour, &c. Had this holie Father liued in the dayes of our fathers, and scene what passed in these later ages, what would he haue said? And truly, to vnderstand those passages of the Apocalips of Rome Painim, as some would haue it, and not of the Church of Rome; were to make it, of a mysterious prophesie, as all acknowledge it to be, a meere storie, cold and friuolous: or was it fitting, that the Prophet, with so maiesticall a preface, speaking in the name of **C** God, and by his spirit, should aduertise vs, that the Roman Empire should persecute the Christians, which had alreadie scene the bloud of his brother shed, and so many thousand Christians slaughtered in all quarters of the Empire? And againe, where will a man find vs in Rome Painim, those ten kings made drunke with his cup, seeing there were in Rome no kings at all? And therefore the Iesuites themselues haue bene forced to yeeld this point: This must, saith Ribera, be vnderstood of Rome, not onely such as she was vnder the Emperours, but also such as she shall be in the later dayes. And Vitega saith, That the name of Babylon must be referred to her, and not onely to that Rome which serued Idols, before it receiued the faith of Christ, but also to that Rome which shall be in the dayes of Antichrist: By which words, what **D** can be meant but the Papacie and the Church of Rome?

But some man will say, When was it scene that a Pope called himselfe God? And I answer, That neither are the Popes themselues or sparing in calling themselves God on earth, and the Canonists are ouer prodigall of such titles, and of far greater also, if greater may bee, whilst they make them to participate of the Deitie, and will power to command both in heauen and hell, as the sequell of this discourse will but too apparently declare; and it were but needlesse to repeat here, what I haue long since sufficiently proued in my treatise of the Church cap. 9. But this is the point, and this is that which God, so often forewarned vs of, that Antichrist should enter into the Temple and Church of God, with false **E** keyes: In all dayes of iniquitie, saith Saint Paul, and borrowing, as Saint Iohn speaketh, the honours of a Lambe; that is, as a seruant of God, and vnder colour of his seruice: for otherwise euery man would haue shut gates against him. And this is that which all the Fathers aimed at: Origen saith, Antichrist hath nothing of Christ, but the same name he useth her doth his deeds, neither teacheth his doctrine: Christ is by which is false, and Antichrist a counterfeite. And to the end, saith he, that he may haue some colour to exalt himselfe aboue God, he taketh the testimonies of his false doctrines out of the Scriptures, to deceiue those who will not otherwise be satisfied: Here maketh possession

Idem in Prefati. in lib. Dyd. de Spir. Sancto.

Ribera's Apocalips. in lib. Dyd. de Spir. Sancto.

Ca. Prae. in lib. Dyd. de Spir. Sancto.

Idem in Mat. tra. 2. 4.

Idem in Mat. tra. 2. 4.

A session of the chaire of the Scriptures; he builds upon them, and from thence sheweth himselfe as God. Which when and so often as I read, me thinke I heare him come in with his Tibi dabo, with his Pasce oues meas, with Oram pro te Petre, and the like. Saint Ciprian also, He shall teach saith he, infidelitie vnder a shew of faith, the night for the day, destruction for saluation, and Antichrist vnder the name of Christ. And we read, saith Saint Augusine, in the Apocalips; that the Beast hath two hornes like a Lambe, that is, two Testaments like the Church; thereby the more easily to shed out the payson of Antichrist, vnder the name of Christ. And Saint Ierome, yet more particularly, according to the interpretation of Symmachus, saith, That Antichrist shall speake as God: He shall attribute to himselfe as well the words as the power of his Maieitie: Hee shall goe about to change the lawes and ceremonies instituted by God, to embroill all religion to his owne authoritie. And in another place, He shall change, saith he, and seeke to encrease the Sacraments of the Church. Now therefore seeing that the Pope maketh himselfe to be called, The most holie Father, seeing he deposeth kings, new moulds at his pleasure all Religion, all Commaundements, all Sacraments instituted by God; may we not say that Saint Ierome prophesied? And thus you see how these predictions of Saint Paul; and of Saint Iohn, were vnderstood by the ancient holie Fathers of the Church.

This Myserie therefore of iniquitie, which our age now beholdeth in her height and exaltation, began to worke and to set it selfe forward, euen in S. Pauls time. This monster of pride was alreadie conceiued in the mind of Satan, shewing it selfe in mens ambition: From hence proceeded those sifdings in the Church, I am of Paul, I am of Apollo, I am of Cephas, and I am of Christ: And what, saith **C** Paul, Is Christ diuided? or was Paul crucified for you? The like would he haue said of Cephas, and Cephas of himselfe: But Paul to reserue all entirely vnto Christ, speaketh cleerly, and saith, He that planteth is nothing, and he which watereth is nothing, but God which giueth the increase: as for those others they were all one, and seruants in the same degree. And farther to cut off all pretence of inequality, I was nothing different, saith he, from those which seemed to be some budis: They which seemed to be great, added nothing to me, aboue that which I had before: and who were they? but **D** James and Cephas, and Iohn, which were accounted pillars of the Church: who also acknowledged, saith he, that the Gospell of the vncircumcision was committed vnto me, as the Gospell of the circumcision was vnto Peter; and therefore gaue vnto me and vnto Barnabas the right hand of fellowship: in all which, no one jot of superiority is to be found. And farther in another place he saith, From Hierusalem I haue made to abound the Gospell of Christ, and not there where he had bene alreadie preached; that I might not seeme to haue built upon another mans foundation: much lesse therefore did he preach by another mans commission. And Cephas himselfe, that is, Saint Peter, putteth off from himselfe and others this claime of superiority, where he saith, I beseech the Elders which are among you, I that am a fellow **E** Priest or Elder with you. And againe, Peter saith he, the flocks committed to your charge; &c. was dominion ouer the heritage of the Lord: But that ye may be ensamples to the flocks, decked (as he speaketh afterward) with humilitie, becaus God resisteth the proud, and giueth grace to the humble: As well remembering the lesson of his Lord, whose teare he uerily, you know, saith Christ, was the price of the earth lord is ouer them: but, saith he; it shall not be so with you; you shall not doe so ouer my Church, ouer mine inheritance. Far and wide is this from that claime which Baronus maketh in the Popes behalfe, where he saith, That Christ after his resurrection translated vpon the Popes both Priesthood and Kingdome; and that this was

Cyp. epist. 7. Aug. in A. pocal. Hom. 11.

Hieron. in Dan. 6. 13.

Idem in 2. ad Thessal. 2. 2.

1 Cor. i. v. 12. & 13.

1b. c. 3. v. 7. & 8.

Gal. 2. v. 6.

Rom. 15. v. 20. & 21.

1 Pet. 5. v. 1. & 2.

Math. cap. 20. vers. 25. & 26.

Baron. Annal. 10. l. an. 34. ar. 1. 27. idem an. 57. 10. 1.

was 411. 39.

was signified by that shadow of Saint Peter, whereby the sicke were healed; namely, that the Popes should alwayes haue the same power which Saint Peter had, though neuer so farre different from him in life and conuersation; because they should euer retaine the shadow. And what is it now that they would conclude out of this shadow? no power to heale the sicke, but to destroy kings and kingdoms: for what other miracles haue they wrought these thousand yeares? But shortly after the death of the Apostles, this ambition began to sway more violently in the Church: And true in this poynt, as also in many others, is that saying of Hegeippus, as Eusebius reporteth him, *That to the times of Traian, or thereabouts, the Church continued cleane and vndefiled, as a virgine; but since that sacred companie was taken out of the world, the conspiracie of iniquitie began to worke with open face:* And this fell out about the yeare one hundred: since which time, what progression this Iniquitie hath made vntill these our dayes, we will here set downe, as we find recorded in the Historics of the times.

Euseb. lib. 3. c. 26. & lib. 4. c. 21.

I. PROGRESSION.

Of the difference which fell betweene the Churches of the East and of the West, concerning the obseruation of Easter day.

ABOUT the yeare 195; touching the Feast of Easter, whether it should be held vpon the foureteenth day of the Moone, after the Iewish manner, or rather vpon the Sunday following, diuers Synods were assembled, and different decisions made: those of Palestina, Rome, Corinth, France, Osroene, and Pontus, held for the Sunday, and those of the lesser Asia for the foureteenth day of the Moon: the first pretending an Apostolicall tradition, the other an obseruation receiued from Saint Iohn the Apostle in Ephesus, and so continued vnto their dayes. This was a difference about a thing in it selfe indifferent; and therefore not worthe to disturbe that happie quietnesse, and to dissolue the vnion of the Church. Polycrates B. of Ephesus in Asia, defended his cause by a certaine Epistle, registred in Eusebius, & grounded, as he saith, vpon holie Scriptures, vpon the example of S. Iohn, and many other renowned martyrs; as also vpon the long continued and vniforme obseruation of the Churches of all Asia: It would haue troubled Victor, as it should seeme, to haue answered the reasons of this Epistle: what doth he therefore? Victor, saith Eusebius, who was then President of the Church of Rome, went at one blowe to cut off from that common vnion; the Parishes of all Asia, with the neighbouring Churches, as men of a different opinion in religion: setting them, by his Epistles, as it were vpon a scaffold, to the view of all the world, and proclaiming excommunicated all the brethren which there inhabited.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 22. dicitur. Latine. c. 22. 23. 24. The Popes or Pontifices, as it is called in the word.

OPPOSITION.

But this, saith Eusebius, this attempt of Victor, pleased not all the Bishops: as if he had said, That he did this rather of his owne head and fancie, than by authoritie of the Synod: wherein it was decreed, nay rather they exhorced him. (Ruffinus translateth it imbecitant, they commaunded) him to secke the peace, loue, and vnitie of his brethren. The sayings of sundrie Bishops, vnto this occasion, saith Eusebius, are yett rise in mens remembrance, whereby they sharply reprov'd Victor. Among the rest that of Irenaeus, writing to him in the name of the Churches which he gouerned in France, to this effect: *That true it was, the myserie of our Lords resurrection ought not to be celebrated but on the Sunday:* and so are they at a point with him

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him about the thing in question: but that, for the obseruance of a tradition, or auncient custome, Victor in euery ought not to cut off whole Churches: condemning thereby the abuse of his authoritie. And note here, that the interpreter of Eusebius, maketh Irenaeus to say, That Victor should not cut off whole Churches from the bodie of Christs vniuersall Church: as if Irenaeus had held the Church of Rome for such: Whereas in Eusebius it is onely thus: *his illis excommunicatis non dicitur, i. whole Churches of God.* And his drift herein is cleere, by the whole tenor of that Epistle: *The Priests, saith he vnto Victor, which before Soter presided in that Church which you now gouerne, namely, Anicetus, Pius, Higinus, Telephorus, and Xystus, neither obserued that day themselues, nor suffered others to obserue it: yet maintained they peace with those which came vnto them from the Parishes and Churches where it was obserued, neither did they euer reiect any by occasion of this formalitie: But the Priests which were before you, sent vnto them the Eucharist, and communicated with them in Sacrament: So fared it betweene Polycarpus and Anicetus Priest, (i. Bishop of Rome) whom though Anicetus could not persuade to depart from that which he had euer before obserued, as being a disciple of S. Iohn, yet parted they in peace, and all the Church continued in good accord, as well they which did obserue the fouretenth day, as they which obserued it not.* And in this manner wrote Irenaeus, not onely to Victor, but also to sundrie Bishops of other Churches. Yet Bellarmine telleth vs, that Victor did well and wisely in so doing, to preuent Iudaisme: but Irenaeus, by his leaue, shall weigh heauier in the scales with vs than he; so also shall our Churches of France, who concurring with Victor in the matter, yet condemned the manner of his proceedings; so shall Eusebius, who hauing no part in the brawle, yet affirmeth that Irenaeus justly reprov'd Victor. And Wicelius in our time sayth boldly, *That in the Bishops before Victor the spirit abounded, but in those which came after him the flesh began to haue the upper hand: and Irenaeus himselfe seemeth to touch vpon this string, where he speaketh of those, Qui Principalis confessionis tumore elati sunt, i. who swell with the pride of the Principall, or Prime See: from whom we ought to separate our selues.*

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Bellarmin. lib. 2. cap. 19. de Rom. Pontif.

See Wicelius.

Lib. 4. cap. 4.

But here Baronius maketh himselfe ridiculous in his Historie, whiles he would persuade vs, that Theophilus bishop of Caesarea assembled the Councell in Palestina (which was held vpon this occasion) by commission from Victor Bishop of Rome; alledging for his author, Bede in his booke of the Vernall Equinox, written seuen hundred yeres after: Iudge the reader what credit this ought to haue in prejudice of Irenaeus, Polycarpus, and Eusebius himselfe, who sayth plainly in this manner, speaking of that Synod, *At this day there is extant a certaine writing of the Bishops then called together in Palestina, among whom Theophilus presided, as also another writing of those of Rome mentioning Victor their Bishop: where we find no trace of anie prerogatiue at all.* Neither sticketh he to tell vs as much of the Synod of Asia; as if Polycrates had held it in qualitie of Pope Victor's Legat, because forsooth he telleth him in his Epistle, *that he had called together those Bishops, which he entreated him to assemble;* as if Popes prayers and requests were to be construed and interpreted for commaunds absolute, and proceeding from a soueraigne authoritie. All which is founded vpon an idle supposal, that the bishop of Rome was, euen in those dayes, reputed and generally taken as vniuersall Bishop and Pontifex Maximus, i. High Priest or Pontif.

Baronius tom. 2. An. 198. art. 2, 3, 4, 5, 9.

Euseb. lib. 5. c. 23. Histor. Eccl.

οὐ γὰρ προσηγορεύειται.

Euseb. lib. 5. c. 21. & 22. & c. 23. & 24. Baron. 10. an. 198. art. 2, 3, 4.

Let vs therefore now see the grounds of this supposal, and the proofes of this assertion. First then, Baronius alledgeth a certaine Epistle of Sixtus the first, where in he calleth himselfe the vniuersall Bishop of the Apostolicke Church: But who knoweth

knoweth north at the most learned euen among themselues, haue euer discarded these Epistles, as false and counterfeit? But aboute all, this hath the markes of the forge where it was hammered, bad Latine, not answerable to the puritie of those times, and ill besiting a Bishop of the Latines, with a false date of the Consuls *Adrianus* and *Verus*, who raigned long after, in the yeare 137: which might well make this grand Annalist to blush for shame. We could as well crie quittance with him, and for our purpose alledge an Epistle decretall of Pope *Eleutherius* to the Bishops of France, where he telleth them, *That the vniuersall Church of Christ is committed to their charge*; this being an Epistle of as good pistoll prooffe as the other, and both alike. And what credit ought in reason to be giuen to *Sixtus* in a cause so neerely concerning himselfe, especially when in the next precedent Epistle, he contenteth himselfe with the title of Archbishop? Secondly, he produceth a certaine place out of *Tertullian* in his booke of Chastitie, where he taxeth a certaine Edict of *Vistor*, by which he receiueh adulterers vnto penance; and whereof he baffleth the inscription: *I beare talke, saith Tertullian, of an Edict, and that a peremptorie one so: Pontifex Maximus, i. The high Pontife, the Bishop of Bishops saith, I remit finnes to adulterers and whoremasters which come to penance.* True it is, that after that attempt of his vpon all Asia, any thing may seeme credible of that mans insolencie and pride: But who seeth not, that *Tertullian* frumpeth only and jeasteth at him? as also he doth at that other decree of Pope *Zepherin*: *For where, saith he, shall this liberalitie of his be proposed? if in the Church, how so? seeing she is a virgine.* But a little after, in the same booke, he driueh this naile a little clofer: *If, saith he, because our Lord said to Saint Peter, vpon this stone I will build my Church: and, To thee will I giue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: thou dost therefore presume that the power of binding and loosing is deriued vpon thee; what art thou that crossest the purpose and intention of our Saviour, who collated it onely vpon Saint Peters person?* And consequently not vpon you *Vistor*, nor vpon you *Zepherin*, farther than you represent *Peter*; not in thade onely, as *Baronius* would haue it, but in truth and veritie. But grant we, that he did call himselfe Vniuersall Bishop, might not euerie Bishop haue done the same in regard of his charge? yes verily, and many of them vpon better reason, considering the worth and dignitie of their persons: But would the Pope, throw you, suffer their successors now to ground any thing thereupon, in prejudice of himselfe? *Saint Clement*, whom commonly they thrust vpon vs, as next successor vnto *Saint Peter*; had not, he like, well perused and vnderstood his euidences; when in his Constitutions he spake in this manner: *Wee haue written to you this Catholike and vniuersall doctrine, to confirme you; you, I say, to whom the Vniuersall Bishopricke is committed.* And *Ignatius* speaking of a Bishop of *Philadelphia*, of his time, saith, *That he was called of God to undertake in Nazorian the office of a Bishop, that is, the ministerie of the common Church; as Baronius* himselfe rendereth it. And *Nazanzene* saith of *Saint Cyprian*, *That he presided not onely over the Church of Carthage and Africke, but also over all the East, all the West, over all the North, and all the South;* And of *Athanasius*, *That he presided over the Church of Alexandria, not onely over the whole world.* But he exposandeth himselfe in both: of the first he addeth, *wherefoer the admiration of his name came;* and of the other, *That he gouerned the Church of Alexandria in such sort, that the vniuersall Church was benefited by him.* And would God the Bishops of Rome had done the like, we neuer would haue enuied them the like honourable title. Also the Emperour *Constantine* himselfe writing to *Eusebius*, vpon the refusall which he made of the Bishopricke of *Antiochia*, when it was offered vnto him; *You are, saith he, a most happye man*

Onophrins in Fastis Pontif.

Lib.de Pudicitia, c. 1.

Clement, Constituz. lib. 8, c. 14.

Ignatius in Epistola ad Philadelph.

Nazanz. in laudem Cypriani.

Idem in laudem Athanas.

Euseb. in vita Constantin. lib. 5, c. 57.

A man in this, *That you are thought worthy in the opinion of all, to rule the Vniuersall Church*: taking this word in that sence, which *Saint Cyprian* doth, when he saith, *That there is but one Bishopricke, of which euerie Bishop holdeth his part in solid.* As for the title of High Priest, or Pontife, *Baronius* alledgeth no other prooffe but onely the imitation of the old Iewilli law, where there was a High Priest; and of Paganisme, which had *Pontificem Maximum, i. a High Pontife*; and groundeth himselfe especially vpon this later: *He saith he, which was most eminent in iudiciall authoritie aboue all the rest, was onely Pontifex Maximus, Soueraigne Pontife among the Pagans: whence Festus saith, that it was he who was reputed Iudge in all matters diuine and humane.* And to this purpose alledgeth this Cardinal all that which is spoken in holie writ of the royall Priesthood of our Lord Iesus. O how weake a foundation is this for so huge a building! Why did he not rather ground himselfe vpon their *Rex Sacrificulus*? who according to his owne author *Festus*, seemeth to be the greatest among the Priests: after him *Dialis* the Priest of *Iupiter*, then *Martialis*, of *Mars*, afterwards *Quirinalis*, the Priest of *Romulus*, and last of all *Pontifex Maximus*, the High Pontife; all which you shall find in *Festus* in the word *Ordo*, whence we learne by the way, that this word, *Orders*, was anciently taken from the Heathen.

Cyprian. de unitat. Eccles. Bayou. to. 2. an. 16. artic. 9. & 10.

2. PROGRESSION.

Pope Stephen attempteth to restore two Bishops of Spaine, deposed by their Metropolitan.

About the yeare 250, *Stephen* Bishop of Rome made the like attempt against the Bishops of Spaine and Africke: In Spaine *Basilides* Bishop of Aituria, and *Martialis* Bishop of Merida, in time of persecution sacrificed vnto Idols, and were therefore deposed from their charges: Whereupon they had secret recourse vnto the said *Stephen*, hoping to be restored by his authoritie; which hee attempted to effect; and thereupon wrot to the Bishops which were in Spaine.

OPPOSITION.

But this matter rested nor there; for the Churches of Spaine gaue notice of this attempt vnto those of Africke, and presently assembled themselues in Synod. The Synodall Epistle is yet whole to bee read in *Cyprian*; the summe and effect whereof is, *That the law of God suffereth them not to readmit such persons to their charge in holie Church: That where the ordinances of God are in question, there ought to be no acceptance of persons, no relaxation in fauour of any man: That their running to Rome, or to Stephen, might not cause the ordination of Sabinus to be reversed; he being there placed by due course of law, and the other remaining incapable of restitution: That Basilides might deceiue Stephen by wrong information, but God he could not: That they ought to hold themselues so that, which themselues and all Bishops throughout the world, and Cornelius himselfe their Colleague, had formerly decreed; namely, That such persons might well be received vnto penance, but neuer to Priestly dignitie in the Church.* In the whole course of which Epistle they euer call *Cornelius* and *Stephen*, Bishops of Rome, their Collegues. Not vnlike vnto this, was that attempt of *Cornelius*, not long before, vpon the Bishops of Africke, in the case of certaine false Bishops which fled vnto him, against the censures of the Churches: but *Cyprian* complained thereof vnto *Cornelius* as of a wrong, and in barre of such proceedings

In editio Turneb. Epist. 37. & Pamelij 68.

Editio Parisen. Epist. 18. P. 2. mel. 55.

dings, pleaded the lawes and constitutions of holie Church: These fellowes (saith he) after all this, presume to passe the sea, &c. For steine (sayth he) that by vs all it hath bene already ordained, according to rules of equitie and iustice, That euerie ones cause should be heard in the place of the fact committed, and that to euerie Pastor should be allotted his proper portion of the flocke, which he was to ouersee, and for which he should stand answerable vnto God; it is not fit that these ouer whom we are set; should run from place to place, to make the Bishops, who are as vnitie among themselues, to square and fall foule one of another: (for example, Cornelius and Cyprian) but that euerie one answer for himselfe in the place, where the defendant may haue both accusers and witnesses face to face; vnlesse per haps these few desperate companions thinke the authoritie of the Bishops of Africa, who haue condemned them, to be lesse: meaning lesse than that of Cornelius, to whom they fled. By all which it evidently appeares, that it was the least part of Cyprians thought to acknowledge anie right of appeale to the See of Rome.

Wherefore when Bellarmine sayth, that the constitution alledged by S. Cyprian, That euerie cause should be heard in the place of the fact committed, is to be vnderstood onely of the first instance, the words themselues, and those which follow are too too cleere against him: The cause (sayth Cyprian) hath bene heard, sentence is passed, it is not fit that a censure of Priests or Bishops should be retracted, as rash and vnadvised. And as friuolous is that which he sayth, that the word lesse is not spoken in comparison of the Pope, but of the cause: for those words, vnlesse they thinke the authoritie of the Bishops of Africke to be lesse, must necessarily be vnderstood in comparison of them with other Bishops, of those against whom they complained, with him to whom they sayled, that is, vnto Cornelius. And all this suiteth with the veine of Cyprian, as also doth that in his Treatise of the vnitie of the Church: The other Apostles (sayth he) were the same that S. Peter was, of like honour, of equal authoritie and power, but the beginning proceedeth from vnitie, to shew that the Church is one; where yet, to bolster out this pretended Primacie, one or other hath corrupted the text in sundrie places, contrarie to the truth of manuscripts, acknowledged in the Paris edition by the learned Turnebus.

For betweene these words, *Pasco oues meas*, and *Et quamuis*, either Pamelius, or some other before him, hath inserted these, *Super unum illum adificat ecclesiam suam, & illi pascebas mandas oues suas*, that is, He hath built his Church vpon him alone, (i. S. Peter) and him hath he commaunded to feed his sheepe. And whereas Turnebus readeth, *Tamen vt vnitatem manifestaret, vnitas eiusdem originem, ab vno incipientem, sua autoritate disposuit*: i. yet that he (meaning Christ) might declare this vnitie, he hath declared by his authoritie, that this vnitie should take her beginning from one alone. Pamelius with like honestie as before, betweene these words manifestaret and vnitas hath thrust in these, *Vnam Cathedram constituit*, i. he hath established one Chaire. Likewise after those words before mentioned, *The Apostles were all the same that Peter was*, &c. after the word *proficiscite* he addeth, *Primatus Petro datur*, The Primacie is giuen vnto Peter. And againe, vnto these words, *vt vna Christi ecclesia monstratur*, he addeth *& Cathedra vna*, i. and one Chaire. And to conclude, where S. Cyprian sayth, *Qui ecclesia renititur & resistit, in ecclesia esse confidit*: i. He which resisteth the Church, can he hope that he is in the Church? Pamelius betweene these words, *resistit* and *in ecclesia*, foisteth in these, *Qui Cathedram Petri super quam ecclesia fundata est deserit*, i. he which forsaketh the Chaire of Peter, vpon which the Church is builded. And the like doth he in manie other places of this Treatise; which additions, how incompatible are they with the sence and scope of the text it selfe? where it is said, *The Lord hath giuen, after his resurrection,*

equall

Bellarmin. de
Pontif. Rom.
lib. 2. cap. 33.

A equall power to his Apostles: and againe, They were all the same that Peter was: as also with that Nullitie pronounced elsewhere against appeales made ouer the sea, and diuers other places of the same Author. None of vs (sayth he) hath made himselfe a Bishop of Bishops, through feare and tyrannie to force his Collegues to his obedience: The heauenlie goodnesse hath bestowed vpon vs the ordering of the Apostleship, and hath by his heauenlie fauour dignified the Vicars seat of the Lord: Christ said to all the Apostles, and in them to all Bishops which should succeed them in their Vicariall ordination, He which heareth you, heareth me: so that (sayth he) one of vs may not iudge another, but we attend (he excepteth none) the iudgement of our Lord Iesus, who alone hath power, Vnus & solus, to ordaine vs to the gouernment of his Church, and to iudge our doings. Thus farre Cyprian: immediately vpon whose death the Church of Africke, to cut off all claime of this pretended iurisdiction, decreed, That the Bishop of the first See should not be called Prince of Priests, or chiefe Bishop, or by any other like name: Which decree our French Church heretofore vnderstood expressly of the See of Rome. And now let the indifferent Reader iudge, which edition, that of Pamelius, or this of Turnebus, foireth and suiteth better with these sayings of Cyprian, and consequently, whether these are not Harpyes clawes which thus defile the pure foord of the Fathers writings to our hands: and what they haue done in this Epistle, who can warrant vs, that they haue not done in the other writings of the same Father, and of all other Fathers?

C But here may we see as in a glasse, the audaciousnesse of Baronius, who would make vs beleue, that the meaning of S. Cyprian was cleane contrarie: for first he sayth, That S. Cyprian acknowledged S. Peters Chaire as supreme Iudge ouer all Churches in the world, grounding himselfe vpon the Epistle before rehearsed, and so notoriously corrupted, which yet he is not ashamed so often to repeat, as if it were as true as Gospell; and who cannot make his owne cause seeme good, if he may be suffered to doe thus? Secondly he sayth, That in that decree against Iudgements giuen beyond the seas, the Church of Rome was still excepted; whereas indeed it was enacted directly against that Church, and against no other: but for prooffe, he alledgeth a certaine decretall Epistle of Fabianus, Bishop of Rome, written to Hilarius, with these words, *Salus in omnibus Apostolica autoritate*, i. sauing alwayes the authoritie of the See Apostolike: as if he had said, sauing the case for which the Canon was principally made; than which, what can be more ridiculously absurd? Now as touching all those Epistles which are inserted into the Councils, vntill the time of Syricius, it is agreed of on all hands, that they are of no credit, and though they were, yet were it reason that Fabianus should be credited in his owne cause? But besides the fortifnesse of the stile of this Epistle, the verie date which it beareth, *Africano & Decio Cass.* bewrayeth the stampe; for they can shew vs no such date, either in their *Fasti*, or in *Omnibrium* himselfe: And it is noted in the margin of the first volume of the Councils vpon this Epistle, that the greatest part thereof is found word for word in the decree of Sixtus the third, which was but as yesterday to speake of: a professed Annalist should not so doe. Thirdly, that notwithstanding all this, yet Cyprian did aduow the authoritie of the Church of Rome: For (sayth he) in that Epistle which he wrote to the Clergie of Rome, vpon the death of Fabianus, he tearmeth him *Collegue* in regard of his function, but *Præpositum* in respect of his place and dignitie: a meere tricke, not fitting anie simple scholler, much lesse a learned Diuine and Cardinall: for what? must *Præpositus* needs signifie a Pope? Doth he not in the same Epistle call him a Bishop, and doth he not tearme him *Præpositus*, in

C

regard

Cyprian. in
Concil. Carthagin.
sine de sentent.
Episcop. 73.
editio Parisiensis.
Cyprian. de A-
liator.

Idem ad Pupa-
pica. Epist. 66.
editio Parisiensis.

Idem in Concil.
Carthagin. sine de
sentent. Episcop.
epist. 73.
Concil. Afric.
art. 6.
Capitu. Carol.
Magni. li. 7. c. 17.
Bachel. Decret.
Ecclesie Gallie.
li. 5. tit. 5. cap. 1.

Baron. to. 1. an.
33. art. 21 &
an. 34. art. 203.
& passim.

In 1. vol. Concil.
Epist. Decret.
Fabian. ad
Hilar. 3.

Baron. an. 55.
art. 21.

regard of those to whom he wrote, and not of himselfe? Or doth he not giue the same style to other Bishops, and to himselfe also, when as in his seventh Epistle to Rogatian his Deacon in the Church of Carthage, congratulating him for the firme and stedfast confession of his Clergie, he vlieth these words, *The glorie of the Church is the glorie Præpositi, i. of him that is set ouer it*; meaning himselfe as Bishop, as appeareth by the next precedent clause, *In this common toy, the portion of the Bishop is the greatest*: And in the eleuenth Epistle we read, *Præpositorum est, i. It is the part of them which are set ouer the Church, to instruct the haſtie and ignorant, that of Pastors they become not butchers of the flocke*, to wit, in suffering them which had fainted in the confession of Christ to come ouer haſtily to the Communion; where he expoundeth this word *Præpositos*, by Pastors: so likewise in the 13, 15, 23, & 27 Epistles, as *Pamelius* himselfe cannot denie: But as you see, a little stuffe will serue this Cardinall to make the Pope a coat. Fourthly, he sayth, That all questions of heresie were referred to the judgement of the Bishops of Rome, exclusively to all other, at least that others came but onely to stand as cyphers, alledging the example of *Origen*, who when he was accused of heresie, *ſent* (sayth he) *his confession first of all to Fabian Bishop of Rome, as to the Bishop of all the Catholike Church*; and to this purpose citeth *Eusebius*: but *Eusebius* joyneth *Fabian* with others: *He wrote* (sayth he) *to Fabian, and to manie other Gouvernours of the Church concerning his true profession*; and so runs the Latine translation: and who doubts but that among them all, such a man as *Fabian*, Bishop of the imperiall Citie, should be respected and written to with the first? Fifthly, and lastly, he sayth, That *Fabian* being dead, the Clergie of Rome (he should haue said the Colledge of Cardinals) tooke vpon them the care of all the Churches; his proofes in this point are like the rest: for (sayth he) *The Clergie of Rome aduertised S. Cyprian of the death of Fabian, as appeareth by his third Epistle: and knowing that S. Cyprian had withdrawne himselfe from Carthage, wrote vnto his Clergie, exhorting them to take heed that none went astray*: And this they did (sayth he) *Vice Pastoris, i. doing as Fabian should haue done if he had liued, sending vnto all Churches copies of the order taken at Rome in Lapforum negotio, i. touching their case which had fallen in persecution*. And what? must these mutuall offices of care and loue, this interchangeable aduising one another, be taken for an argument of soueraignie and power? Cannot one Church conſult another but with losse of her libertie, nor take counsaile, but with prejudice to her freedome? or must counsaile serue the giuer for a claime of homage, and the taker for a yoke of thrall and bondage? Those golden Epistles of *S. Cyprian*, written whether to the Pope, or whether to the Clergie of Rome, vpon so manie points of great importance, wherein he instructs, exhorts, and sometimes sharply reproues them, shall they serue for so manie precedents to his successors in the Church of Carthage, of superioritie and usurpation ouer other Churches, and ouer the Church of Rome itselfe? See here Reader the course of their impostures, and withall remember (which *Baronius* wittingly suppresseth) That this third Epistle of the Clergie of Rome to the Clergie of Carthage, on which he grounds himselfe, is not to be found either in the edition of *Manutius*, or in anie manuscript, as *Pamelius* himselfe acknowledgeth.

Cyprian. epist. 7. ad Rogatian. editio. Pamel.

Idem epist. 11. ad Mavly. & confesso. editio. Pamel.

Baron. an. 245. ex Euseb. lib. 6. c. 8. Gve. ad.

Cyprian. epist. 3. edit. Pamel.

In notis ad epist. 3.

An. 258.

3. PROGRESSION.

Of the variance which arose betwene S. Cyprian and Stephen Bishop of Rome, touching those which had bene baptized by heretikes.

A Nother question arose not long after, Whether those which had bin baptized by

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A by heretikes, if afterward they returned to the true Church, should be rebaptized or no: *Stephen* held, that no; *Cyprian*, that they should. *Stephens* cause no doubt was the better, had he carried the matter with discretion and sobrietie: and had he stood as much vpon ground of argument and reason, as he did vpon his authoritie; for vnto a letter which was sent vnto him from a Councell consisting of 71 Bishops, his answer for all was this, *whatsouer the heresie be, let the partie come io vs; les nothing be innouated or changed, onely as it hath benee delivered to vs from hand to hand, let them receiue imposition of hands in penance*. Seeking by authoritie to make the rest of the Churches dance after him; and because they would not, he excommunicated first the Churches of Africke, and then all the Churches of the East which joynd with them.

Cypria. in Epist. ad Pomp. 34.

Cyprian. Epist. 71

Euseb. lib. 2. c. 24.

OPPOSITION.

But neither *Cyprian*, nor yet the Churches, suffered themselves to bee so muzzled by these excommunications; for first *Cyprian* in his Epistle to *Pompeius*, *A*mong other things, sayth he, *which our brother Stephen hath written vnto vs, either insensibly, or vnſittingly, or contrarie to himselfe, hee hath also added this; If any man come to vs, for what heresie soener (making no difference betwene heresie and heresie, which yet the Councell of Nice afterward thought fit to make) let him receiue imposition of hands in penance: may farther, sayth he, his obduratnesse of heart and obstinacie is such, as to presume to maintaine, That by the baptisme of Marcion, Valentin, and Appelles, children may be borne vnto God*. Thus he spake, and this he maintained in heat of contention, contrarie to what the Church afterward defined, because these retained not the forme of baptisme: *Bar* sayth he, *a Bishop should not onely teach, but also learne; and he is the best teacher of others, who is himselfe euerie day a learner*: As if he had said, That *Stephen* should doe well to learne religion, by conferring with his Collegues: not to lay his authoritie vpon them, vnder a pretence of custome, which not grounded vpon truth, sayth he, *is none by else but an aged* error. *Saint Peter*, sayth he, *the first chosen of our Lord, vpon whom also hee built his Church, when Saint Paul disputed with him vpon the point of circumcision, carried not himselfe in this manner; neither boasted he, that the Primacie was giuen vnto him; hee told him not, that he was an after commet; and that foremost must take up bindes; or disdained him, for that he had benee a persecutor of the Church: but submitted himselfe with all willingnesse to truth and reason: giuing vs thereby an example of patience, not to be selfe-willed, in louing that which proceedeth from our selues; but rather to account all that as our own, which our brethren shal teach vs for our good, & saluation of our soules*. And vpon these and the like tearmes he euer holdeth him. But *Stephen* staid not here: for he had already written to the Eastern Bishops, who held opinion with *Cyprian*, declaring vnto them; That hee could no longer hold communion with them, if they persisted in that opinion: as appeareth by that Epistle which *Dionysius Alexandrinus* wrot vnto *Xystus*, who succeeded vnto *Stephen*; and yet more plainly, by that which he wrot to *Firmilianus, Helenus*, and others; to whom also *Cyprian* had already dispatched *Rogatian* his Deacon. And the Eastern Bishops, vpon the intimation giuen them from *Cyprian*, grew much offended with the infolencie and pride of *Stephen*, and therefore in their answer vnto *Cyprian*, *We*, say they, *haue cause indeed to thanke him, for that his inhumanitie hath giuen vs large testimonie of your faith and wisdom; yet deserueth not Stephen any thanks for the good he hath done vnto vs, no more than did Iudas, for that by his treason he became an instrument of saluation vnto all the world*. But let this fact of *Stephen* passe, lest there-

C ij memorance

membrance of his pride and insolencie put vs farther in mind of his greater impietie. **A** And a little after, comming to the fact it selfe: *Although*, say they, in diuers Provinces many things are diuersly obserued, yet no man by occasion thereof euer departed from the vnitie of the Catholike Church, which yet Stephen now presumeth to doe, breaking that league of peace with vs, which his predecessours so inuolubly obserued: He markes not what a flaw he makes in this precious gemme of Christian veritie, when he betrayeth and forsaketh vnitie: And yet, say they, Stephen all this while vaunteth himselfe to haue Saint Peters chaire by succession. And this no doubt was that which animated him to presume so farre vpon the Churches: But made they any white the more reckoning of his excommunications therefore? or did they not rather tell him, That thereby he had excommunicated himselfe? Surely, say they, **B** a man full of stomacke breedeth strifes, and he that is angrie increaseth sinnes. How many quarrels hast thou, O Stephen, set on foot throughout the Churches? and how much sinne hast thou beaped vpon thy selfe, in cutting thy selfe off from so many flockes? For so hast thou done: seeing he is a right scismaticke which departeth voluntarily from the vnitie of the Church. And thou, whilest thou wentest about to seperat others from thee, hast seperated thy selfe from all other Churches, &c. **C** Walke, saith the Apostle, in your vocation, in all humilitie of mind, in meekenesse and patience, supporting one another in loue, endeouoring to keepe the vnitie of the spirit in the band of peace, &c. And hath not Stephen well obserued this precept, thinke you, when hee breakes off now with all the Churches of the East, and anone with those of the South? Or hath not he with great patience and meekenesse received their embassadours, who vouchsafed not to admit them to ordinarie talke? giuing order with great humilitie, that no man should receiue them vnder his roofo: and was so farre from giuing them the Pax, that he forbade any man to afford them lodging. Can such a man be of one bodie, or of one spirit, who is scarcely of one soule in himselfe? And see whether this grew in the end: He is not, say they, ashamed to call Cyprian false Christ, and false Apostle, and a deceitfull workeman: For, finding his owne conscience surcharged with all these imputations, he wisely began to obiect that to another, which others might farre more iustly haue laid vpon himselfe. Thus then wrot the Churches of the East vnto Saint Cyprian, as much offended with the insolencie which Stephen had vsed vpon this occasion; so that **D** Pamelius had reason, I confesse, to say as he did, That he would willingly haue left out this Epistle, as *Ananias* had done before him, but that *Morelius*, i. *Turmebus* himselfe had printed it in his edition. How farre is all this short of that mild and temperat humour of Saint Cyprian? We, saith he, will not fall at variance with our Collegues and fellow Bishops, for the Heretikes sakes: We maintaine in patience and meekenesse the loue of heart, the honour of our societie, the band of faith and Priestlie vnitie: And for this cause at this present, by the inspiration of God, haue we written a treatise of the Benefits of Patience. And at the same time, for a lenitie of this sharpe humour, he wrot another booke of Zeale and Enuie. Such were the essayes of the Bishops of Rome, euen in the heat of persecution: and such were the wiles of Saran to serue his owne **E** tume, and to set forward his worke, by their ambition and bad carriage of a good cause. But *Constantine* comming shortly after to restore peace vnto the Churches, and as it were to shed forth the sweet influence of his liberalitie and fauour vpon them, these sparkes of ambition, fostered by his bounty, and no waies restrained by perfection, began to flame out more violently than before.

Baronius in the meane time hunteth on vpon the old sent, and not able to contradict the veritie of these proceedings, will yet persuade vs that the Bishops of Rome commaunded absolutely in all the Churches: and so did they, I confesse, and

Cyprian, Ep. 4.

Cyprian, Epist. ad Inbaianum Edit. Paris 70. in Edit. Pamelii 73.

A and we haue already seene but too much of their ambition: but as carelesly were they obeyed, as hath already bene declared, and more plainly hereafter shal appeare. First therefore, saith he, when as *Dionysius* Bishop of Alexandria, in oppugning the heresie of *Sabellius*, was accused by those of *Pentapolis* vnto *Dionysius* Bishop of Rome, as hauing spoken some things not so properly concerning the person of God, hee purged himselfe to the Bishop of Rome by letters: And what, I pray you, doubt this good Bishop doe lesse in a slander of such importance, especially to those to whom he had bene defamed? But what, of this forwardnesse of his must wee needs erect a Conistorie in the Church? or doth *Athanasius* report it as a suit at law? These fellows, saith he, without euer asking him how he would be understood, **B** went to Rome, and misrepresented of him. He saith not, That they accused him in forme of law, but brandeth onely their pretended zeale, with a marke of leuitie and rashnesse. And as touching *Dionysius* Bishop of Rome, he saith, That he sent him word what they had said of him, and that thereupon the other wrot him backe presently his apologie. And what, I pray you, is all this, more than a brotherlie communication, and entercourse of kindnesse betweene two good Bishops? Secondly, saith *Baronius*, in the case of *Samosatenus*, when he hatched his heresie in Antioch, they presently ran to the Bishop of Rome: whereas yet *Athanasius* joyneth another with him in part of this praise and commendation. Two *Dionysius*, saith he, the one of Rome, the other of Alexandria, ouerthrew *Samosatenus*. What difference here betweene these two? And *Eusebius*, in a Synod, saith he, of verie many Bishops assembled in Antioch, he was condemned of heresie, & cut off from all the Catholike Churches vnder heauen. He saith not, that these Bishops sent to Rome for a commission, but well he saith, That *συγκληρονομήσει* (for this was the proper word), assembled together with one accord, they wrot a letter, directed to *Dionysius* Bishop of Rome, and to *Maximus* of Alexandria (who lately had succeeded the other *Dionysius* in that See) in particular, and to the Bishops of all other Princes in general; to let them vnderstand what care they had taken in the quenching of this heresie: And so goeth the verie inscription of this letter, To *Dionysius*, and to *Maximus*, and to all other Bishops our fellow seruants throughout the world, and to all the vniuersall Church which is vnder heauen. And what **D** trace of that pretended Primacie find we in all this? Thirdly, when as the heretike would not relinquish the Bishops house to *Domnus*, elected in his roome by the Synod of the place, he ran to *Aurelian* the Emperour, not yet engaged in his persecutions against the Church: And he, saith *Baronius*, as *Eusebius* reporteth, verie religiously ordained, that liuerie of the house should be made, and seisin giuen, to whom the Bishops of this doctrine which were in Italie and in the citie of Rome, should assigne it. These are the words of *Eusebius*: and thence concludeth he, that *Aurelian*, Pagan as he was, yet acknowledged the power of the Bishop of Rome, ouer all the world. How so? when as it appeareth that the other Bishops were joyned with him, and consequently in this respect are made his equals, this matter **E** being referred by the Emperour to the Bishops that were neere adjoining to Rome, rather than to those of Alexandria, because he answered this petition at Rome? But the myserie is this, the Latine translation of *Eusebius* hath it thus: To whom the Christians of Italie, and the Bishops of Rome, should assigne it: Which *Baronius*, to serue his purpose with this place, hath voluntarily followed, though knowing it to be corrupted: because the original in Greeke make the other Bishops of Italie to enter into concurrencie with him, and in order of nomination, to stand before them. Fourthly, what will you say, if *Baronius* telleth vs, That euen in those dayes it was the fashion to kisse the Popes feet: for hee durst

Baron. vol. 2. an. 263. art. 30. & sequent.

εὐσεβίου σὺν αὐτῷ.

Athanas. de Sententijs Dionysij.

Baron. an. 263. art. 10. & sequent. & an. 272. art. 1. & 2. Athanas. lib. de Synod.

Euseb. lib. 7. c. 29. 30. Grac. c. 23. & 24. Lat.

εἰς τὸν πάτερ.

συγκληρονομήσει ἡμῶν.

Baron. an. 2. an. 272. art. 18.

Euseb. li. 7. c. 24. Lat. c. 30. Grac.

Baro. an. 294. av. 8. & ſequē.

not ſay the pantoffe. For prooffe he telleth vs a tale out of a certaine old Legend, of one Præpedegna, wife vnto one Claudius, who was conuerted to Chriſtianitie by one Sufanna his neece, neere of kin to the Emperour Diocleſian: and that Præpedegna for joy herof, becauſe the her ſelfe was long ſince in heart a Chriſtian, ran to Caius Biſhop of Rome; caſt her ſelfe at his feet, and according as the cuſtome was, ſaith the Legend, kiſſed them. And hath Baroniũ no better authors than theſe, which himſelfe, with others of like ſtuffe, hath in ſo many places vtterly condemned? Where can he ſhew vs that this Caius Biſhop of Rome was nephew to the Emperour Diocleſian, or that Sufanna was his grand child? a name not vſed among the Heathen. But grant we all this to be true, doth not he himſelfe tell vs in that verie article, That this ſame Claudius alſo kiſſed the feet of Gabinius the Prieſt? If ſo; what greater honour then hath the Pope than a ſimple Prieſt? or if this be only an argument of zeale and affection in the one, why ſhould it be interpreted for adoration or fealtie in the other.

4. PROGRESSION.

- 1 That peace and plentie bred corruption in the Churches.
- 2 Constantine his bounty and liberalitie to the Churches.
- 3 Sundrie reaſons ſummarily rehearſed, to overthrow that pretended donation of Constantine vnto the Church of Rome.

Cyprian, lib. de Laſſis.

IT cannot be denied, but that the Church whileſt ſhe had reſt from perſecution, began euer to decline vnto corruption. Cyprian obſerued as much after the perſecution of Deſius, and yeeldeth the reaſon; namely, Becauſe euerie man ſept in the conetous deſires of his owne heart: adding farther, That it was high time for God to awake them with his rod, ſpeaking principally of the Paſtors of the Church, Non in Sacerdotibus deuotã religio; There was, ſaith he, no longer any deuotion left in the Prieſts, no ſincere faith in Miniſters, no mercie in their workes, no gouernement in their manners, &c. The Biſhops themſelues, who ſhould haue ſerued for a ſpurre, and patterne of well doing vnto others, abandoning their holie functions, dealt in matters of the world; leaning their chaires, and forſaking their ſtookes, to goe a gadding and roming into other countries, hauing Mart and Faives for ſilſhie luces ſake, and little caring to ſeed and releue their hungry and ſtarving brethren, ſo that themſelues might haue money at their will; getting lands by fraud, and money by griping vſurie: and what did we not, ſaith he, deſerue for theſe ill doings? This was after the yeare 253. And, as bad weeds grow apace in the Church, if God from time to time crop them not, ſo Eufeſius imputeth that ſucceeding perſecution of Diocleſian, to the ſame cauſes as before: There was, ſaith he, among vs nought elſe but curſed ſpeakings, and continuallye, of Prelats falling out with Prelats, and congregations with congregations: They alſo which ſeemed to be Paſtors, caſting off the law and rule of pietie, kindled contentions betweene themſelues, ſeeking onely to encrease debates, threats, iealouſies, heart-burnings, and reuenge, with an immoderat deſire to commaund and ſway, as in a Tyrannie. And therefore leſſe wonder is it, if afterward taking their eaſe vnder Constantine the Great, many of them became fit instruments, ſome more, ſome leſſe, to aduance the Myſterie whereof we ſpeake.

An. 253.

An. 302. Eufeſ. lib. 8. c. 1. & 2. ἀρχὴν τῶν τρεῶν ἀρχιεπιστοπῶν ἐπινοῦντων τὰς φιλαργίας αὐτῶν τὰς πνευματικὰς.

An. 310.

2 Constantine therefore affecting the Chriſtian religion, about the yeare 310 ſet himſelfe to beſtow huge largesſes vpon the Chriſtian Churches, eſpecially vpon that of Rome, as chiefe citie of the Empire, and the place where his perſon moſt

A moſt vſually reſided: largesſes I ſay, and heritages of great reuenues, with ſumptuous ornaments, all inuentaried in the liſe of Sylueſter, written by Damafus Biſhop of Rome, and by Anaſtaſius, ſurnamed Bibliothecarius: and his greateſt princes, becomming conuerts after his example, did the like, both by deeds of giſts and legacies, which Conſtantine ratified, and authorized by law expreſſe. And the more to win credit, and to inure his people to Chriſtianitie, about the yeare 330; as he pulled downe Idolatry, ſo he applied the reuenues of their temples to the maintenance of the Chriſtian Churches: ſo that in ſhort time the Roman Church grew exceeding rich. All which, and euerie particular thereof appeareth in the ſaid liſe of Sylueſter, and by Cedrenus in his hiſtorie, where he ſaith, That in the 26 and 27 yeares of his Empire, Conſtantine laboured to pull downe the Idols with their Temples, and to conuey their rents and reuenues to the Churches of God. And herewithall went forward ſtill, and encreaſed that pretence of the Biſhops of Rome vnto the Primacie, whereof we find too many markes in their Epistles, euen in thoſe of Sylueſter himſelfe: but I make a conſcience to alledge them, becauſe the more learned fort, and Cardinall Caſanus himſelfe, hold them all; or the moſt part, for counterfeit, vntill the time of Pope Syricius, which was the yere 400; as we haue elſewhere declared.

Lib. 4. de Epiſt. & Cler. in Co. Theod. Damafus & Anaſtaſius in Sylueſtro.

Cedrenus pag. 243.

3 Neither doe we here ſpeake of that pretended donation of Conſtantine, made vnto the Church of Rome in the perſon of Sylueſter, as well of the citie of Rome, as of a great part of Italie, as being a thing contrarie and repugnant to the whole courſe of hiſtorie: for that we find no fourth Conſulſhip of Conſtantine the ſon and Gallicanus, which yet is the date of that donation: Becauſe Damafus Biſhop of Rome, in the liſe of Sylueſter, ſo particularly by him deſcribed; maketh no ſuch mention; and Anaſtaſius as little: Becauſe all Italie, and Rome it ſelfe, came afterwards in partage among the ſonnes of Conſtantine, as Eufeſius, Viſtor, Zozimus, and Zonaras, report: Becauſe Iſidore, Burchard, and Iuo, judging it Apocryphal; haue omitted it in their ſeueral Collections of decrees: Becauſe Pope Agatho himſelfe writing many yeares after to Conſtantine Pogonatus, calleth Rome vrbem Imperatoris ſeruilem, i. The ſeruile towne or citie of the Emperour: Becauſe the

Eufeſ. lib. 4. c. 51. Idem de vita Conſtant. lib. 4. c. 49. 50. 51. Zozimus lib. 2. Viſtor in Conſtantin.

D the moſt reputed men of the Roman Church haue refuted and rejected it, namely; Antonine Archbiſhop of Florence, Raphael Volaterranus, Hieronimus Catalanus, Chamberlaine to Pope Alexander the ſixt, Otho Friſingenſis, Cardinal Caſanus, Laurentius Valla, Senator of Rome, Francis Guicciardine, and others, euerie one of them famous in their ſeueral generations: Emeas Syluins himſelfe, afterward Pope Pins the ſecond, in a particular treatiſe, cited by the ſoreſaid Catalanus: Becauſe Platina the Popes Hiſtorian is aſhamed to mention it: to be ſhort, Becauſe that in the pretended original it ſelfe, kept in the Vatican, and written in letters of gold, the ſcribe which wrot it hath added at the foot thereof, in falſe Latine, Quam fabulam longi temporis mendacia ſinxit, i. Which fable, a lye of long

Zonaras to. 2. Agatho in Epiſt. ad Roman. Pogon. in Actis Synod. Anton. Archiep. part. 1. tit. 8. c. 2. ſe inquit Volaterra, in vita Conſtantin. Eſte in Catalan. in practica. Cancellaria. Apoſt. Otho Friſingenſis in Annal. Car. din. Caſanus in concord. Cathol. lib. 2. Laurent. Valla de ſiſta donatione. Francieſcus Guicciard. in locis duobus de Papa.

E continuance hath forged: And forged indeed with monſtrous impudencie, when it is there ſaid, That Conſtantine the fourth day after his baptiſme, gaue this priuiledge alſo to the Biſhop of Rome, That all the Prieſts throughout the Empire ſhould acknowledge him for their head, as Iudges acknowledge their King: Surely it ſhould ſeeme, that this good Emperour was not well inſtructed by Sylueſter, in the rights and priuiledges of the Biſhops of Rome, ſince it appeareth that he knew not that they came from heauen: nor Sylueſter himſelfe well learned in this point, ſince he choſe to hold them, as from the Emperour, rather than from Saint Peter. And againe it is there ſaid, That Conſtantine gaue to Sylueſter and to his ſucceſſors, the Primacie

Primacy over the Sees of Alexandria, Antioch, Hierusalem, Constantinople, and all other Churches of the world. Doubtlesse *Syluester* had neuer gone to schoole with the Iesuites, where he might haue learned, That it belonged properly to him to haue giuen the Empire vnto *Constantine*: as for himselfe, that this Primacie and preheminence ouer all other Churches, was giuen him in the Gospell. And farther it is there said, That of purpose to make roome for the Pope, the Emperour built Constantinople; *It being unfit*, as it is there said, *that where the Empire of Priests should be, there the earthlie Emperour should intermeddle, or haue any thing to doe*: Yet is it euident, that afterward *Constantine* allotted Rome to one of his sonnes, and that many Emperours after him made that their ordinarie dwelling. And to conclude, this priuiledge was to endure to the end of the world, with Crowne and Mantle, and other Imperiall robes; and he by *Constantine* damned to the pit of hell, without hope of remission, that should offer to impeach or oppose against it. And who now can haue any good opinion of the decrees of *Gratian*, reformed in our dayes, since *Gregorie* the thirteenth, which vnderooke to reforme them, was not ashamed to let stand for good, I will not say this Palea, or chaffe, but this vsfauorie and filthie ordure. And wee haue just cause to wonder at the impudencie of *Baronius*, who trippeth ouer this matter, as one would doe ouer fire, lightly for feare of burning, leauing it as a judged case, no longer to be questioned: *We*, saith he, *say nothing hereof, because we can say nothing but what hath bene often said abreadie; and it were bootlesse and troublefome to repeat it*: Whereas, poore soule, how many matters of farre lesse importance, handled by infinit numbers of Authors, doth he there repeat? And the whole volumes of his Annales, what are they else but heapes of idle and needlesse repetitions? Well I wot, that things were not at this time come vnto that height, neither could they climbe so high but by degrees; which we purpose to deduce euerie one of them in their order: in the meane time this is cleere, that together with their plentie came in corruption, not onely in life and manners, but also in religion, which then began to degenerate by admission of Heathenish superstitions: and this is that which *Baronius* meaneth, where he saith, That men at that time hallowed Heathenish rites and ceremonies, by bringing them into the Christian Churches.

OPPOSITION.

This great abouandance and plenty of wealth falling by heaps vpon the Church, caused many deuout and well disposed persons to forecast cruell things. The Legend of *Syluester* saith, That there was at that time a voice heard from heauen, saying, *Hodie effusum est venenum in Ecclesia, i.* This day is there a poison powred forth vpon the Church. But what euer the wealth of the Roman Church was, this one thing is cleere, as touching their authoritie, That when there was question about *Donatus*, who stood an heretike condemned by the Churches of Afrike, *Constantine* left him not to be judged by *Miltiades* Bishop of Rome, but appointed Delegates for the hearing of his cause, namely, *Maternus*, *Rheticus*, & *Marius*, Bishops of Collen, Authun, and Arles, as *Optatus* & *Augustine* report: with whom he joyned afterwards in commission for the same cause, the said *Miltiades*. And when *Donatus* refused to stand vnto their judgement, he assigned him the Council of Arles (which himselfe had formerly assembled) to judge of his appeal; and at last gaue sentence vpon him, himselfe in person at Milan: so that the Bishops of Rome, of Authun, and the rest, were all equall in this commision, without any colour of prioritie. Neither needed *Constantine* any great intreatie, vpon the difference and con-

Baron. to. 3. art. 374. art. 117.

Baron. an. 44. to. 1. art. 36. & sequent. Idem passim.

Legenda B. Syluest.

Optat. cont. Parmen. li. 1. August. Epist. 162. & 166.

A controuersie of *Arrius*, himselfe to call the Nicene Councell, and there to preside in person, witnessse *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, *Sozomene*, *Gelasius*, and the whole companie of Fathers, assembled in that Councell by their Synodall Epistles: which Fathers tooke vpon them to order the Bishop of Rome, and did order him by speciall Canon; which Canon, because it is cauilled, and contradicted by some, deserueth more narrowly to be scanned, and more particularly to be considered.

The sixt Canon therefore of the first Nicene Councell, about the yeare 325, concerning the ranking and ordering of Bishops euerie one in his place, is read in these words, *Let the auncient customes be obserued, which are in Ægypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, so that the Bishop which is in Alexandria haue authoritie ouer all these, because such also is the manner or custome of the Bishop of Rome*: where the Greeke word is *ουνοβις*, that is, a thing vsed by custome; by which appeareth, that it was a matter onely of custome, not of law, much lesse an ordinance or decree of God: *Likewise in Antioch and in other Prouinces, let euerie Church retaine her due honour*. And in the seuenth Canon is like prouision made for the Church of Hierusalem, and the same reason added: *Because such hath bene the custome, and the auncient tradition, to honour the Church of Ælia* (for so was Hierusalem called, after that *Adrian* had rebuilt it in another place) *let her also haue her honour next after the other, with reservation alwayes of due honour to the Metropolitan Church*. And so is this Canon

C read in *Gelasius* *Cyzicenus* in the Acts of this Councell taken out of the Vatican: where we may obserue, that this Councell foundeth them all alike vpon custome, which it calleth *εθνη, ουνοβις, συνηθη*; a manner, wont, or custome, placing the Bishop of Rome betweene those of Alexandria and of Antioch, vnto whom it assigneth their proper portions, in euerie respect equall to him of Rome. Of this custome we read in *Epiphanius* in expresse termes: *The custome* (sayth he) *is such, that the Bishop of Alexandria hath ecclesiasticall cure and charge ouer all Ægypt, Thebaisida, Marcotis, Lybia, Ammonia, Marcotida, and Pentapolis*. And *Ruffinus*, who liued in the same time with *S. Jerome*, about 60. yeates after this Councell, citeth the Canons thereof, and among the rest this sixt Canon, to the effect of the Canon before rehearsed: *In Alexandria* (sayth he) *and in the Citie of Rome, let the auncient custome be obserued*: to wit, that the one should take care of the Churches of Ægypt, and the other *suburbicarianum*, that is, of the Churches nere vnto the Citie, meaning Rome. And the truth is, that at this time, doe he what he could, he could not extend the limits of his iurisdiction, so farre as vnto Milan or Ra-

E uenna, whereof there is a type and figure remaining at this day at Rome; which witnesseth as much: wherein the Church of Lateran is expressed to be a Patriarchall Church, vnto which there are seuen Bishops assigned to celebrate before the Pope vpon high daies, or to assist the Pope, if he pleased to celebrate himselfe, to wit, the Bishops, as saith *Onuphrius*, of the adioyning Citie, namely, *Ostia, Porto, Sylua candida, Sabini, Tremeffe, Tusculum, and Alba* which *Ruffin* here seemeth to call *Suburbicarius*, which yet perhaps comprised somewhat more, as the countie of *Marca* and *Tuscanie*, as we may collect out of the Theodosian Code. True it is, that *Balsamon* expounding the Greeke Canon, extendeth the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome ouer all the West, because that in his time, which was about the yeare 800, he had stretched his wings a little farther; and *Balsamon* thought it ynough to exempt the East from his authoritie, not caring in the meane time what became of our Churches of the West. But this one thing is euident, that *Gratian* long since entred this Canon in his collection of decrees, in the same

Theodor. lib. 1. Histor. Eccles. cap. 7.

An. 325.

Canones Grec. Cuncil. Nicen. i. can. 6. 7. με: των τρωων εβιαν.

Gelas. Cyren. in Alb. Syno. Nicen. i. pag. 61.

Epiphani. her. 63. in punct.

Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Onuphri. de Episcop. titulis & Diacon. Cardinal.

Balsamon in Ca. Nice. Synod. cap. 6. & 7.

Distin. 69. Can. 6. Nichola. in Ep. ad Michael. Imperator.

Codex canonem vetus ecclesie Roman. edit. Paris. An. 1609.

Council. Chalced. Can. 16.

Can. 3. Can. 18.

sence which we alledge it, and in more forcible termes than we doe cite them, A namely thus: *Let the old custome continue in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, since the Bishop of Rome hath the like custome:* For to interpret this Canon after *Nicholas* the first, who liued five hundred yeares since that Councell, as *Gregorie* the thirteenth and *Bellarmino* doe, saying, *That the Councell of Nice knew well ynough, that our Lord had giuen all to the Church of Rome, and therefore could haue no meaning to order her, but others by her example,* were first to make him judge in his owne cause, and secondly to presuppose the thing in question, which is an apparant fallax. But *Bellarmino* hath yet one crochet farther of his owne braine, he telleth vs, That in the vulgar copies there are wanting in the beginning of this Canon, these words, *The Church of Rome hath euer had the Primacie, yet let the old custome stand &c.* But I wonder which are those which he calleth the vulgar copies, or whence is it that he would haue these Canons taken, if not out of the Greeke Councils, out of *Ruffin*, *Balsamon* Patriarch of Antioch, out of *Gratians* decrees, canonized by themselves, or out of *Cyzicenas*, who tooke them out of their owne Librarie, and lastly, if not out of the old Romane Code it selfe, where this Canon beginneth with these words, *Antiqua consuetudines seruentur &c.* Let old customes be kept; hauing this summarie ouer head, *Of priuiledges belonging to certaine Cities,* joyning Rome as you see with other cities. What copie can *Bellarmino* produce vnto vs more authentical than these? Peradventure he will say, the Councell of Chalcedon, where it is so read as he alledgeth, *Action 16.* But what if we reply, that the Greeke copie of this Councell hath no such matter? That *Balsamon* neuer heard thereof? What will he rejoyne, especially seeing that this Councell was held in the Greeke Church? And put case it were not, must we seeke the Canons of the Nicene Councell among those of Chalcedon, rather than in the Nicene Councell it selfe? Moreover, seeing that *Bellarmino* sticketh not to tell vs, that it was *Paschasin*, Legate of Pope *Leo*, which proposed it in this manner in the Councell of Chalcedon, what securitie will he giue vs, that this *Paschasin* dealt more honestly now, than did he, which afterwards falsified this verie Canon in the open face of the Councell of Garthage? But this is not all: for *Bellarmino* himselfe corrupteth *Paschasin*: for whereas he proposeth those words, *Quod ecclesia Romana &c.* as a title onely or summarie to the Canon, *Bellarmino* alledgeth them as part of the text and decision it selfe, saying, *Ecclesia Romana semper habuit Principatum*, inueting quite the sence and meaning of the Fathers: Moreover, true it is, that *Paschasin* alledged those words in manner as we haue said; but *Bellarmino* concealeth, that when *Astus* Archdeacon of Constantinople had deliuered the booke of Canons to *Constantine*, Secreatie to the Synode, *Constantine* read the sayd sixt Canon as we now doe, beginning with those words, *Antiqua consuetudines seruentur*, and not with those other, *Quod ecclesia Romana &c.* And the decree of the Councell thereupon followed, *That the Bishop of Constantinople should hold the first place or primacie after the Bishop of Rome, because she was new Rome.* Neither is it the quarrell betweene vs, which of these two hath the prioritie, but we say that it was so decreed, *Propter principatum urbis, et in eam uenit in uisum*; not by ordinance from Christ, not by anie authoritie deriued from *S. Peter*, neither yet by anie graunt from *Constantine*, or a ct of the Nicene Councell, but that it was her so ordered, *Propter primatum urbis, i. because Rome was the chiefe citie; and so as, that Constantinople, which had none of these fond claimes to make, isdem primatibus honoris, et isdem priuilegijs utatur*, should enjoy the same primacie of honour, and equall priuiledges, for no other reason but because she was *Non Roma*, new Rome.

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A Rome. Now, if those pretended priuiledges of the Church of Rome came from the Gospell, or from the prerogative of *S. Peter*, how could these be made equall with them? And if these be equall, then is it euident that those other came not from the Gospell, or prerogative of *S. Peter*: and why then should these men so abuse the name of the Gospell? Truth it is, that the morrow after *Lucentius* the Popes Legate protested against this decree, requiring it to be retracted, and an Act to be made of such his Protestation: But his Protestation was rejected by the Emperours Delegates themselves, who pronounced in this manner, as is there expressed: *The honourable iudges said, what we haue pronounced, all the Synod hath approved, namely, touching the Canon against which they protested.* So farre was it from that which *Bellarmino* would haue, that the Fathers of that Councell held themselves satisfied with the remonstrations of *Paschasin*: and this is the truth and sinceritie which they euer vse in alledging Councils. As for his finall answer, to which he holds himselfe, it is more than ridiculous: *The true exposition and meaning of that Canon (sayth he) is, that the Bishop of Alexandria should gouerne those Promises, because the Bishop of Rome was so wont to doe, that is, was wont before anie definition of the Councils, to suffer the Bishop of Alexandria to gouerne them.* But let him tell me in conscience, can these words, *Quia Romanus Episcopus ita consuevit, alias, Quia Romano Episcopo paruis mos est,* that is, *Because this is the manner or custome of the Bishop of Rome;* can, I say, these words be thus vnderstood, without violencing and wresting all sort of languages? Or can this exposition anie wayes suit with the opinion of *Ruffinus*? Or can *Bellarmino* but blush at the remembrance of this, euen in his secret chamber? Adde we hereunto, that in that celebrious and renowned Councell of Nice, the deputies of the Bishop of Rome presided not, but contented themselves with the fourth roome. So that Cardinall *Cusanus* hauing expounded this sixt Canon as we now doe, had reason to say as he doth: *Hence we may see (saith he) how much the Bishop of Rome hath at this time gotten, onely by use and custome of subiectionall obedience, beyond that which the old customes of the Church assured him.*

This then is the naked truth, according to that which we find in Histories, which yet *Baronius* would faine disguise, either beleeuing it himselfe, or willing to put the gull vpon other men, to make them beleue, that from the verie cradle and infancie of Christianitie there hath euer beene a Pope, wrappr in such clouds as now we see him in: and that *Constantine*, because among others he gaue largely also to the Church of Rome, therefore deuested himselfe of his imperiall robe and dignitie, to clad him withall. And obserue by what degrees he cometh to his first (saith he) *To the end that the soveraigne Bishop of Christian religion should no longer dwell in a private house, he gaue vnto Miltiades for him and his successors of set him one of his palaces,* to wit, that of Lateran in Rome. And whence had *Baronius* this report? He is ashamed to alledge that Epistle of *Isidore* the Collector; but whence had he it? After much trash, we haue it (saith he) *from an approved Author, namely, from Optatus Mileuitanus, who telleth vs, that Miltiades Bishop of Rome held the Councell of Rome in the house of Fausta in the Lusenian; he should haue added, that he kept the Iubilie there also.* But what can he argue or prooe out of these words? That that was the Bishops house? or if it were, that it was giuen him by *Constantine*? We read, that not long after *Syluester* held another Councell, *in the Thermas Domitianas*: was that house therefore his also? or if that stately palace of Lateran was his before, what needed he now to borrow another mans? Yet this were a small matter if he stayed there: but taking this as granted, he wisely groundeth

Bellarmino de Roman. Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 13.

De concordant. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 12.

Baron. 10. 3. an. 112. art. 80. 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.

Can. 12. q. 1. c. 15. § denique.

Optat. Mileuit. aduers. Parm. lib. 1.

deth thereupon, and inferreth, *That seeing the Emperour bestowed his Palace on him, reason is selfe would, that we beleue, that he gaue him his imperiall robes also:* which conjecture of his vanisheth like smoake, so soone as it is denied. Secondly, he telleth vs, that *Constantine* in the 24 yeere of his reigne ordained, *That the Bishops of the Christian law should from that time forward haue the same priuiledges which the idolatrons Priests had and enjoyed in times past:* not seeing, at least not considering, what prejudice he doth to his owne cause, whilest he maketh it to appeare vnto vs, that what euer they haue of this sort, they haue it all from thence. But yet, what author hath he? None, but the Acts of Pope Syluester in Latin, which himselfe in so manie places vilifieth, as being full of enormous falsities. And yet from this sinke raketh he all those priuiledges of idoll Priests and Pontifes, to settle them vpon the Christians: *They had* (sayth he) *as chiefe among them, Rex Sacrificulus, who in their solemne feast was wont to watch, and haue an eye ouer all the rest: They had also their soueraigne Pontife, Pontifex Maximus, arbitrator of all questions arising about matters diuine or humane among them: And who can thinke, that Constantine would long endure, that these should exceed the Christians in pompe and glorie the Christians, I say, to whom himselfe was contented to bow his necke?* Such are the proofes of this absolute authoritie and power of the Bishop of Rome: yet may we learne from him those proud and pompous obseruances vsed by the Popes, wherein if he erre somewhat in the times, yet he maketh amends for it in the matter. *The Idoll Priests* (sayth he) *as Tacitus reporteth, had this priuiledge, to enter the Capitoll in their Litter, so may you see the Pope alwayes carried through the Citie. Whomsoeuer they met* (sayth Plutarch) *they neuer vncovered vnto him; no more doth the Pope at this day. They were clad* (sayth Tullie) *wish scarles of the deepest dye: so are the Pope and his Cardinals. To conclude, the High Priest, as Prudentius reporteth, at the time of his consecration, had his labels, and his crowne of gold.* O how much are we beholding to *Baronius*, who presenteth vnto vs their Pope, attyred from top to toe, in habit of a Pagan? But to say the truth, the Popes were no such jollie fellowes in those dayes, neither can anie prooffe be made thereof. As for the name of High Priest, *Pontifex Maximus*, it had beene no lesse than flat treason to haue vsurped it, seeing that, as *Zosimus* reporteth, as well *Constantine* himselfe, as other Emperours after him, by the space of one hundred yeares, vntill the time of *Gratian*, both retained the name, and vsed the pontifical robes and ornaments, presented vnto them by the Priests at the time of their coronation: Which *Baronius* himselfe elsewhere not onely affirmeth, but also proueth by sundrie old inscriptions which he produceth, and giueth the reason thereof himselfe, namely, that *therefore the High Priesthood was ioyned with the imperiall dignitie, that the Senat and people of Rome, those which were yet of the Heathenish faction, might not so easily be drawne to conspire against the Christian Emperours, as being of a foreine and different religion.* And who can then imagine, that anie other durst vsurpe that name in Rome; and in their presence? Thirdly, *Baronius* maintaineth, That if the Pope had not perhaps the title, yet he had in effect the power of a supream Iudge in all causes of Religion and Heresie, and that he was so commonly reputed and taken in the world: much troubled in mind, as it seemeth, that *Constantine* himselfe tooke knowledge of the cause of the Donatists, receiued their Appeale, appointed Delegates, and in the end sentenced and decided the cause himselfe in person; whereof to doubt, were to call all Historie into question. The truth of the Historie is this: The Donatists being moued by *Anulinus* the Proconsull, by order from the Emperour, to reconcile themselues to *Cacilian* Bishop of Carthage, had thereupon

Baron. 10. 3. an. 324. art. 78. & sequ.

Baron. an. 311. & an. 315. art. 10.

An. 324. art. 79.

Tacit. lib. 12.

Plutarch. 9. 9. & 10. Cic. ad Allic. lib. 2. ep. 24. Prudent. Hym. 10.

Histor. lib. 4.

Baron. 10. 3. an. 312. art. 94. & sequ.

upon recourse vnto the Emperour: And because they held the Bishops of Arike as suspect, preferred a petition vnto him, That he would be pleased to appoint them Iudges out of Fraunce: And *Optatus* sayth, That the Emperour hereupon grew verie wroth, and said, *You craue iudgement of me in my secularl Conrers, which am my selfe to attend my doome from the hands of Christ:* as being iustly incensed with the brawles and wranglings of these Bishops, who in Christian dutie should haue fallen to an accord, without an vmpire. And yet as *Optatus* sayth, *at their first Iudges were appointed, namely, Maternus Bishop of Cullen, Rheticus of Authun, and Marinus of Arles.* Here *Baronius* telleth vs, *That Constantine was as yet a man in the Faith, not skilled in the courses and proceedings of the Church; but that afterward he reformed this error, being giuen to vnderstand, that this belonged onely to the Bishop of Rome: which* (sayth he) *the Emperour testifieth by that Epistle which he wrote vnto him thereupon:* by which letter, at the sollicitation of *Anulinus*, he joyned him in commision with those other three, for the hearing and determining of that cause in the Synod. Seeing therefore that he groundeth the reformation of the Emperours iudgement vpon this Epistle, it shall not be amisse to examine the contents thereof; First the title of it is this: *A copie of the Emperour Constantine his letter, by which he commaundeth to call a Synod at Rome, for the vnitie and concord of the Churches;* The superscription, this: *Miltiades Bishop of Rome, and to Marcus.* Where *Baronius*, impatient to see a companion joyned with the Pope, to make him all in all, in stead of *Miltiades*, readeth *isepiscopus*, by what authoritie I know not, nor what copie he hath to follow: But graunt we that it is so, what doth I pray you *isepiscopus*, signifie in all auuncient Writers, and euen in *Dionysius* himselfe, whom they falsely surnamé the Arcopagite, but onely a Bishop, that is, a man hauing charge and ouersight of diuine Seruice? But to the purpose: it is farre more likely, if we will stand vpon coniectures; that that word *Marcus* was written short, to stand for *Maternus* or *Marinus*, which an abbreuiation in the end, in this manner, *Materno* or *Marino* &c. a thing vsuall in those Patents, which they called *Formatas* or *Sacras*, when they were directed to auncie at once; of whom, in the exemplifications, they named onely some few of the first, and then added, *et ceteris, &c.* and to the rest: And such might the copie of *Cacilianus* be. But what sayth the Patent it selfe? *Επις μου* (a word vsuall in their solemne decrees) that is, *It hath seemed good vnto me, that Cacilian, with ten other Bishops, should repaire to Rome, there to haue hearing before you, and before Rheticus, Maternus and Marinus your Collegues, whom I haue commaunded by busten thishon for this purpose* (according to that of *S. Augustine*, where he sayth) *This ben aut iudges were read the letters of the Emperour before them, by which he enjoyned them to heare the cause of Cacilian:*) *Also, I haue caused to be deliuered into their hands the copie sent vnto me by Anulinus the Proconsull, to the end that your Graunt* (a great iudicialtie of the Emperour, not to say your Holinesse) *may the better advise of some course to be held in the proceedings and finall determination of this cause:* And now let the reader iudge, where the authoritie then rested, and where omnipotencie the Pope then had. But so eage are they in this matter, that of a simple voice and suffrage of the Pope they will needs make a definitive sentence: *By the consente of Miltiades* (sayth *Baronius*) *this cause was ended and controuersie decided:* hauing no colour for his assertion, but onely this that *Miltiades* spake last; whereas the Author speaketh onely in this manner: *Cacilian was pronounced innocent by all the aboue named Bishops, and by the sentence of Miltiades himselfe, with which the iudgement was concluded;* and reason good: for he prefided, as was fir he should, being

Optat. Milcu. cont. Parm. lib. 1.

Baron. 10. 3. an. 313.

Miltiades. Epist. lib. 12. cap. 5.

isepiscopus.

August. in breu. Collat.

Uuatiy 515. 57m.

Baron. an. eod. art. 26.

Optat. cont. Armen. lib. 1.

Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5. edit. Lat.

Episto. Constant. ad Abba. ab ipso Baron. citat. ex Biblioth. Pet. Pyth. August. ep. 68. August. cont. Armen. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Baron. an. 314. art. 53.

Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 1. cap. 37. 38.

Baron. an. 314. art. 57. 68. 69.

A Bishop of Rome, in a Synod held at Rome: Yet would not the Donatists here
 rest; and *Optatus* thereupon sayth, *That Donatus thought fit to appeale from the Bi-
 shops* (he sayth not from *Miltiades*, or from the Bishop of Rome) and that *Con-
 stantine* grew highly offended with this course, and cried out, *O the boldnesse of these
 mad fellows! they have entred their appeale as the Gentiles use to doe in their suites at
 law:* so distastfull and vnpleasing to him was this bangling of the Clergie. Yet
 for all this (though *Baronius* should burst for anger) the Emperour in the end ad-
 mitted of their appeale, and gaue order that a Councell should be called at Arles,
 for the oyer and terminer of this cause, writing to fundrie Bishops and Metropo-
 litanes, to be present at it: And we find in *Eusebius* a copie of his Letters Patents,
 directed to *Chrestus* Bishop of Syracuse; the title whereof is, as of that other to
Miltiades: by which he commaundeth a Councell to be called &c. and the tenor
 as followeth; Having declared the first judgement which was giuen in this cause,
 by expresse order from himselfe, by certaine Bishops of France and Africke, the Bi-
 shop of Rome also being there present (he saith not President) in the end, *Wee
 (sayth he) haue commaunded certaine Bishops to assemble in Synod vpon such a day at
 Arles;* giuing him likewise straitly in charge to be there in person, *to the end (saith
 he) that the said Synod, i. by thy Grantie (which qualitie and no other he vsed be-
 fore vnto Miltiades) and by the wisdomme of the rest this controwersie may be com-
 posed:* To which purpose also he wrote vnto *Ablasius*, Grand Master of the house-
 hold, willing him to follow this businesse, and euer with these tearmes, *Preceperam
 venire; iniungendum duxi, facias nauigare,* and the like. So that *S. Augustine*
 speaketh verie properly when he sayth, *Alterum Episcopale iudicium dedit habend-
 um &c.* that is, He appointed another hearing of this cause, to be had by the Bi-
 shops at Arles, leauing it a cleare case, to whom it appertained of right to call a
 Councell. And this Emperour caused at length (as *S. Augustine* reporteth) two
 hundred Bishops out of France, Italie, and Spaine to assemble at Arles; himselfe
 also was there present, he presided, and in the end gaue sentence himselfe in fa-
 uour of the Catholiques: whereupon *Baronius* citeth that vnto vs which we find
 in *Eusebius* his first booke; namely, *that Constantine taking a particular care of the
 Churches of God, by reason of fundrie dissentions which he saw daily to arise betweene
 the Bishops; himselfe in person, as a generall Bishop appointed by God, and vs with
 ourselfe, i. assembled Synods of the Ministers; and consequently, did that which
 the Pope now claimeth as properly belonging to himselfe: Well (saith *Baronius*)
 yet at least this appeareth, That the Fathers of this Councell wrote their Syno-
 dall Epistle to the Bishop of Rome, entreating him thereby to ratifie and con-
 firme their Acts, and thence inferreth, that the custome and manner of the
 Church at that time was, wheneuer anie decrees of Councils were agreed vpon
 and enacted, to send them first to the Bishop of Rome, as not to be published
 without his approbation first had: and obtained thereunto: Let vs therefore
 briefly examine this Epistle also, whether according as we find it in the Coun-
 cels, or whether as he alledgeth out of *Pythens*. The title it selfe in the first is
 worth the noting, *Domino Cr sanctissimo patri Syluestro Episcopo, i. To our most holie
 brother Syluester Bishop: The exordium followeth in this manner: The things
 which we haue with one consent decreed, we here make knowne charitati tue, to your cha-
 rittie, to the end that all may know what they ought to doe hereafter.* Now, this word
Decree importeth no suspension of authoritie in them, nor yet implicth, that they
 were to leaue of him, but rather that the Pope, as well as all others, should
 leaue of them; neither doth that other copie much differ in sence: *Communi co-
 pula**

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A *pula charitatis, &c.* We, say they, knit together in one, and vnited, by that common bond
 of loue and charitie, and met together in this citie of Arles, by the good pleasure of the
 most goodlie Emperour, greet thee most religious Father with all due reuerence. Would
 God, beloued brother, you had bene present with vs at the hearing of this cause; so should
 a more seuerer decree haue pass'd against the Donatists, and we all, finding your iudgement
 to concurre with ours, should haue had the greater ioy. And comming a little alter to
 signifie vnto him what had passed in the Councell: *It seemed good vnto vs,* say
 they, *the holie Ghost and the Angels being present with vs, &c.* I would know whether
 this be to craue confirmation, or to fetch the holie Ghost from Rome in a budget?
 or is it not rather to determine of the cause absolutely without the Pope? And
B againe, *Placuit, &c.* *It seemed good to vs,* say they, *because you hold the greater Dioecesse,*
 (therefore not all, as if all the world were but one Dioecesse, and that subiect to his
 jurisdiction) *to make knowne vnto all men what we haue done, and principally by you.*
 And who seeth not, that to make knowne is one thing, and to craue confirmation
 is another? To conclude, the Donatists finding themselves to haue the worse, ap-
 peale to *Constantine* in person, who, though all wearie of their contentions and
 debates, yet assigned the parties a day to appeare before him at Milan, and there
 confirmed he by his decree all the former sentences giuen against them; witnesse
 Saint *Augustine* in many places: *The Emperour, saith he, being constrained to iudge
 this cause after the Bishops, caused the parties to appeare before him, and with all care, di-
 ligence, and wisdomme, entring into the knowledge of the cause, pronounced Cecilian in-
 nocent, and his aduersaries a companie of vngodlie persons.* And againe, *Post Episcopa-
 lia iudicia,* saith he, *i. After the iudgements of the Bishops, &c.* (meaning as well that
 at Rome, as that at Arles) what King or Emperour in these our dayes, attempting
 to doe the like, should not be excommunicated, and cut off from the Church?
 yet *Syluester* at that time neuer grudged or repined at it. And thus they still abuse
 the world.
 Fourthly he alledgeth the case of *Arrius*: let vs see therefore whether his
 successe be like to proue better in this than in the former. *Arrius* therefore ha-
 uing disgorged his poyson in Alexandria, and afterwards by his ballad-like let-
 ters dispersed it into all corners of the world, *Alexander* Bishop of Alexandria
 opposed himselfe against him, and sent likewise his Epistles general into all parts,
 to the number of seuentie, as *Epiphanius* reporteth. Here *Baronius*, without any
 authoritie or reason, groweth verie peremptorie: *It is apparent,* saith he, *that A-
 lexander, before all others, wrot first concerning this matter to Syluester Bishop of the
 first See.* But why should we take his bare word for prooffe? *Prooffe ynough,* sayth
Baronius; *for haue we not a certaine Epistle of Liberius, wherein it is thus written, We
 haue euen at this day the letters of Alexander vnto Syluester?* And what of that?
 for haue not we likewise euen at this day another of his Epistles generall in *Socra-
 tes*, with this inscription: *To our most honored fellow Ministers throughout the Church
 wheresoever?* And haue not we another of the same in *Theodoret*, written in particu-
 lar to the B. of Constantinople? Were we disposed to take such aduantage, what
 might not we conclude out of this? But we say farther, That *Alexander* Bishop
 of Alexandria, without attending any aduise from Rome, excommunicated *Arri-
 us*, and cut him off from the Church; as appeareth by his owne letters: and moreo-
 uer, published an orthodoxall confession, for an antidote against the poyson of
 his doctrine, and raised both East and West against him: in all which we heare no
 newes of *Syluester*. Here againe *Baronius* runneth to his likelihoods: *All other
 Bishops of the East,* saith he, *rising as it were in armes to ioyne with Alexander, Haud
 par*

Religiosissime Papa.

August. Epist. 168.

Ep. plan. Her. 69.

Baron. an. 318. art. 59. Epist. Liber. 10. 9. Biblioth. Soc. at. lib. 1. c. 3.

Ibidem.

Baron. an. 318. art. 38. 89.

par est credere, we may not thinke that Syluester Bishop of Rome stood all the while idle : **A** But seeing it was heretofore said unto him; Feed my sheepe; we may well imagine, nay rather constantly affirm, That he bestirred himselfe in the businesse as well as the best. And hath Baronius indeed no better proofes than these? Yes, saith he, for Syluester sent Hosius Bishop of Corduba, his Legat, into Ægypt. This, I confesse, is somewhat to the purpose; if it were true: True it is, that the Emperour, to quench that fire, dispatched his letters both to Alexander and Arrius, by Hosius, a man of note, and one whom the Emperour honoured verie highly. And Eusebius speaking of the same man, saith, That he was one much honoured among good men, for his vertue, and whom the Emperour had neere about him. And the title of that chapter in Eusebius, is, Legatum de Pace componenda mittit: i. He sendeth a Legate or Embassadour to make peace betweene them. Theodoret hath the like, and withall a copie of that letter, wherein the Emperour admonisheth them to handle such questions with discretion, reuerence, and good agreement. As for Syluester, or what hee did herein, there is not in all these either word or fillable to be found. And must Baronius his conjecture goe for currant, That sure it was so, but that Eusebius would not report it? But to proceed: This fire beginning now to flame out, it was thought fit to assemble that first generall Council in the citie of Nice: But who then called it? or by whose authoritie and commaund was it assembled? All histories agree in one: Eusebius saith, The Emperour Constantine assembled the generall Council of Nice, calling thither the Bishops out of all parts: and he calleth this dispatch of the Emperour, *ἐπιταγή, πατριάρχια, a precept, or commaund*: and in the title it is said, *That he enjoyed*. And Theodoret, The Emperour, saith he, *not able to compose matters in Alexandria, ἐκείνη τῆς αἰτίας συνέλεξε τὸν οὐνοῦ, assembled that great Council*. And Sozomen vseth the word *συνέλεξε, i. he called them together*. Also the Synod it selfe writing to the Churches, *we, say they, here assembled, by the grace of God, and fauour of Constantine our Prince, beloued of God, &c.* And likewise writing to the Churches of Ægypt, they vse these words, *By the grace of God, and commaundement of the Emperour*. Likewise Socrates and Cyrillenus vse the word *συνέλεξε, i. he gathered, or assembled them together*; as Eusebius had done before them: Neither is there any Father or Historian of the Church, which speaketh in other manner. And all this done by Constantine, after the time that Baronius acknowledgeth him to haue bene a good and a perfect Christian, and withall most forward to aduance the Church, to wit, after his baptisme, and a whole yeare after that supposed donation of his. What now will he say to this, seeing the whole Church hath euer held this for a most holie and lawfull Council? backe againe to his old ward, and to his conjectures: The Council of Rome, saith he, was held one yeare before, under Syluester, ad Trastani Thermas: (and why not at Lateran, if that had bene his owne palace, as he said before) Constantine and Helena his mother were there present. (But will this Cardinall stand to this Council, where the Priests of Rome, now called Cardinals, stood behind the place where the Bishops sat?) But to the matter: *Who dareth to doubt*, saith he, *but that Syluester and Constantine, at this Council concluded, to call that other afterward at Nice?* And we aske againe, Who dareth to affirme it, seeing there is no such thing mentioned in the Council, nor the Arrians there so much as named? A silly gheffe as euer was. But if Baronius will needs stand to gheffes, why may not wee doe the like, and say, Who doubteth but that it was there accorded, that Constantine himselfe should call it, seeing that indeed he did call it, as all histories record, and that without contradiction of any, for aught that yet appeareth to the contrarie? Yet is not

Euseb. de vita Constantin. l. 2. c. 63.
Socrat. l. 1. c. 4.
Sozom. l. 1. c. 15.
Euseb. de vita Constant. l. 2. c. 63.

Theodor. l. 1. c. 67.

Euseb. de vita Constant. Edit. Lat. c. 6. l. 3.

Theodoret. l. 1. c. 7.
Sozom. l. 1. c. 16.

Acta Concil. Nicen. vol. 1.

Socrat. l. 1. c. 5.
Golar.
Cyrillen. l. 1.

Baron. an. 324.
art. 13 l. 10. 3.
Concil. Rom. 2. c. 1.

Baron. an. 324.

A not Baronius ashamed to build hereupon, as vpon an vndoubted veritie: And if all faile, at least, saith he, this is sure, that Hosius presided there as Legat of the Bishop of Rome. Let vs therefore see if he proue his embassage here any better than hee did that other at Alexandria before mentioned. Eusebius in the life of Constantine speaketh in this manner: He which presided over the Imperiall citie (meaning the Bishop of Rome) was not in this assemblie, by reason of his age; but his Priests there present supplied his roome: Now Victor and Vincentius are named for such, in the acts of the Council; but of Hosius, who should least of all haue been forgotten, there is no mention made to any such effect. Why then, saith he, did Hosius first subscribe before all the rest? I answer, Because he was principally imployed by the Emperour for the composing of this difference; in regard whereof he did the like also in the Council of Sardica. And seeing that Victor and Vincentius wrot in this manner, *we haue subscribed for the reuerend Syluester our Pope and Bishop*; why did not Hosius the like, if he were also his Legat? Why subscribed hee in his owne name, I Hosius Bishop of Corduba, of the Province of Spaine, doe so beleue: for so we find it euen in the old Roman Code it selfe. Baronius replieth out of the title of a certaine Epistle, written, as he saith, from the Council unto Syluester by his Legats; which is nothing else, but to presuppose the thing in question: the title therefore is this, *To Syluester the most blessed Pope of old Rome, Hosius Bishop of Corduba, a Province in Spaine, and Macarius Bishop of Constantinople, and Victor and Vincentius Priests of Rome, appointed or ordained by your direction*. Not to say that this Epistle with that which followeth, are both noted in the verie acts of this Council to be of little credit, I aske onely, Whether he will haue Macarius also to be one of the Popes Legats; and whether that word *Direction* ought not to be restrained to Victor and Vincentius, as Eusebius used it? But the truth is, that *Barbarus* when he alledgeth this title, leaueth out *Macarius*, to blind his reader; and to saue himselfe from this absurditie. Last of all, if Hosius had been his Legat, should not he also haue opened the Council? which yet he did not: The Bishop saith Eusebius, which sat uppermost upon the right hand, standing up, made a short speech to the Emperour; and rehearsed a certaine hymne, to give thanks to Almighty God: and this was Eustathius Bishop of Antioch, because the Bishop of Alexandria stood now as a partie against Arrius.

D First, Baronius groweth verie cholericke, to see the Bishop of Rome ordered by the sixe Canon of this Council, as the other Bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were; he saith, That these Canons are mangled, and must be corrected by those of Chalcedon: And if they were so, yet might Baronius put all that he should gaine thereby in his eye, and doe himselfe no harme, as we haue already shewed against Bellarmine. Rufinus, of all the rest, sticketh most in his stomacke, for bounding the Popes jurisdiction, with these words, *Suburbicariae Ecclesiarum curam gerat: i. That he should take care of the Churches neere about the citie*: And Baronius telleth vs, that *Regiones Suburbicariae, and vicariae, in the Imperiall lawes of those times, were all one*: And that *Regiones Tribonicae* comprised besides Italic, the isle of Sicilie, Africke, Ægypt, and many other countreies: Forgetting in his choler, that the verie Canon it selfe now in question, assigneth Ægypt to the Bishop of Alexandria, and consequently not to him of Rome. Author for this assertion he hath none; nor reason, more than this, that these Provinces were called *vicariae*, which we denie not; and the reason may be, because they yeelded a yearly renew of corne, *tribi*, to the citie of Rome, according to the rate set downe in the Code of Theodosius. But grant we, that *Regiones Suburbicariae*

Baron. an. 325. art. 13. & sequent.

Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3. Edit. Lat. c. 7. l. 11.

Albanus. Apolog. l. 1.

Acta Concil. Nicen.

Baron. an. 325. art. 2.

Baron. an. 325. art. 54.

Theodor. l. 1. c. 7.

Ruffin. l. 1. c. 4.

Baron. an. 324. art. 54.

Lib. 14. Cod. Theodof. l. 6. tit. de Canon. frumentar. orbis Roma.

and *Vrbicaria*, were all one, what getteth hee? for *Constantine* in the third law *de Annona & Tributo*, sheweth plainly, that by *Regiones Suburbicariae*, were meant onely those which lay within *Italie*, and were neere adjoyning vnto *Rome*, where he speaketh in this manner: *Anatolius, late Consul, certified vs, that he hath taken away the frauds of the Collectors per Suburbicarias Regiones. Which course, saith he, we commaund also to be held throughout all the other Regions of Italie: so that the more remote regions of Italie it selfe, are not comprised vnder this name of Suburbicaria Regiones, but commaund giuen, that these should be ordered after their example. So likewise would Baronius faine comprise Sicilie and Atrike vnder the appellation of Vrbicaria Regiones. But the words of Constantine and Constantius, in the same Code, giue him the lye; where it is said, That lands of inheritance and fee farme, throughout Italie, shall be free from all extraordinarie taxes, paying only their customarie rates, as the lands in Afrike doe: The reason followeth: For not onely in Italie, but also, in vrbicarijs Regionibus, and in Sicilie, lands of inheritance, and lands held in fee farme, must be rated according to their abilities. Whereby it appeareth, that Italie was to be eased after the example of Afrike, and both Italie and Afrike, and Sicilie it selfe, distinguished from those which were properly called Vrbicaria Regiones. So likewise in that law of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, it is said by the Emperours vnto Probus Grand Master of the houshold, in this manner; Let thy sinceritie and vprightnesse obserue an equalitie throughout Italie, as likewise in the Regions of Afrike, and those which are called Vrbicaria; and throughout all Ilyria: where again he distinguisheth them both from Italie, and also from Afrike. Now if he will aske, what those Suburbe cities were; that law of Gratian & Theodosius teacheth vs: We commaund, say they, that Picenum and Thinscia, now called La Marca d'Ancona; and Tuscanie (and yet not all Tuscanie neither) being the suburbe Regions, shall beare the seuenth part of the tribute: not comprising therein so much as Campania (now a parcell of the kingdome of Naples) nor other Regions of like distance. And now let Baronius cast vp his reckonings, and see what hee hath gotten by quarelling that place of *Ruffinus*. But be this what he will, can he denie that the Bishop of *Rome* was here ordered and confined as well as the rest? As for that Canon which he would put vpon vs, That from all Churches a man might appeale vnto *Rome*: besides that there is no historie that reporteth it, no not *Gelasius Cyzicenus* himselfe, I would aske, Whether this sixth Canon be nor vtterly repugnant therunto? And farther let him say, when men were long after this time sent of purpose to search the Archaues of the Churches of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, to decide the controuersie betwene the Churches of *Constantinople* and of *Rome*, whether there were any such Canon there found? or can he produce any one appeale made to *Rome* in all that time? As for that goodlie Canon of the Councell of *Rome*, which he would thrust vpon vs, in these words; The first See let woman iudge, because all other Sees seeke for equitie at her hands, as of the chiefe: neither may the Iudge be iudged by any Clergie, Emperour, or King, or people whatsoever: who is so ill aduised as to beleue them in their owne cause? or who seeth not that this is a meere trick and gullerie put vpon the reader? For what kings could they meane? if Pagans, what can be more ridiculous? if Christians, where were any in those dayes? and consequently, what more vaine? moreover, doe we not see the contrarie practised in the *Nicene Councell*, immediatly ensuing? And why is he not then ashamed to couzen the world with a false coyne, so apparently discovered, and bored thorough by all Historians and writers? It is said in the acts of that Synod; That there were 139 Bishops, ex vrbe Roma, aut non longe*

Tabulariorum Lib. 8. de Annon. & Tribut. l. 3. & 11. in Cod. Theodos.

Lib. 11. de Ex. traord. & ford. maner.

Tit. Si per ob. reptione Lunic. Cod. Theodos.

L. 1. de Indul. gent. debit. in Cod. Theodos.

Art. 57. & sequent.

Baron. to 3. an. 324. art. 130.

A longe ab illa, out of the cite of *Rome*, or not farre from thence: What were there more Bishops than one at *Rome*? and where, I pray you, should a man find so many Bishops so neere to *Rome*? It is also there said, That *Helena* the mother of *Constantine* was there, and subscribed to the acts. And what had they so soone forgotten the saying of the Apostle, That it is not permitted to a woman to speake in the Church? *Constantine* also is there called *Domnus*, which is meere Gothish, and joyned in Consulship with *Priscus*, which was neuer heard of. He should not for shame haue alledged this Synod, seeing that the verie barbarousnesse of the stile is ynough to conuince it of open forgerie. Last of all he saith, That the Fathers of the *Nicene Councell* wrote to *Syluester*, to craue his confirmation of their acts and decrees: alledging for prooffe hereof the acts of Pope *Syluester*, and not remembering how oft himselfe in other places hath condemned them as false and counterfeit. The truth is this, that vpon any question arising about religion, the Fathers assembled in Councell were wont to send their Synodall Epistle throughout all parts of *Christendome*, and some particulars among them to write their priuar letters to some chiefe and principal Bishops of other countries, to acquaint them with the tenor of their acts, and to request them, to giue their suffrage and approbation thereunto: So also were they wont to adresse another Epistle to the Emperour, to entreat him to confirme and ratifie their acts, and to cause them to be receiued: of both which sorts we haue examples in this very Synod; of the one in that Synodall Epistle which they wrote to the Church of *Alexandria*, and the rest in *Egypt*; in which manner they wrote also another Epistle to all Churches in generall, without attending any leaue from the Bishop of *Rome*: of the other, among the patents of *Constantine*, who was present at this Councell; which Epistle we haue in *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Gelasius*, *Theodoret*, and others: whereby he ordained, That *Easter day* should be kept vpon the day which they appointed; and that the bookes of *Arians* should be burnt in all places. Which decree was published onely to authorise, and to put in execution the Canons agreed vpon and enacted in the Councell. And those patents of the Emperour were directed sometimes to the Bishops and people, and sometimes to the Churches: as for any confirmation sought for at *Syluester*'s hands, there is no mention at all made therein. And farther, that Epistle which we haue in the first tome of the Councels, besides that it is most foolishly written, is not Synodical, but written, as it is expressed in the title, by *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, *Macarius* of *Constantinople*, *Vitus* and *Vincencius* Priests of *Rome*: whereas the Synodall carried alwayes the title Of the Sacred Councell, and withall, the names of some of the most famous Bishops; and to what purpose the name of *Nicetas* Bishop of *Constantinople*, which was at that time scarce built: Neither doth it mend the matter; that *Baronius* in stead of *Constantinople* readeth *Ierusalem*: for why then should *Hosius* subscribe before him, contrary to the order established in the Councell: or why before *Victor* and *Vincencius*, Lieutenants at that time for the Bishop of *Rome*; and lastly, why was not *Enstadius* Bishop of *Antioch* first named: As for the confirmation it selfe of *Syluester*, *Baronius* acknowledgeth that whole Epistle to be forged, and proueth the falsitie thereof by the date. Neither is there any greater reckoning to be made of the testimonie of Pope *Felix*, as being a witness in his owne cause, and liuing one hundred and sixtie yeares after this Councell; and either abused himselfe or abusing others with that said counterfeit Epistle: Now there were sundrie nationall Synods held shortly after vnder the same *Constantine*, for the confirmation of that first *Nicene Councell*; as that

Ruffin. l. 1. c. 13.

Eccl. Hist. l. 1.

Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 13. Sacrat. lib. 1.

Baron. an. 325. art. 171.

Euseb. lib. 4. de vita Constant. c. 41.

that of Tyre in the yeare 334, at Ierusalem An. 335, at Constantinople An. 336: A
Baronius quarels vs concerning the issues of them, and of their confirmation. But what can he say for the calling and assembling of them? or can he shew that either Syluester or Marcus complained, that the Emperour had done them wrong as encroaching vpon their liberties, and meddling with that which appertained not vnto him.

5. PROGRESSION.

- 1 That Marcus Bishop of Rome called himselfe the Vniuersall Bishop.
- 2 That Iulius Bishop of Rome offered to restore certaine Bishops deposed by their Metropolitan.
- 3 Of the Canon of the Councell of Sardica, by which Bishops wrongfully deposed mighte s^hie to Iulius Bishop of Rome.

An. 337. I ABOUT the yeare 337, we haue in the first booke of the Councils an Epistle of Marcus Bishop of Rome, successor vnto Syluester, written to Athanasius, and to the other Bishops of Egypt; wherein, notwithstanding what hath bene already said, he taketh vpon him the name and title of Vniuersall Bishop. Surely we may well imagine, that this Epistle is of the same stampe with the rest. There he furnisheth his cause with all the arguments which hee can deuise: The Church of Rome hath alwayes continued immaculat and undefiled, by the providence of God and assistance of Saints Peter, euer so to endure. And againe, The Lord in the Gospell spake vnto the Prince of his Apostles, saying, I haue prayed for thee that thy faith should not faile.

Socrat. l. 2. c. 11.
Edit. Lat.
Sozom. l. 3. c. 7.

2 After which time, we find in Socrates and Sozomene, that Iulius, successor vnto Marcus, tooke vpon him by absolute authoritie to restore sundrie Bishops of the Easterne Churches, deposed for diuers causes by their Synods; Because, saith he, the care of all the Churches belonged to him, by reason of his See, therefore he wrot to the Bishops of the East, telling them that they had done verie ill to determine and conclude any thing against those Bishops without his priuittie. Where it is to be noted, that these last words, without his priuittie, are added in the Latine translation, there being none such to be found in the originall it selfe. And farther saith he, Iulius commaunded them to send some of their companions to appeare before him upon a day appointed, to give a reason, and to iustifie their proceedings against them. And if this Epistle be all one with that which we find in the first tome of the Councils, with this title, In the behalfe of Athanasius, and concerning certaine excesses against the Church of Rome; then would he farther persuaide them therein, that the Fathers of the Nicene Council decreed, That no Bishop might bee judged but by his See, no Synod called but by his authoritie: and thence proceedeth to sharpe reproofes, and reproachfull speeches, concluding at last, That whosoever shall attempt any thing against this doctrine, is irremediably damned, and for euer deposed from his charge: And farther, That whosoever shall be deposed without his authoritie, he will maintaine him in his place: and addeth this reason; For that euer since the times of the Apostles, and lastely by the decree of the Nicene Council, (as much the one as the other) all greater causes haue euer bene reserued to the hearing and final determining of his See.

Epist. Marci in
1. i. i. Concil.

An. 347. 3 Solikewise in the yeare 347, in the Council of Sardica, at the motion of Eufins, there was a decree which passed to this purpose, That Bishops deposed by their

A their Metropolitan, if they found themselues aggriued, might craue and haue a new hearing of their cause before Iulius Bishop of Rome: which his successors since that time, from a particular case, haue extended to all sorts of causes, and from the person of Iulius to all succeeding Popes: and we now come to examine what Oppositions were made against these attempts.

OPPOSITION.

First therefore as touching the Epistle of Marc, Athanasius himselfe might well haue answered him, as he sometime spake in a treatise of his: Thou art Peter, and upon this stone will I build my Church: This is a faithfull saying, and varieth not: The Church is a thing inuincible. And if perhaps Marc would haue gone to restraine this answer to himselfe and to his See, Athanasius might haue replied, that though indeed he defended him, yet his successor Liberius did openly condemne him, namely, when he wrot vnto the Bishops of the East in this manner: I cast off Athanasius from our Communion, not daining so much as to receiue his letters: I maintaine peace with you, embracing the confession of the Syrian Council: which is all one in effect, as if he had in expresse words renounced the Council of Nice. Wherefore S. Hilarie, who liued at that time, cryed out, This is an Arrian treacherie: Anathema to thee O Liberius, and to all thy companions; Anathema againe and againe vnto thee, thou false hearted double dealing Liberius. And this is that accused and wretched testimonie which Athanasius also and Ierome giue of him. And Bellarmine himselfe acknowledgeth as much, by reason of certaine letters which he wrot to Constantius the Emperour, and others; all which were found in the Popes Librarie.

apud S. Iuliu.
dnlw.

Athanasius
Orat. Vnum
esse Christum,
col. 104.

Epist. Liberij ad
Oriental. apud
Hilar. in frag-
ment.

Ibid.

Athanasius in
epist. ad solitar.
vitam agentes,
col. 470.
Hiero. in Catal.
in Fortunatian.
Bellar. de Rom.
Pontif. li. 4. c. 9.

Now therefore let vs see what answer the Bishops of the East made to those letters of Pope Iulius: They tooke (sayth Socrates) his reproofes in scorne, and calling a Synod at Antioch, by common aduise and consent they returned his imputations backe vpon himselfe with all bitterness, telling him, That he was no more to controll them, if they thought fit to depriue anie man in their Churches, than they intermeddled, at what time Nouatus was cast out of the Church at Rome. Sozomene addeth, That their answer was full of scoffes and threats: For (sayth he) they attributed indeed verie much to the Church of Rome, as the mother Citie, and schole of pietie and of religion (though so it were, that their first instructors in Christian religion came vnto them out of the East) yet for all this disdaind they to be reckoned their inferiors, as they who made it not their glorie to excell in pompe and riches, but in vertue, pietie, and Christian resolution &c. offering peace and communion vnto Iulius, but still vpon condition, that he should put out of his protection those Bishops of theirs which were fled vnto him. This answer (sayth Socrates) much offended Iulius: and it seemeth that it wrought vpon him; for in his next letter he complaineth onely, That they called him not to their Synod; whereas before he pretended, that they might not call a Council

Socrat. lib. 2.
c. 11. edit. lat.
Graec. cap. 13.

Sozom. edit. lat.
l. 3. c. 7. Graec.
c. 8.

Socrat. l. 2.
edit. lat. c. 13.
Graec. c. 17.

E without his authoritie: he alledged now, That the Canon of the Church forbod to impose anie Law vpon the Churches without the aduise of the Bishop of Rome; whereas before he pretended a right, absolutely to dispose of all: which was the thing which moued them to replie, that they would not be ordered nor concluded by him. By which it appeareth, that that answer of Iulius to the Easterne Bishops, which we find in the Councils, is meere counterfeit, seeing he is there made to speake worse than in the former, euen to alledge, That in the Council of Nice there is a Canon, which forbiddeth to call a Council, or to condemne anie man, without the aduise of the Bishop of Rome, though there be there no such word to be found; witnesse the

καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαι
ἐκείνους ναίειν.

καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαι
αὐτοῖς.

the Glosse vpon that verie Epistle, where he confesseth, that there is no such thing there said *apertè, sed reducibiliter*, .i. not in plain tearmes, but onely by collection. And thus we see, how vnder colour of protecting *Athanasius*, the Pope made way to his owne ambition.

Neither is *Baronius* his cause anie jot furthered and aduanced all this while: He brought in *Syluester*, who, good man as he was, neuer dreamt of anie such gay clothes, attyred like an Emperour, as we saw before; and now he telleth vs, that his successor *Marcus* began first to giue the Pall to other Bishops: we read (sayth he) *in the life of Marcus, that he ordained, that the Bishop of Ostia, whose office it was to consecrate the Bishop of Rome, should at the time of consecration use a Pall: whereupon (sayth he) non inficias imus, we denie not that he gaue him the Pall.* Had *Baronius* beleued it himselfe, he would no doubt haue spoken it more roundly: But let that passe; this I aske, when he sayth, That this is the first place where the Pall is mentioned, doth he not thereby acknowledge it to be a noueltie? When he giueth it to the Bishop of Ostia at Rome gates, is it not an argument that he sent it not at that time to the Metropolitanans and Archbishops of farther countries? Neither indeed is there anie mention made of this weed in all this age, nor in manie succeeding ages after; neither in the East, neither in the West, nor yet in Italie it selfe; and must we then stand vnto a Legend, as to a sufficient prooffe? For whereas he would proue it out of *Isidore Pelusiota*, a scholer of *Chryostomes*, it maketh cleane against him: for it is there said, that *ωροβειον*, which *Baronius* interpreteth to be *Pallium*, was worn by euerie Bishop in time of celebration, and consequently no priuiledge of Metropolitanans, or prerogatiue of certaine Bishops; much lesse a present to be receiued, or a commoditie to be bought for ready money at the Bishop of Rome his warehouse: his words are these, *The garment which the Bishop weareth vpon his shoulders, made of wooll and not of linnen, signifieth vnto vs the skin of the lost sheepe, which the Lord sought, and hauing found him, layed him vpon his shoulders: For the Bishop, bearing a type and figure of Christ, must also performe his office: So farre is he from deriuing it from the High Priests of the Jewes, to appropriat it to the Pope, and to such as he for a fauour is pleased to impart it.*

We haue alreadie shewed what maine opposition was made against the attempts of Pope *Iulius*, yet doth *Baronius* vpon that attempt onely, without effect, ground an absolute and soueraigne power of the Bishops of Rome in generall: He called (saith he) a *Councell at Rome, requested thereunto by the Arrians themselues, who being cast out of the East, hoped to find reliefe and succour in the West*: For answer we say, that this was no Generall, but a Nationall Councell, such as euerie Metropolitan might, and the Bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, Hierusalem, and Constantinople often did call in their feuerall dioces, such as did *Athanasius* himselfe in this verie cause of *Arrius*: But this we affirme, that no one of the generall Councells was euer called by other than the Emperour himselfe, though at the request of Bishops, so oft as cause required. An euident argument, that there was not at that time anie one Bishop acknowledged as soueraigne ouer all the rest; by occasion whereof they were forced to haue recourse to a supreme secular power, whensoever there was cause, for Metropolitanans, and Patriarchs, for the Clergie of sundrie Prouinces, for the Bishops of the East and West Churches, to assemble and meet together for the ordering of matters in the Church: whence also it came to passe, that during the space of three hundred yeares, vntill the reigne of *Constantine*, we neuer read of any Generall Councell, and but of few Nationall;

yet

A yet were there in all that time Bishops of Rome: neither during that eclipse of Christian Emperours in the reigne of *Iulian* could anie Councell be assembled, how great focuer the necessitie of the Church at that time was; and yet the Bishops of Rome were at that time growne to some iolitic, and began to looke somewhat big vpon the matter, and to affect a soueraignetic ouer the Church of God: But be it *Iulius* assembled a Synod at Rome, at the request as well of *Athanasius* as of the Eusebians, his Antagonists: what then? Was it to judge of the difference betweene them by way of Appeale, or was it rather to compose matters betweene them as an indifferent friend? The verie words of *Athanasius* are these: *The Eusebians (sayth he) write vnto Iulius, and thinking to affray vs, request him to call a Synod, and himselfe to be Iudge if he would; where the Latine Interpreter rendreth it Arbitrator, and Baronius vseth the same word.* Now I would know whether men vse to speake in this manner, of a soueraigne Iudge: And indeed the Eusebians seeing *Athanasius* come to Rome, drew backe, and made *Athanasius* wait there a whole yeare and a halfe, vntill in the end, vpon their non apparance, *Iulius* examined the cause of *Athanasius*, and finding him innocent, receiued him to the Communion of the Church. Neither did *Iulius* himselfe in the carriage of this businesse vse anie of this absolute, or as they tearme it, of this coactiue power; neither did his proceedings anie whit at all fauor either of the pretended authoritie of a Pope, or of the lawfull power of a generall Councell; his words are these: *Though (sayth he) I haue written alone, yet is not this my opinion onely, but of all the Italians, and Bishops hereabout.* Whereby it appeareth, that this was no generall Councell, but onely a Synode within Italie; and therefore hath *Baronius* no colour to conclude from hence, a Power in the Pope to call generall Councells. Moreouer, in his letters to the Easterne Churches he pretendeth nothing but loue vnto them: *He that wrote vnto you out of loue (sayth he) should haue bene answered againe in loue.* But a little after, when he attempted to restore the Bishops, whom they had deposed, they presently assembled in Synod at Antioch; where, being there present a farrre greater number of Orthodox Fathers, than of Arrians, as *Baronius* himselfe confesseth, by common voice and consent they reproued his insolencie, scoffing at him, and bidding him to meddle with what he had to doe. Here againe *Baronius*, as his manner is, beginneth to juggle with vs, and to dazzle our eyes, by telling vs, that this Epistle was written by the Eusebians; when as yet it appeareth to haue bene written and sent by the generall consent of all; this being no point of faith and doctrine to distract them, but onely of Church gouernment. *Socrates* speaking of this Epistle, *They wrote (saith he) all by common consent.* Now of ninetic Bishops there assembled, there were not in all aboue thirtie six Eusebians or Arrians, and they not willing to acknowledge that name neither. So likewise speaketh *Sozomen* of this Epistle; the points whereof what they are, alreadie hath bene declared. But what saith *Iulius* to all this? doth he alledge for himselfe, that either by vertue of his succession to *S. Peter*, or of the Nicene Councell, they ought to appeale to Rome? no such matter; his words are onely these, *The Fathers of Nice ordained, and that not without the counsell of God, that the Acts of one Councell should be examined in another: whereby there appeareth no greater power giuen to the Bishop of Rome ouer Alexandria, than to the Bishop of Alexandria ouer Rome.* As for the griuance whereof he complaineth, it is onely this, that *contrarie to the custome they had not written first of all vnto him, concerning the difference fallen out in Alexandria, to haue his aduice for the composing thereof, as being Bishop of the first See: as also, that manie Synods*

had

Pallium.

Baron. an. 336.
art. 62. 10. 3.Baron. an. 216.
vol. 2. art. 15. &
16.
Isidor. Pelusio.
l. 1. ep. 136.

ωροβειον.

Baron. an. 240.
art. 1. & sequ.Athanas. Apolo.
gen. 2.Baron. 10. 3.
art. 341. art. 56.Socrat. l. 1.
c. 11.

Sozom. l. 3. c. 7.

had beene held in the East, concerning points of faith and doctrine, without giuing him notice thereof, *contrarie to the Rule and Canon of the Church; wherein is contained, that none might impose anie law vpon the Churches, without the aduice of the Bishop of Rome:* which was but reason, considering the place he held. But it followeth not therefore, either that he alone might make Canons, or that they, his aduice once heard, might not otherwise determine, if they saw cause. As for those Epistles of *Iulius*, which we find inserted in the bodie of the Councils, they speake in a higher straine: nothing there, but of Appeals to the See of Rome, and of reseruations of all greater causes; all founded vpon Scriptures, Traditions, and the Council of Nice, in all which no one word is to be found, tending to that purpose: But the verie date of *Felicianus* and *Maximianus Consuls*, giueth them the lye, there being no such Consuls names, or anie like vnto them to be found in all that age, no not in *Onuphrims* himselfe; and, which is the greater wonder, *Baronius* himselfe, our grand Annalist, is ashamed of them.

Now come we to examine that famous Council of Sardica; which as *Baronius* and his fellows thinke (and not without some colour and shew of reason) much aduanceth the cause of the Bishop of Rome: To begin therefore, first I aske, who called it? That *Iulius Bishop of Rome* (sayth *Baronius*) was the first Author thereof, appeareth partly by that which hath beene already spoken, and partly by *Sozomene*, who seemeth plainly to insinuate as much. But what is this to the purpose? The question is, Who called it; and he for answer telleth vs, That the Bishop of Rome was the first Author and aduiser of it: whereas the one argueth an authoritie, the other onely a care, which had beene verie little, if in that great combustion he would not haue sought some meanes of pacification. But how doth *Sozomene* seeme to insinuate as much? his words are these: *It seemed good in the minds of the Emperours, that the Bishops of either part should at a day appointed meet at Sardica, a Citie in Illyria, now called Triadizza:* These are the words of solemnitie, and absolute authoritie of the Emperours. And *Socrates* speaking of the same Council sayth, *That the one Emperour requested it by his letters, and the other readily accorded thereunto.* Also the Synodall Epistle of the Fathers there assembled, reported by *Theodoret*, speaketh in this manner: *The Emperours, beloved of God, haue assembled vs out of diuers prouinces and countries, and haue giuen vs leaue to hold this holie Synod in this Citie of Sardica.* And *Athanasius*, a man of all others most interested in this Council, *By the commaund* (sayth he) *of the most religious Emperours, Constans and Constantius &c.* And *Balsamon* in his preface to this Council, *By the commaundement* (sayth he) *of these two brothers, were assembled 341 Bishops at Sardica.* And now tell me what are become of *Baronius* his ghesse? Likewise *Liberius* himselfe, successor vnto *Iulius*, sent *Lucifer* a Bishop, *Hilarie* a Priest, and *Pancrace* a Deacon, to the Emperour *Constans*; who as we hope (sayth he) shall easily obtaine of thy clemencie, that a Council may be called for the peace of the Churches Catholike: meaning whether there should happily be occasion to assemble the Bishops of the East and West, as in a Generall Council, or onely of sundrie prouinces, as in that of Sardica: of which Council *Athanasius* speaking, saith, *That there were there present from Iulius, Archidamus and Philoxenus Priests:* whom *Baronius* would faine put into scarlet, onely to make Legats of them. And a maruell is it, that because *Hosius* is there a chiefe speaker, he maketh him not chiefe Legat also: But hauing no author for that, *After the Legats of Iulius* (sayth he) *Hosius Bishop of Corduba, and Protogenes Bishop of Sardica, tooke the chiefe place in this Synod, as Sozomene reporteth.* How manie lyes is poore *Baronius* faine to coyne, onely

onely to colour one? For *Athanasius*, who was there present, and had good cause to know, reciteth their names which subscribed, in order following: *Hosius of Spaine, Iulius of Rome, by Archidamus and Philoxenus Priests, Protogenes of Sardica, &c.* Neither is it probable, that he would not haue named *Hosius* for a Legat, if he had beene such; but it is cleare, that this prerogative was giuen him for the worthinesse of his person. As for *Sozomene*, whom he alledgeth, he speaketh plaine in this manner: *Hosius and Protogenes, who were the chiefe and principall of those which met at Sardica, out of the West, &c.* And therefore, that reseruati- on of our Annalist, *Post Legatos, i. after the Legats*, where is it to be found? And farther, if those Priests had beene received in this pretended qualitie, should *Hosius* haue opened the Council, and proposed all matters as he did? And if *Hosius* did this, in what qualitie did he it, if not in his owne priuat qualitie, and in regard of that great sufficiencie which the world tooke notice to be in him? Which made *Athanasius*, and after him *Theodoret* to say, *Where is that Synod, wherein Hosius hath not presided? and where is that Church which hath not the memorials of his presidencie?* Whence it is also that *Theodoret* himselfe calleth him, *The great and venerable Sire, iustly called Hosius, which is by interpretation Holie, and excellent aboue all other men.* Well (sayth *Baronius*) yet this is euident, *That if anie found himselfe wrongfully condemned by the Bishops of his owne Prouince, the partie grieved might appeal to Rome.* The words verily of the Canon are these: *Hosius the Bishop said, if any Bishop be condemned in anie cause, if the partie condemned thinke he haue iust cause not to stand to the sentence, if it please you let vs yeeld this honour to S. Peter: let the matter be signified by letter to Iulius Bishop of Rome, to the end that he, with other Bishops of his dioces, may enter againe into the knowledge of the cause.* And *Balsamon* vpon this place affirmeth, *That the like priuiledge was graunted to the Bishop of Constantinople.* But come we to the point: And first, it was *Hosius* which proposed it; and he proposed it as a new and extraordinary antidot against a poyson, considering that the Bishops of the East were for the greatest part at that present infected with Arrianisme: and his purpose was, that if anie found himselfe oppressed and aggriued by the Arrians, he might by vertue of this Canon haue recourse to Rome, and to the Bishops of Italie, who continued at that time sound in the Orthodox profession, restraining it to the person of *Iulius*, and would no doubt haue done otherwise in the person of *Liberius*, successor vnto *Iulius*, and a professed Arrian, notwithstanding that pretended chaire of *S. Peter*. And secondly note these words, *if it please you, let vs honour the memorie of S. Peter:* For had this beene an auncient right, should he not rather haue said, *Let vs obserue the commaundement of the Lord, or the auncient order of the Church, or the Canon of the Nicene Council*, whereby it is ordained, *That men might appeal to Rome?* In stead whereof he speaketh as of a new proposall, extraordinary and arbitrarie, at their pleasures. Thirdly, is it reason, that a Canon of a Nationall Council should conclude and bind the Church in generall? Or can *Baronius* reckon this for a Generall Council, without ouerthrowing all Histories, and inuerting the whole order of the Councils, as they are already placed? For if we number this for one, where then shall those of Constantinople, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon stand? Or because *Athanasius* calleth it a *Great Council*, is it therefore a Generall one? Is not the first Council of Arles called a *Great* one, because there met in it the Bishops of sundrie Prouinces, which yet was neuer numbred among the Generall Councils? And doth not the Decrete it selfe, authorized by the Popes, ranke it with the Nationalls? And to conclude, seeing that his reasons

υελων εσαυτη-
κον.
μη δειν ποσ
του γουμου ος
επιουκου Ρελ-
μης, τος εν-
κλυστας κωνοπι-
ζειν.

Baron. to. 3.
an. 346. art. 5.

Sozom. l. 3. c. 10.

Socrat. l. 2. c. 16.
& Grac. edit.
c. 20.

Theodoret. l. 2.
c. 8.

Athanas. Apo-
log. 2.
Balsamon in
prefat. Synod.
Sardicensis.

Epist. Liberij ad
Constantinum.

Athanas.
Apolog. 2.

Baron. to. 3.
an. 347. art. 10.

Theodor. l. 2.
c. 15. ex Atha-
nas.

Baron. an. 341.
art. 18.

Concil. Sardic.
c. 3. & 4.

D. 16. can. 10.
& 11.

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whereon he groundeth his assertion, namely, because it was called by the Bishop of Rome, and because his Legats were there present, are found to be false, what credit can the assertion it selfe deserue? Fourthly, this Canon so made vpon the present occasion, was neuer practised, and was afterwards in expresse tearmes reuoked: Neither can it be denied, but that at that instant, and shortly after, there were manie Bishops deposed in the East Churches as well as before. But did euer anie claime the benefit of this Canon? Or is it likely that they would haue omitted such a meane of their restitution, if anie such had bene of force? And reuoked it was, as I haue said, in expresse tearmes, namely, in the Councell of Constantinople, *Can. 3.* and in that of Chalcedon, *Can. 28.* both of them being Councels Generall, as *Baronius* himselfe acknowledgeth, and both of them graunting equall priuiledges to the two Churches of Constantinople and of Rome, in all respects, sauing alwaies to the Bishop of Rome his precedencie: which could not haue bene, had the Easterne Churches bene alwaies tyed to answer to appeales at Rome; and we shall see hereafter how the Churches of Africa would neuer be drawne to yeld thereunto. Whence it appeareth, that that Canon was neuer meant but onely in case of destitution or restitution of certaine Bishops then being, who were by this Canon ordered to referre their differences to the Bishop of Rome, who was not tainted with Arrianisme, as some of the Easterne Bishops were. And this is the first place, in all Antiquitie, where mention is made in proper tearmes of an *Appeale*: which word yet is vsed onely in the narrative part of the Canon, proposed by *Hosius*, not in the decision of the Fathers, in fauor of *Iulius*, which onely permitteth him to take knowledge of the cause anew: which in the first Canon is qualified with this Particle, as if (say they) the Bishop deposed, *As appealing, shall flie for refuge to the Bishop of Rome*: and as the third Canon, so this in the decision concludeth onely for a review of the former sentence: so little was this matter of formall Appeales meant or vnderstood in this Councell. And this fellow, which standeth so much vpon his knowledge of Antiquitie, and hath written so manie volumes of it, should in all reason haue produced some Canon of the Apostles, some Constitution of *Clement*, or of some precedent Councell, or some example out of the Historie of the Church, and not haue grounded himselfe wholly vpon a certaine Appeale made *de facto* by *Martian*, *Valentinian*, *Fortunatus*, or some such like heretike, and make that his onely title to claime by; especially considering that the Councell of Nice setteth downe another order in expresse tearmes, namely this, *that the power of ratifying* (for so doth the word *uices*, there vsed, signifie in good Greeke) *should belong to the Metropolitan in euerie Province*: where there is no superior appointed ouer the Metropolitan, no not the Patriarch himselfe at that time; and yet was the question at that time properly concerning the ordination of Bishops. And the Councell of Antioch, which was held but a little before that of Sardica, giueth to a Bishop deposed by his own Synod, no other remedie, but onely a reuiew in another Synod. And farther, all Antiquitie forbiddeth euerie Bishop or Metropolitan to receiue anie Bishop or Priest deposed, without those solempne letters certificatorie, called *Formate*, from his owne Metropolitan or Bishop: which absolute and generall Law were to little purpose if this Law of Appeales did stand in force. And hence came the vse of those *Formate*, which were of so great weight and moment, and were neuer granted forth, but vpon mature aduise and long deliberation. Fifthly, here may we see how *Baronius* abuseth a certaine place of *Theodoret*, where he sayth, *That Iulius hauing receiued letters from Eusebius the Arrian of Nicomedia, who made him Iudge, following the*

ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ.

ἀναρῶν δὲ τὴν
ἐκκλῆσιαν.

ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμαρτυρίας
ἐκείνης.

τοὺς ἁγίους, καὶ
ἐπιμαρτυροῦντες
ἐκείνην τὴν ἐκκλῆσιαν
ἐπιμαρτυροῦντες
ἐκείνην τὴν ἐκκλῆσιαν.
Council. Nicen.
can. 4.
Council. Antioch.
can. 4. & sequ.

Theodor. l. 5.
c. 9.

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ἵνα τὴν ἐκκλῆσιαν
ἀποκαταστήσῃ
ἐν τῇ
ἐκείνῃ.

Saxoni. l. 2. c. 13.

Baron. an. 349.
art. 15.

Athanas. Apo-
log. 2. idem ad
Salsarios.

Baron. an. 347.
art. 25. & an.
352. art. 14.
103.

Baron. an. 357.
art. 26.

whereon he groundeth his assertion, namely, because it was called by the Bishop of Rome, and because his Legats were there present, are found to be false, what credit can the assertion it selfe deserue? Fourthly, this Canon so made vpon the present occasion, was neuer practised, and was afterwards in expresse tearmes reuoked: Neither can it be denied, but that at that instant, and shortly after, there were manie Bishops deposed in the East Churches as well as before. But did euer anie claime the benefit of this Canon? Or is it likely that they would haue omitted such a meane of their restitution, if anie such had beene of force? And reuoked it was, as I haue said, in expresse tearmes, namely, in the Councell of Constantinople, *Can. 3.* and in that of Chalcedon, *Can. 28.* both of them being Councils Generall, as *Baronius* himselfe acknowledgeth, and both of them granting equall priuiledges to the two Churches of Constantinople and of Rome, in all respects, sauing alwaies to the Bishop of Rome his precedencie: which could not haue beene, had the Easterne Churches beene alwaies tyed to answer to appeales at Rome; and we shall see hereafter how the Churches of Africa would neuer be drawne to yeeld thereunto. Whence it appeareth, that that Canon was neuer meant but onely in case of destitution or restitution of certaine Bishops then being, who were by this Canon ordered to referre their differences to the Bishop of Rome, who was not tainted with Arrianisme, as some of the Easterne Bishops were. And this is the first place, in all Antiquitie, where mention is made in proper tearmes of an *Appeale*: which word yet is vsed onely in the narrative part of the Canon, proposed by *Hofius*, not in the decision of the Fathers, in fauor of *Iulius*, which onely permitteth him to *take knowledge of the cause anew*: which in the first Canon is qualified with this Particle, *scilicet*: if (say they) the Bishop deposed, *As appealing, shall sue for refuge to the Bishop of Rome*: and as the third Canon, so this in the decision concludeth onely for a review of the former sentence: so little was this matter of formall Appeales meant or vnderstood in this Councell. And this fellow, which standeth so much vpon his knowledge of Antiquitie, and hath written so manie volumes of it, should in all reason haue produced some Canon of the Apostles, some Constitution of *Clement*, or of some precedent Councell, or some example out of the Historie of the Church, and not haue grounded himselfe wholly vpon a certaine Appeale made *de facto* by *Martian*, *Valentinian*, *Fortunatus*, or some such like heretike, and make that his onely title to claime by, especially considering that the Councell of Nice setteth downe another order in expresse tearmes, namely this, *that the power of ratifying* (for so doth the word *κέρειν*, there vsed, signifie in good Greeke) *should belong to the Metropolitan in euerie Prouince*: where there is no superiour appointed ouer the Metropolitan, no not the Patriarch himselfe at that time; and yet was the question at that time properly concerning the ordination of Bishops. And the Councell of Antioch, which was held but a little before that of Sardica, giueth to a Bishop deposed by his own Synod, no other remedie, but onely a reuiew in another Synod. And farther, all Antiquitie forbiddeth euerie Bishop or Metropolitan to receiue anie Bishop or Priest deposed, without those solemne letters certificatorie, called *Formate*, from his owne Metropolitan or Bishop: which absolute and generall Law were to little purpose if this Law of Appeales did stand in force. And hence came the vse of those *Formate*, which were of so great weight and moment, and were neuer granted forth, but vpon mature aduise and long deliberation. Fifthly, here may we see how *Baronius* abuseth a certaine place of *Theodoret*, where he sayth, *That Iulius hauing receiued letters from Eusebius the Arrian of Nicomedia, who made him Iudge, following the*

ἐπιβληθέν.

ἐναντιοῦν τῷ δίκῳ.

ἢ, ἐπιβληθέν ἐπὶ τῷ.

το κέρειν, ἢ ἡ ἐπιβληθέν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κέρειν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπιβληθέν Μετ. Ἐπολιτῆ. Council. Nicen. can. 4. Council. Antioch. can. 4. & sequ.

Theodor. L5. c. 9.

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Seiqm. l. 8. c. 13.

Baron. an. 349. art. 6.

Athanas. Apolog. 2. idem ad Iulianus.

Baron. an. 347. art. 25. & an. 352. art. 14. in 3.

Baron. an. 357. art. 26.

Baron. vol. 4. an. 364. art. 1. 2, 3, 4, 5, & sequenti.

himselfe affirmeth so plainly as he doth: By all these things, saith he, taken partly out of histories, partly out of the writings of the Fathers, partly out of his owne letters, it is impossible to free Liberius from that imputation of communicating with Arrius, and of ratifying the sentence by them giuen against Athanasius: And if, saith he, there were no other prooffe, his owne letters are sufficient to put it out of question: But shall we therefore call him heretike? *minime gentium.* And why not, good sir, since many a man hath bene so called vpon farre lesse occasion? vnlesse a Pope holding opinion with Arrius, by vtton of his Popedome, be neither Arrian nor heretike.

An. 362.

Now Athanasius, in the yeare 362, held a verie famous Councell in Alexandria, whither he inuited the Bishops out of all parts, to helpe reestablish the true doctrine of the Church. Our Annalist would needs persuade vs that hee did it by order from Liberius; and that Liberius confirmed the acts of this Councell: Which, saith he, he plainly expresth in his Epistle to Ruffinus. But let who will read this Epistle, and then say, whether there be in it any one word tending to that purpose: At least Gregorie Nazianzene vnderstood it otherwise, when as aluding to this Synod assembled by Athanasius, he speaketh in this maner: He prescribed lawes to all the world, and drew euerie mans eyes vpon himselfe. And vpon that question, Whether and how farre forth such as had fallen were to bee restored, he saith, That the same courses were taken in all the Synods which had bene assembled: In the presence, saith he, of the Bishops of all forreine Prouinces, as also of Greece, and of Spaine: but of Italie or Rome no one word spoken. Likewise in

Baron. to. 4. an. 362. art. 208.

Nazianz. in Athanas.

Sozom. lib. 5. c. 7. οὗτος ὁπίστη ἀντι-βασιλευσθεῖν.

ἡτοιμασε ἅδεις τετρακισχίλιον τὰ αἰθια πολυ-πεντακισχίλιον.

συνηθισται.

the yeare 364, there was another Synod held in Lampacus, where the Orthodoxe of Bythnia and Hellepont, saith Sozomene, sent Hypatianus Bishop of Heraclia, to Valentinian the Emperour, so intreat leaue to assemble themselues in councell. The Emperour wearied with so many Councels called in the time of his predecessor Constant, to so little good purpose, made answer, That it was not lawfull for him, being a layman, to meddle with the masters of the Church. Whence Baronius concludeth, That he thereby resigned all authoritie he had or could pretend in Church causes. But the Emperour addeth farther, Let the Church-men assemble themselues where they will: Which words they tooke for leaue, and thereupon assembled themselues. And in the end that fell out which the Emperour foresaw, which was, that being ouerborne by the aduerse faction, they could not hold themselues to the Nicene Creed. Here againe Baronius taketh aduantage, because they sent three Legats to Liberius Bishop of Rome, with a Synodall Epistle. True, but these Legats comming to him, salute him onely by the name of Colleague and brother; and to begin withall, tell him, That they had brought letters to his Benignitie, and to all the other Bishops of Italie, and of all the regions of the west: Who consequently were associated with him in the same letter. And what, I pray you, hath Baronius now gotten? Last of all, and for an vpsot, let vs not forget a good saying of Baronius, who, to shew the pride of Donatus, alledgeth a saying of Optatus: Seeing, saith he, that there is none about the Emperour but God which made him, hee therein passed the state of men, esteeming himselfe now no longer a man, but a God. Which was onely for that he refused to accept the almes and offerings of the Emperour, with whom he held not communion. Let Baronius lay his hand vpon his heart, and tell me truly what Optatus would haue said of our Pope of Rome now adayes, seeing that he so much listeth himselfe vp about the Emperour, both in his decrees and in his actions, but onely this, That of a truth he is that man of sinne foretold vnto vs, which listeth himselfe vp about God, and causeth himselfe to be adored in the Temple of God.

Optat. lib. 3. contra Parmen.

A

6. PROGRESSION.

What ambition was used in aspiring to the Popedome, and what was the cause thereof.

IN the yeare 366, in the election of Damasus, successor to Liberius, appeared plainly with what ambition and violence men aspired to the See of Rome. The booke of the Popes saith, That Damasus got it, by hauing the stronger faction. And Ruffin (who liued at that time) saith, That about the choyce arose so great a tumult, or rather an open warre, whiles some maintained Damasus, and others Vrsicin, that the houses of prayer, that is, the churches, floated with mans blood. But Ammianus Marcellinus telleth vs both the historie it selfe, and also the cause thereof: Damasus, saith he, and Vrsicin enraged with a desire of that Episcopall See, drew the people into factions, who thereupon grew first to blowes, and afterward to murders: So that Vrsentinus finding himselfe too weake either to repress, or to appease them, withdrew himselfe out of the citie: in which conflict Damasus had the upper hand; and it is certaine, that in the Church of Steinius, where the Christians used to meet at seruice, there were left in one day 137 dead bodies; and a hard matter it was, for a long time after, to assuage this enraged populace. And thence it was that Ruffin called it an open warre. And Marcellinus adding the cause; For my owne part, saith he, I doe not wonder, considering the brauerie of that citie, if men ambitious of that place set vp their rest for the purchasing thereof: for hauing once aspired thereunto, they are sure to be enriched with the offerings of gentlewomen and ladies, and to be carried in their coaches sumptuously attired, and so magnificent in their feasts, as passeth any kings table: Whereas they might indeed bee truly happie, if not regarding the greatnesse of the citie, they would order their liues after the manner of other meane Bishops, who approue themselues to the immortal God, and to his true worshippers, by puritie of life, by modestie of behauiour, by temperance in meat and drinke, poore apparell, and lowlie eyes. Whence the reader may perceiue and iudge, wherein consisted the difference betweene the Pope and other Bishops in those

An. 366.

Liber Pontificalis quia Ruffin. l. 1. c. 10. Marcellin. l. 27

C

dayes: yet Baronius glorieth in this pompe and pride of the Popes, and taketh great pleasure in these feasts, as one delighting to hold his nose ouer the pot. Marcellinus, saith he, was a Heathen, and therefore enuied to see our Soueraigne Pontife to surpasse their High Priest, in pompe and glorie. But he should haue remembered, That this is a question, not yet decided among the learned, Whether he were a Pagan or a Christian, and by his words it should seeme that he was a Christian, The modestest sort of Bishops, saith he, approue themselues to the immortal God, and his true worshippers, &c. What now saith Baronius to all this? Hierosme, saith he, in a certaine Epistle of his, telleth vs of one Protentatus, then Consull designed, who was wont to say vnto Damasus, Make thou me Bishop of Rome, and I will quickly make my selfe a Christian: And that in Tertullians time also the Pagans were wont causefully to blame the prodigalitie of the Christians. You accuse, saith Tertullian, our poore supplicants, of prodigalitie, as if that saying of Diogenes might well fit vs, The Megarenses feast to day as if they should dye to morrow. And what of all this? for were those Cenule, those little banquetts which Tertullian speaketh of, and these profuse feasts mentioned in Marcellinus, all one? And for whom were those suppers which Tertullian speaketh of provided? for euen poore and indigent people, not for Consuls and Gouvernours, as Baronius reporteth. And is not this fallely to alledge Authors? But let vs see what Hierosme himselfe saith concerning these times.

Baron. to. 4. an. 367. art. 8. & 9. Rex Sacrificulus.

Hieron. Epist. 68

Tertul. Apo. leget. 39.

D

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OPPOSITION.

A

Hieron. ad
Marcell. vi.
duam.

Hierosme maketh *Paula* and *Eustochium* to write vnto *Marcella* in these words: *Read, say they, the Apocalyps of Saint Iohn, and marke what is there said of the woman clothed in scarlet, of blasphemies written in her forehead, of the seuen mountaines, &c. There no doubt is the holie Church, there are the trophies of the Apostles and Martyrs, there is the confession of Iesus Christ: But there is also, saith he, ambition and tyrannie, which keepe men backe from doing good.* And in another place, *Luxurie of the bellie and of the throat, seeke to overthrow the power of the Crosse.* And to the end that no man may say that he spake this of the Citie, not of the Church of Rome, in his Preface to that booke of *Dydimus, of the Holie Ghost*, hee expoundeth himselfe: *When I liued, saith he, in Babylon an inhabitant of that purple Whore, liuing after the lawes and customes of the citizens of Rome, I had a determination to write somewhat of the Holie Ghost, and to dedicate the treatise to the Bishop of that Diocesse: And behold, that seething pot which Icremie saw looking out of the North after the rod of the Almond tree, began to boyle, and the Senat of the Pharisees to crie out together; neither was there so meane a scribe of that whole faction of ignorance, who did not eageily conspire against me. As soone therefore as I was returned to Ierusalem as out of banishment, and after that cottage of Romulus and those Lupercall sports, saw againe that Inne of Marie, and the caue of our Lord and Saviour, &c. In these words therefore what doth he call Babel, but the Clergie it selfe of Rome? That Senat growne alreadie Pharaifaicall, and a verie faction and league of ignorance. And now tell me whether he goeth not farther in this testimonie than *Marcellinus* doth? As for the preheminnence of Bishops, according to the greatnesse of the cities: *If there be question, saith he to Euagrius, of authoritie, the world is greater than the citie (so called they Rome) why doest thou then enthrall the whole Church to a few men? And whence cometh this presumption? For wherefoeuer there is a Bishop, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium, whether at Constantinople, or at Rhegium (marke how he confoundeth the greater cities with the lesser) he is of the same dignitie and Priesthood. Riches and pouverie make not one lesse or greater than another: for they are all successors of the Apostles.* And so are these words inserted into the decree. And speaking in another place of Bishops in generall, *It is no easie matter, saith he, to stand in the place of Paul, and to maintaine the dignitie of Peter; that is, to be a Bishop: reckoning all Bishops to be successors of Paul and Peter: speaking in the same sence in which Saint Basil spake, when he said, That Ambrose was called to the Apostolicall gouernement, when hee was made Bishop of Milan.**

Orbis maior est
urb.
Hieron. in Epist.
ad Euagr.Hieron. in Epist.
ad Heliodo. 10. 1

Basil. Epist. 55.

Coryphae.
Basil. Epist. 10.

And doe you thinke that this holie Father *Basil* can passe ouer with silence the pride of Rome? or if he happily let slide some words, shall we therefore condemne him as a Pagan? So it was, that in those lamentable combustions of the East, he thought to haue found some comfort in the West; but he quickly found himselfe in an errour: *For if the anger of God, saith he, continue still vpon vs, what comfort will the pride of the West afford vs? who neither doe know, neither yet will haue the patience to be rightly informed of the truth of things, as lately appeared in the case of Marcellus; being euer prepossessed with vaine surmises and idle ieaiousies. For my owne part, I was once minded to haue written a priuat letter to their Capitaine (meaning *Damasus*) not concerning any Church affaires, but onely to let him vnderstand, That they neither rightly vnderstood the state of our cause, nor took the course to bee duely informed of it. In brieue, That they ought not to bruise a broken reed, nor oppresse those who were alreadie humbled by affliction: nor yet reckon their pompe for honour, seeing that, that verie sinne*

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D

E

A *is ynough alone to set a man at enmitie with God.* And this he wrot to that great personage *Eusebius Samosatensis*, who carried on with an incredible zeale, ran from country to country, seeking to repaire the decayes and ruines of the Church; whilest *Athanasius* and *Basil* trauelled in the East, opposing themselues against the Arrians, and praying in aid from the Churches of the West, and from *Damasus* himselfe, who, hand in bosome, lightly regarded them, conceiting out of haire-brained humor which proceeded from his pride, that *Basil* himselfe was an heretike, and therefore would not, forsooth, vouchsafe him an answer. Whereupon *Basil* and his fellowes sent letters to the Bishops of the West, by name, to those of Italie and France: *It being impossible, say they, that they should be ignorant of our miserable estate, so well knowne throughout the world: and yet they received no comfort from them. And farther they requested them (not *Damasus*) to joyne with them, for the procuring of a lawfull and free Synod. After this they redoubled their letters, coniuring them to informe the Emperour of these troubles in the East: from whom, and not from *Damasus*, they hoped for redresse. And by a third dispatch sent by *Dorotheus* a Priest, *Basil* reproacheth them for their want of charitie, in not daining to visit and to comfort them in their afflictions; offering, if any imputation lay vpon him, to cleere himselfe, when and wherefoeuer they should appoint him. At last in a fourth letter he breaketh forth into these tearmes: *We haue, saith he, venerable brethren, set our eyes vpon you, but our hope hath proved vaine: so that we may now sing, I haue looked for one that would sorrow with me, but no man came vnto me; for one to comfort me, but I found none: for our afflictions are such, as that they which dwell euen in the utmost borders of the West should in duetie ere this haue come to visit vs: And yet thirteene yeres lang do we continue in this war: So dead a sleepe was *Damasus* layed in, being drowned in that wealth and luxury wherof we speake. Yet *Baronius* would persuaide vs, That these Epistles were all written joyntly to *Damasus* and the other Bishops; but the inscriptions are too cleere against him: To the Italian and French, to the Westerne men, and to the Bishops beyond the sea: and the stile it selfe sheweth the contrary. And *Marcelline* telleth vs, That the Bishop of Rome was rich with the oblations and offerings of Gentlewomen and Ladies. And Saint *Hierosme* taxeth the Clergie of Rome in worse tearmes than he: *The Clerks, saith he, who in duetie should serue for an ensample, and be an awe vnto them, kisse the Ladies heads, and reaching out their hands as if they would blesse, receive the reward of their salutation. And the women finding that the Priests expect maintenance from them, wax proud thereupon: and hauing once tried what it is to be subiect to a husband, chuse rather to continue in free widowhood: and others there are who spend their whole liues in learning the names, the houses, and qualities of these Ladies: and thereupon nameth some of them, as *Antichimus* and *Sophronius*, and some others; and describeth the trickes which they vsed to draw oblations and offerings from the Ladies which came vnto them. And in another place he reprocueth them in this manner: *In this spirituall warfare of Christ, saith hee, seeke not the riches of the world, neither craue to possesse more now than when thou first camest into the Clergie; that it may not be sayd vnto thee, Cleri eorum non proderunt ijs: For there are *Maukes* richer now than they were when they liued in the world, and Clerks which possesse more vnder poore Christ, than erst they did vnder the rich diuell: so that the Church now sizeth to see them rich whom the world before saw poore and beggarly. And it plainly appeareth to what a looffnesse and lewdnesse about women their wealth had carried them, by those reproofes which he giueth them in this Epistle, as also in that other which he wrot vnto *Nepotian*, wherein he sheweth by what infamous seruices they lay at catch****

Basil. Epist. 70.

Idem Epist. 78.

Basil. Epist. in
Addition. Ep. 1.Hieron. ad Eu-
loch. Epist. 22.
Ad Nepotian. 2.

Ierem. 12.

Hieron. ad Ne-
potian. 2.

for

for legacies, and inheritances, from oldfolkes, both men and women; which I had rather the reader should looke in *Hierosme*, because I am ashamed to repeat them. And *Baronius* denieth not, that for his free speaking and writing, the Clergie of Rome tooke him for their enemy: insomuch that hee was thereby forced to returne vnto Ierusalem; and *Paulinus* Bishop of Nola was for the same cause serued with the same sauce; as appeareth by his first Epistle, where hee sheweth, That he could by no other meanes be safe and free from the contagions of that citie, but by getting himselfe away farre off from it. Neither doth he spare the Bishop of Rome himselfe: Thou knowest, saith he, what losse we suffer of the grace of God, by the proud discretion and wisdom of the Bishop of that citie, meaning *Syricius*, successour vnto *Damasus*.

And this contagion spread it selfe so farre, that the Christian Emperours, *Valentinian*, *Valens*, and *Gratian*, were faine to take order by expresse law against it: which law was directed and sent to *Damasus*; and therein were all Clergie men, and such as made profession of chastitie and continencie, prohibited, once to set foot within widowes doores, or orphans, or to receive any gift by testament or other deuise whatsoeuer, of any woman, with whom, vnder pretence and colour of religion, they had acquaintance or familiaritie; confiscating whatsoeuer had bene so giuen; or should from thence forward be so deuised, granted, and made ouer to them. This ordinance, saith the text, published and read in the Church of Rome. And this is that which *Saint Hierosme* saith in one of his Epistles before alledged: I am ashamed, saith he, to speake it: But the Priests of Idols, common Stage Players, Carremen, and Whores, are capable of legacies and of inheritances, onely Clergie men and Monkes are forbidden to receive legacies, or to inherit, and that not by persecuting Tyrans, but by Christian Princes: neither doe I complaine of the law, but grieue to see that we should deserue it: This censure is good; but why would we be so wounded, as to stand in need thereof? The disposition of the law is wise and prudent, and yet is not our auarice restrained: wee may not any longer admt of legacies in our owne persons therefore we take a course to circumuent the law, by procuring legacies and inheritances to be made ouer in trust to others, to our uses: And as if the lawes of the Emperour were greater than the lawes of Christ, we feare them, and neglect the precepts of the Gospell. And much after this manner speaketh also *Saint Ambrose* in his thirteenth

Epistle. But *Baronius* would here persuade vs, That the Emperours made this law at the motion of *Damasus* himselfe: as also, that *Constantine* long before that time passed another Edict at the instance of Pope *Syluester*, and of the Bishops; by which he inhibited the gentrie of the Empire to make themselues of the Clergie; because that by reason of the large priuiledges and immunities belonging to that Order, the richer sort put themselues into the ministrie, and so left the Commonwealth vserued: And this he saith to no other end, but that Princes and States in these dayes should not offer, by their examples, out of their owne regall authoritie, to order and reforme the Churches. But the truth is, that those Emperours ordered and limited the iurisdiction of the Clergie (which euen in those dayes began to encroach vpon the temporall Courts) by an expresse law and ordinance directed vnto them: If there happen, say they, any small contentions or offences to arise, touching questions of religion, let them be heard in the place where they arise, and by the Synods of the Diocesse. Where note, that they say, small offences, and, about religion: excepting alwayes all sorts of crimes which belong to the audience of the Iudges, ordinarie or extraordinarie, or gouernours of the place. Adde wee hereunto, That about the yeare 390, vnder *Syricius* Bishop of Rome, this disorder of the Clergie still continued; and that the Emperours, *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*,

and

Idem ad Helio.
Epist. 2.
Baron. vol. 4. an.
385. art. 8.
Paulin. Ep. 2.

L. 20. de E-
pisc. & Cler. in
Cod. Theodos.

Baron. vol. 4. an.
370. art. 123.

L. 23. de E-
pisc. & Cler. in
Cod. Theodos.

A and *Arcadius*, renewed this law in more strict teames than before; ordaining, That no widow might giue to any Church or Church-man, vnder what title or colour soeuer, either mouables or immouables, in prejudice of children, or of other lawfull heires, no not to make so much as either Church or Church-man, or the poore, his heire and successour, by last Will and Testament: Which Law *Ambrose* caused shortly after to bee somewhat mitigated. Such a doe they had euen in those dayes to intrench and fortifie themselues against their greedie auarice.

Lib. 27. de E-
pisc. & Cler. in
Cod. Theodos.

7. PROGRESSION.

B Of the vsurpations of Pope *Damasus* vpon severall Churches.

D *Damasus*, if we will stand to the Epistles which goe vnder his name, though a man commended for some good parts and qualities which were in him, yet treading the path of his predecessors, fought to establish a Primacie in his owne person, especially in that Epistle which hee wrote to *Stephanus* Archbishop of Mauritania: wherein he pretendeth, that all the greater sort of causes ought to be referred vnto his hearing, and that they could not be decided but by his authoritie; as also, that the prouision of Bishops belonged to him. And *Isidorus Mercator* would yet farther persuade vs, that *Aurelius* Bishop of Carthage sent to entreat of him the decrees of the Roman Church, to gouerne his owne thereby. But *Baronius* himselfe blufeth at this, for that in all the time of *Damasus* this *Aurelius* was onely a simple Deacon.

Baron. vol. 4. an.
314. art. 10.

OPPOSITION.

But the practise of the Church was cleere against the vsurpation of *Damasus*, seeing that all the greater offices and dignities of the Church haue in all times and places bene bestowed by those which were of the same place, without asking the Popes aduise or leaue therein. And seeing that the Fathers assembled at Constantinople, openly declared vnto him, That there was an ancient law and decision of the Nicene Council, that the Bishops of euery Prouince, with those which dwelt neere vnto them, should ordaine their owne ministers: That by vertue of this decision *Nectarius* was ordained at Constantinople, *Flavianus* at Antioch, and *Cyril* at Ierusalem, which they there tearme the mother of all other Churches: Requesting him to reioyce for companie, as for a thing rightly and canonically done: And that he would not suffer any humane affection to carrie him beyond the bounds of reason. Neither doe they addresse their letters to him alone, but also to *Ambrose*, to *Britto*, to *Valerian*, to *Acholus*, and others, assembled in the Synod of Rome. And seeing also that *Ambrose* himselfe was elected Bishop of Milan by the suffrages of the people, and that the Emperour *Valentinian*, immediatly vpon the newes received, gaue order for his installation without sending to Rome.

Theodor. l. 5. c. 9

Ruffin. l. 2. c. 11.

And which is more, about the yeare 381, *Damasus* then sitting Pope, this second general Council of Constantinople was held, and two yeares after was received and acknowledged by the Synod of Rome: which Council *Theodosius* the elder called, and *Nectarius* Bishop of Constantinople ordered, without any Legat from the Bishop of Rome: and there also these Fathers trod the path of the Nicene Council, diuiding the Prouinces, for the auoidance of confusion, in such sort, That the Bishops of one Diocesse should not offer to goe, vnrequested, into the Diocesse of another, there to giue orders vnto any: which yet, saith *Socrates*, was in former

An. 381.
Socrat. lib. 4.
c. 24. & 25.

Onuphr. in East.

Concil. Constant.
can. 5. & 7. can.
Græc. 3.

Socrat. Histor.
Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 8.
Sozom. l. 7. c. 9.

Bellarmin. in
Recognit. p. 46.

Bellarmin. de
Roman. Pontif.
l. 1. c. 13.

Leo. ep. 55.
Theodor. l. 5.
c. 10.

Onuphr. in Feſt.
an. 382.

mer times tolerated in the Church because of persecutions: And that if in anie Province a matter of difference happened to arise, it should be decided by the Synod of the same Province. As for the Bishop of Constantinople, it was ordained, that he should haue his prerogative of Precedencie next to the Bishop of Rome: all which to stand for good, if the Emperour were so pleased, without anie reference at all vnto the Pope. And both Socrates and Sozomen giue the reason of this equalling of them, because that Constantinople had not onely the name of Rome, with like Senat, and other magistrats, but bare also the same Armes, and held all other Rights and Honors which belonged to old Rome: which reason is apparantly grounded vpon a ciuile respect and policie, not vpon any precept of the Gospell. Yet must Bellarmine needs tell vs, that these Fathers writing to Damasus, acknowledged that they were assembled by his appointment, intimated to them by the Emperour: and he citeth to this purpose Theodoret, lib. 5. cap. 9. where the words themelues make cleane against him, shewing, That they had bin formerly inuited to come to Rome by the Emperour, and were after that called to Constantinople by letters which the Synod of Rome, after that of Aquileia, sent to Theodosius; not that Damasus gaue forth anie summons for their assembling. And Bellarmine himselfe in his Recognitions acknowledgeth, That this Epistle was neuer written by the Fathers of Constantinople; and so it maketh not to the question now in hand. But yet he addeth farther, That they acknowledged the Pope for their Head, and themselves as members of that Head. Here againe is a bundle of manifest vntruths: for first the letter was not directed to Damasus, neither yet to the Church of Rome, but to the Synod of the Bishops of the West, assembled that time at Rome, to whom they vfe indeed these words following, *You haue inuited vs thither, as members of your Bodie, shewing thereby your brotherlie affection*: whereby they acknowledge not anie Head, but onely declare, that all Christian Congregations are each others members; and therefore hauing signified vnto them, That according to the ancient Canons, especially that of the Nicene Councell, they had prouided their own Churches, they conclude in maner following: *wherefore we thus agreeing, and being established in one faith, and mutual loue, will now no longer vse that saying, condemned by the Apostle; I am of Paule, I am of Apollo, and I am of Peter: but knowing that we are all of Christ, who is not diuided in vs, will by the grace of God keepe that Bodie of the Church vniuent, and so appeare with confidence before the Iudgement seat of Christ*: not to say, that it is found written in some copies at the foot of this Epistle, *Reuerend sonnes, we pray God to preserue you*. In these dayes who durst speake so vnto the Pope? In the meane time Pope Leo the Great, a strong maintainer of this Primacie, quarrelleth the authoritie of this Councell, making the world to beleue, that he would hold himselfe wholly to the Councell of Nice; which, as we haue already proued, maketh as little for his purpose as the other. But he cannot denie, that his predecessor Damasus rested satisfied therewith, and wrot backe vnto the Fathers in that Councell his kind and louing letters, without euer calling the authoritie thereof into question; though yet to retaine a respect and reuerence to his owne person, or happily to crie quittance with them, he also calleth them in his letter, *His much honored sonnes*: and telleth them in the verie beginning of his letters, *that indeed they had yeilded all due reuerence to the See Apostolike*. And lastly Onuphrinus obserueth, That two yeares after he approued it in open Synod at Rome, as an Oicumenicall or Generall Councell, though neither the Pope in person, nor anie for or from him, assisted at it; whereas that other at Rome, where Damasus himselfe presided, is scarcely accounted in the number of prouinciall Synods. And now let the reader iudge where this pretended Primacie of the Popes was in those dayes.

But

A But now let vs see what newes with *Baronius*: First he sayth, That this Councell of Constantinople was called jointly by *Theodosius* and *Damasus* Bishops of Rome; and who (saith he) can doubt hereof? May it please him, it should seeme that *Socrates* and *Sozomen* doubted of it, when they tell vs, That the Emperour without delay laboured as much as in him was to assemble a Councell of all sorts. So also, as it seemeth, did the Fathers themselves of that Councell, who in their Synodall Epistle say in this manner: *wee, here assembled by his commaundement, &c.* meaning the Emperour. And in that other Epistle of theirs, which they wrote the Summer following to *Damasus*, *Britto*, *Ambrose*, and other Bishops of the West, where they shew, that they of the East were not called to the Synod of Rome it selfe (which was at the same time readie to meet) by letters from *Damasus*, but from the Emperour. So likewise doe all the Church Histories, which tell vs, that the Emperour hauing heard the resolution of the Orthodox Fathers in the Synod of Rome, much desired to assemble another of all sects, hoping by that means to make them fall to some agreement; not borrowing anie authoritie from Rome. And to conclude, the practise of all auncient times seemeth to doubt hereof, seeing that in that verie yeare a Councell was called at Aquileia by the Emperour *Gratian*, where *Ambrose* himselfe was present, and the deputies of the Churches of France and Africke, as he affirmeth; and seeing also that *Damasus* himselfe became an humble suiter to the Emperours *Theodosius* and *Gratian*, to graunt a warrant for the calling of a Councell the yeare following at Rome, being much offended that *Flavianus* had succeeded *Paulinus* in the Church of Antioch: for how could he grant leaue to others, who asked for himselfe? And of this verie Councell it is, that *S. Hierosme* speaketh in his Epistle to *Eustachium*, when the imperiall letters (saith he) had assembled at Rome the Bishops of the East and West, *the then saw verie admirable personages, Bishops of Christ, Paulinus Bishop of Antioch, and Epiphanius Bishop of Salamis*. And now let *Baronius* tell me whether a man may not haue reason to doubt thereof. Well, sayth *Baronius*, yet the best is, that *Damasus* did at least confirme this Councell. And we must see whether he did or no, and how he confirmed it, whether to authorise it, or else to submit himselfe vnto it. For the first, we haue a Synodall Epistle directed to *Theodosius*, with the Acts of that Synod annexed thereunto; wherein as called together by his commaund, they jointly yeilded him an account of what they had there enacted, requesting him by his *scale and sentence to confirme and ratifie their decrees*. *Baronius* telleth vs, that this they did onely in policie, to engage *Theodosius* in the maintenance of their profession: And what need, seeing the world taketh notice, that he was as zealous for religion, as was the best of them? And for *Damasus*, that he approued indeed this Councell, but that he did it likewise for a purpose, which was to make the Greeke Church sure against the heresie of *Atacedomius*: and I would faine know where it is that he findeth it. All a matter, sayth *Baronius*, but so it is, that he did confirme it: for *Photinus* hath it in his booke of seuen Synods. Surely this man did well and wisely, not to quote the place, for feare his juggling should be discovered: The words of *Photinus* are these: *And a little after (saith he) they vnderstood, that Damasus also, Bishop of Rome had confirmed them, as being of the same opinion with them*, meaning with the Fathers of Constantinople. And doth this proue that they required his authoritie to confirme their Acts? or rather that he confirmed them onely by yeilding assent, and submitting himselfe vnto them? And yet such is his madnesse as to say, that he confirmed it fraudulently and for a purpose onely not to auow the Canon, there made, for the place and dignitie of the Bishop and Church of Constantinople,

tinople, making his dreames and idle fancies to stand in ballance against the soliditie and weight of all Histories by vs alledged; and going to persuaide vs, that by vertue of a Councell shortly after assembled at Rome, *Paulinus* borne out by *Damasus* was restored to his See, and *Flavian*, who was there placed by the Councell of Constantinople, dispossessed, and all this without either argument or Author, other than his owne fantastick assertion. Thirdly, *Baronius* verie stiffely maintaineth, that notwithstanding this Canon of the Councell of Constantinople, yet still causes of weight and importance were referred to the See of Rome, such as were Heresie and Schisme, deposing of Bishops, and the like, and that these causes were brought to him by way of Appeale. And surely for heresie and schisme we cannot denie, that scarcely euer was there anie heretike or schismaticke condemned by his owne Church, which presently had not recourse to Rome, and that manie of them haue bene fostered and supported there: That the Popes themselues, through an vsuall & natie greedinesse of drawing moulture to their mill, and causes to their Consistorie, were oftentimes deceiued herein. But this we denie, that these causes went to him by Appeale, which is alwayes made from the sentence of an inferior judge to the finall decree of a superior: and that not so much as the name of an Appeale, much lesse the thing it selfe is to be found either in the Historie, or in the Practise of the Church, no not in this age, which we now speake of, though this pretended Monarchie at this time advanced her selfe the most she could. *Bellarmino* yet deriueth it from verie farre, and from the time of *Marcion* the heretike, who being excommunicated in Pontus, came to Rome. But this I aske, whether *Irenaeus* or *Tertullian* doth affirme, that he came by way of Appeale? or doth not *Epiphanius* say, that they sent him backe againe with these tearmes, *We may not receive thee without the permission of thy venerable Father*, meaning the Bishop: *There is but one faith and consent of all; we may not oppose against thy Father, our Colleague and fellow Minister.* *Bellarmino* yet instanceth againe in the case of *Felix* and *Fortunatus*, a couple of schismatickes of Afrike, who would haue had their cause new hammered before *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome: But we haue already declared what was the opinion of *S. Cyprian* thereupon, protesting, that if such courses taken may be allowed, all discipline would come to naught. And *Stephen*, who succeeded *Cornelius*, when he attempted to vndertake the patronage of *Basilides* and *Martialis*, whom the Churches of Spaine had deposed from their Chaires, preuailed as little as his predecessor had done before him. As for *Libertius*, his bad hap was to take vpon him the protection of that hypocrit *Eustathius*, Bishop of Sebasta, and *Damasus* of *Vitalis*, a Bishop of the East, whom afterwards vpon better aduise he excommunicated: neither doth *Baronius* denie, but that *Syricius* himselfe, had he not bene forewarned by *Marcella*, had bene, as almost he was, ouertaken by the Origenists; so easie a matter was it by faire words and low crouchings to come ouer these men, blinded with ambition and with desire of so-ueraigne authoritie.

But to come to this age and matter now in hand, we read, that *Theophilus* Bishop of Alexandria assembled a Synod, and therein absolutely condemned the Origenists, wherein he neuer expected either authoritie or aduice from Rome: nay Rome her selfe was content to follow his example, namely *Anastasius* the yere following, witnesse *S. Hierosme*, who writing of this subiect sayth, *Him whom Demetrius chased out of Alexandria, Theophilus vanquished ouer all the world &c. He boldly proclaimed Origen for an heretike: Let the Chaire of S. Peter by her preaching confirme what the Chaire of Marc the Euangelist hath taught: adding afterwards,*

Baron. to. 4.
an. 382. art. 13.

Epiph. cont.
Marcion. heret.
42.

Cyprian. edit.
Pamel. epist. 55.
68.

Basil. in Epist. ad
Occident.

Naxian. in
ep. ad Caledon.

Baron. to. 5.
an. 397. art. 17.
& sequ. an. 399.

Hieron. ep. 78.
ad Pamach.
& Marcell.

A That indeed *Anastasius* had now condemned in the West what formerly had been condemned in the East: not that *Theophilus* had need of confirmation from him, for his sentence was absolute, and carried execution with it: But as *Hierosme* saith, *They both did it with the same zeale, as led by the same spirit; because they had both drunke out of the same fountaine of the Scriptures.*

But there arose at this time a certaine difference betweene *Chrysofome* Bishop of Constantinople, and this *Theophilus* of Alexandria, whereof they would sucke no small aduantage; the case was this: *Nectarius* Bishop of Constantinople being dead, question arose about the choice of a successor: The Bishops of the prouince assembled in Synod, by common consent of Clergie and People, elected *Chrysofome*, and called him from Antioch to be their Bishop. Here *Baronius* groundeth his argument: for (sayth he) it is euident, that *Theophilus* opposed himselfe against this election, and would haue brought in one *Isidorus*, a Priest of his dioces: if therefore (sayth he) that Canon of the Councell of Constantinople had bin of force, which equalleth Constantinople with Rome, how could *Theophilus* haue medled in this election; and thence concludeth, that it is a forged Canon, in despite of all Histories whatsoeuer. But let this Annalist read the Historie once more: To

give the greater credit and lustre to this election (sayth *Socrates*): *There were also manie other Bishops there assembled by order from the Emperour, and among the rest Theophilus of Alexandria, who did what he could to staine the credit and reputation of Chrysofome.* Whence it appeareth, that he was not there but by speciall order from the Emperour *Arcaadius*; and therefore his argument concludeth not. And here began the quarrell betweene these two: *Theophilus* a man of an implacable spirit,ooke the other to taske; the reason was, for that *Theophilus* had not long before, excommunicated certaine Origenists, who presently fled to *Chrysofome*, whom yet *Chrysofome* would not receiue to his Communion; yntill he might heare the reasons of *Theophilus*, either by himselfe, or by some others from him, concerning their excommunication: *Theophilus* also had this aduantage ouer him, that through his libertie of speech in pulpit, he had drawne the hatred of the great ones of the Court, and of the Emperour himselfe, but aboute all of the Emperesse vpon his head: Wherefore *Theophilus* was sent for, to sit vpon him; who coming to Constantinople, assembled a Synod, but for feare of the people held it without the citie; the Synod consisting for the most part of those Bishops whom *Chrysofome* for their demerits had formerly deposed. Thither he cited *Chrysofome* to appeare before him and them, who had to the open view of all men combred themselues against him. *Chrysofome* on the contrarie held another Synod within the walls, whither he also cited *Theophilus* to appeare before him; and farther, by three Bishops and two Priests admonished him and his adherents, not to peruert or trouble the orders of the Church, especially not to violate the Canon of Nice, by meddling in other mens iurisdictions; that he in his Synod had the greater number of Bishops, and assembled out of diuers Prouinces; that yet he refused not to put himselfe vpon the trial of him and of his Synod, prouided that his professed enemies were first remoued; if not, that then he appealed to a Generall Councell. These are the words of *Palladius* in the life of *Chrysofome*: likewise of *Socrates* and *Sozomene* in their Histories. And why then did he not appeale to Rome? or can they shew anie such authoritie as this, for the maintenance of Appeales to the See of Rome? Which notwithstanding, they proceeded to his deposition, and cast him into exile, hauing no other cause against him, but that he refused to appeare before them. But why then (sayth *Baronius*) had not he rather relieued him-

Socrat. l. 6. c. 2.
Sozom. l. 8. c. 2.
Inq. 17. an. 201.
v. 27. n. 6. 7. 8.
228.

Baron. to. 5.
an. 397. art. 63.

Pallad. in vita
Chrysof. an. 403

Pallad. in vita
Chrysof.
Socrat. l. 2. c. 4.
Sozom. l. 8. c. 17.
219. 220.

felse vpon that third Canon of Constantinople, if anie such had beene in force? **A** I answere, because the Canon of the Nicene Councell was more proper for his purpose, the question not being properly of iurisdiction, but of the integritie of his person. By which Canon of Nice *Theophilus, who was set ouer the Churches of Egypt, had nothing to doe with the Churches of Thracia.* But hereupon the people began to repine and mutinie, till in the end *Chrysofome* was restored to his Chaire. Shortly after he drew more anger vpon him by like Pulpit libertie as before, and his aduersaries taking hold of this occasion, condemned him a second time, alledging, that he had returned to his Chaire, without restitution first had and obtained from them. And thereupon, the displeasure of the Empreffe, joynd with the implacable hatred of *Theophilus*, they cast him into banishment, more grieuous than before: which while some of his friends sought to mitigate, they made it worse, till in the end he died in exile, through griefe of heart. True it is, that in this second confliet he tryed all his friends; whereupon *Baronius* is bold, and sayth, *That he had recourse by way of Appeale to the Church of Rome as vnto her, which was onely able to correct all other Churches, and that he appealed to Innocent Bishop of Rome in person.* Which he reporteth with that confidence, as a man would thinke himselfe almost bound in conscience to beleue him: adding farther, *That all this fell out by the wonderful prouidence of God, to shew men how they ought vpon like occasions to flie to the Pope of Rome.* But let vs see what proofes: for our part we are content to stand to his owne allegations, and namely to that Epistle of *Chrysofome* vnto *Innocent*: which Epistle, by his leaue, is not directed to *Innocent* alone, but jointly to all the Bishops of the West, as appeareth, in that the whole Epistle runneth in termes of the plural number; neither in six whole pages, which that Epistle taketh vp, is the word of *Appeale* so much as once named: but we find there manie other things which make against them; as first, that he declareth vnto them the cause of his exile to haue beene onely, *that he would haue appealed to a Councell*, meaning a Generall Councell, as we said before; and consequently not to the Bishop of Rome. Secondly, that he prayeth their charitie to awake, and to helpe to put some end to these his miseries, and therefore not their pretended omnipotencie. Thirdly, *I humbly beseech you* (sayth he) *my most reuerend Lords, so prouident this ruine*; and therefore not *Innocent*, or his See alone: and what ruine was it? For if (sayth he) *this custome take place, and it may be lawfull for one to enterprise vpon anothers Prouince, all is lost.* His meaning was, that they should helpe to order this matter by a Councell, in execution of that Canon of Nice, and therefore he entreateth them to retract and to disannull all that which had beene practised or attempted against him: so farre was he from requesting *Innocent*, who dwelt farther off than the other, to interpose his authoritie in the cause. Fourthly, in that he telleth them, *That he had written the same things to Venerius Bishop of Milan, and to Chromatius Bishop of Aquileia*: and so indeed had he also written to *Aurelius* Bishop of Carthage. By which appeareth, that he wrote to sundrie other Bishops which then were of esteeme and authoritie in the Church, as well as to *Innocentius*; whom he could not omit, in regard that he was Bishop of the first See: but he appealed not to one more than to another. The like also may appeare by the resolution which *Innocentius* tooke in this businesse: for hauing receiued the letters, and heard the embassages of both parties, in good discretion he admitted them both to his Communion, thereby declaring, that the sentence which was giuen against *Chrysofome* was vnjust: adding farther, *That it was fit in this case to call a sincere Synod, as well of the Easterne as of the Westerne Bishops,* where

Baron. 10. 5.
an. 404. art. 20.
& seq.

Theodor. Romā.
apud Pallad. in
Dialog.

A where neither opposites nor partisans of either of them should be present, and there giue iudgement according to the Canons of Nice: which was nothing else in effect, but onely to giue way to the Appeale, which *Chrysofome* had from the beginning put in, to a Generall Councell: which he requested *Innocentius* and others, according to the practise of the Church in those times, to procure from the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; especially from *Arcadius*, who being offended with *Chrysofome*, would neuer haue graunted it, but at their intreatie. Which plainly appeareth in *Sozomene* by the letters of *Innocent* sent to the Clergie of Constantinople. *It is needfull* (sayth he) *that a Synod haue the hearing of this matter, for it onely is able to re- presse these troubles, and in the meane time it is meet to referre the cure of this maladic to the will of God, and of Iesus Christ our Lord.* And a little after, *We are verie carefull* (sayth he) *to find the meanes to assemble a Generall Councell*: which he needed not to haue beene, had things beene in his owne disposition. Now that which ensued hereupon was, that the yere following, which was the yere 405, there was assembled a Synod of the Westerne Bishops at Rome, where they entreated the Emperor *Honorius* to write to his brother *Arcadius*, requesting him, that he would cause a Synod to be assembled at *Thessalonica*; to the end that the Bishops both of the East and also of the West might there meet, as in a more conuenient place, for the final hearing and sentencing of this cause. Whereupon *Honorius* sent vnto him, and the more to shew him the good opinion which the Bishops of the West had of *Chrysofome*, of manie letters which he had in his hands to that effect, he sent him principally two, the one of *Innocentius* Bishop of Rome, the other of *Chromatius* Bishop of Aquileia: And the author himselfe noteth, that the embassadors sent vnto *Arcadius* from his brother *Honorius*, deliuered him letters from the Emperor *his brother*, from *Innocentius* of Rome, from *Chromatius* of Aquileia, from *Venerius* of Milan, and from sundrie others; all which joynd in this embassage: the end whereof was, to reestablish *Chrysofome* in his place for the present, vntill a Generall Councell might be assembled. In the meane time *Chrysofome* died in banishment, and the rest of this Historie concerneth not this matter. What reason therefore hath *Baronius* so confidently to report, that *Chrysofome* did appeale to Rome? For when a Prince oppressed by one neighbour, flyeth for helpe and succour to another, doth he thereby make him his Lord, and himselfe his vassall? To flie to his courtesie or fauour, is it to be interpreted for an acknowledgement of his iurisdiction, or that he confesseth himselfe his tributarie? One lye more of *Baronius*, and so an end of this discourse. This grand Annalist telleth vs, that *Innocent* would neuer communicat with the Easterne Churches, no nor after the death of *Chrysofome*, till his name was restored to the catalogue of the Bishops of that See, and thereupon voucheth *Theodoret*, lib. 5. cap. 33. Whosoeuer will take the paine to read that place, shall find no mention there made of *Innocentius*. It is said there I confesse, *that the Doctor of this Vniuersite being dead, the Bishops of the West would not communicat with the Bishops of the East, of Egypt and of Thrace, vntill they had enrolled him among the Bishops deceased of Constantinople, not vouchsafing so much as to congratulat his successor Arcadius.* Why then should he appropriat that to one, which the Author himselfe attributeth vnto all? The like care (sayth he) did *Alexander* the Bishop take in Antioch, being the first which caused his name to be registred in the writings of the Church; which is true: But *Baronius* addeth, that he did it at the instance and request of *Innocentius*; hauing no other argument for this assertion but this, that *Innocent* wrote a letter to him; for as touching anie such matter *Theodoret* speaketh not a word.

Sozom. l. 8. c. 28.

An. 405.

Baron. 10. 5.
an. 407. art. 20.
& an. 408.
art. 33.
Theodor. l. 5.
c. 33. & 34.

8. PROGRESSION.

Of the attempts of Innocentius and Syricius vpon the Churches of Spaine and Africke.

THE Bishops of Rome finding no passage open to their intended Supremacie, through the constancie of the Easterne Church, bent their course backe vpon the West, especially vpon Africke, where they thought to meet with lesse opposition. *Damasus* had already broken the ice vnto them, as appeareth by that Epistle of his written to *Stephanus* Bishop of Mauritania, wherein hee qualifieth the Church of Rome with the title of the Firmament of all Bishops, and Top of all other Churches: emboldened, no doubt, thereunto by letters sent before that time vnto him from the said *Stephanus*; who complained that certain Bishops had bin depofed in Africke: adding, that this was so done, notwithstanding they all knew well enough, That censures of Bishops, and all other Church causes of moment, ought to be referred to the audience of the Bishop of Rome, whom he there termeth The Father of Fathers: being of the verie brood and ofspring of those rebell Bishops of Africke, of whom Saint *Cyprien* complained in his dayes; who being reprov'd and censured for their faults, would presently crosse the seas, and run to Rome for Sanctuarie. All which to be vnderstood with this condition, If those decretall Epistles inserted among the Councils ought to haue any credit; which, as wee haue already said, the more learned sort reiect as counterfeit, vntill the time of Pope *Syricius*, who now entreteth vpon the stage: And indeede the old Roman Code leaueth them all out, vntill the time of this *Syricius*. This *Syricius*, about the yeare 386, in his first Epistle to *Himerius* Bishop of Arragon, is verie quicke, and saith, That it is not lawfull for any Priest of the Lord to be ignorant of the decrees and statutes of the See Apostolike: and therefore requesteth him to make knowne such ordinances and decrees as he shall send vnto him, not onely to those of his owne Diocese, but also to those of Carthage, Andalusia, Portugall, Galeace, and others: that is in effect, to all the Prouinces of Spaine; which could not, saith he, but bee glorious vnto him which was a Priest of so long continuance: purposing to vse the ambitious humor of this Prelat, onely to make himselfe and the authoritie of his See great in Spaine. And in his fourth Epistle to the Bishops of Africke, he goeth a step farther; and relleth them, That without the priuie of the See Apostolike, that is to say, of the Primat, none might presume to ordaine a Bishop: And this word *Primat*, some interpret for the Bishop of Rome, in regard of the claime which was made vnto the Primacie not long before by *Damasus*, and these late presumptions of *Syricius* himselfe, in his first Epistle; the rather, because it is improbable, that hee would impart this title of The See Apostolike to any, saue onely to the See of Rome.

OPPOSITION.

The Africanes therefore assembled vpon this occasion a second Council at Carthage, in the time of this *Syricius*, where they decreed in this manner: It seemed good vnto all, that without the leaue of the Primat of euery Prouince, no man hereafter presume, in what place soeuer, to ordaine any Bishop: without any reference at all to the Bishop of Rome. But, say they, if necessitie so require, any three Bishops, by order from the Primat, may consecrate a Bishop. And it is to be noted, That in this verie Canon they call the chaire of the Metropolitan, the First Chaire, or Chief

To. 1. concil.

ibid.

An. 386.

Pro antiquitate sacerdotij sui.

Concil. Carth. 2. ca. 12.

A Chiefe See: and that *Gratian* inserting this Canon in his booke of Decrees, follow'd the intent of this Council of Carthage; and not of *Syricius*; referring it to the Metropolitan Bishop, not to the Apostolike See, though he falsely report it vnder the name of *Innocent*: And in the yeare 397, the third Council of Carthage went a little farther, *Syricius* at that time also sitting Pope, and decreed; That the Bishop of the first See should not be called the Prince, or Chiefe of Priests, or High Priest, or by any other such name, but onely, The Bishop of the first See. As for the name of Vniuersall Bishop, that the Bishop of Rome it selfe should not be called by that name. Which last words are in *Gratian*, though now, through the good order which of later times hath bene taken in these matters, they are no longer to be found in the Council it selfe: A thing not to be forgotten; for it was fit that all these things should meet, and march together, Corruption of doctrine as well as of discipline; and that *Syricius* should be the man who should first establish the forbiddance of Priests mariages, though by generall consent reiected in the Council of Nice, and not received for six hundred yeares after in the West, doe what his successors could doe: Bringing in also the commemoration of Saints into the Liturgie and daily seruice of the Church; in imitation perhaps, of that *Carmen Saliare*, vsed heretofore among the Romans, wherein the names of all their gods were with much solemnitie rehear'd: For that was the disease of that age, to fashion themselues in all points after the rites and ceremonies of the Heathen.

9. PROGRESSION.

Of the decree of Pope Innocent concerning Appeals to Rome.

IN the yeare 401 came *Innocent*, who would not be so put backe; he, in his second Epistle to *Vitricius* Bishop of Roan, published this generall decree, That the greater causes, after that they had bene censured by the Bishop, should be referred to the See of Rome; as the Synod, saith he, hath ordained, and the laudable vse and custome of the Church requireth. Yet haue we hitherto seene the contrarie both in the one and also in the other. But he goeth on, seeking to practise what he projected, vpon the Macedonians, and perswading them that he did the like in all other places. Let vs therefore now see whether he found any better success in this his attempt than his predecessors had before him.

OPPOSITION.

The question then is, as you see, about great causes. In the yeare 402 was held the Mileuitan Council, and after that in the yeare 413 another at Carthage, where no petie causes were in handling, but the maine doctrine of the Church, the schisme of *Donatus*, and the heresie of *Pelagius*: where both were condemned, and *Pelagius* (concerning whose doctrine Pope *Innocent* thought fit to suspend his judgement) was excommunicated. And all this done without consulting the Bishop of Rome, onely sentence being already passed, he was entreated to joine his authoritie and voyce with theirs; for so goe the words of those Fathers in a letter which they sent vnto him, reported by *S. Augustine*: We haue, say they, by common consent pronounced *Pelagius* and *Celestius* to be excommunicated, &c. for the amendment, if not of them, yet of those whom they haue seduced: which done, we haue thought good, deere brother, to signifie so much vnto thee, to the end that vnto thine ordinance of our mediocritie thou shouldst ioyne the authoritie of the See Apostolike. So that

F iij

here

Distinct. 64. C. extra. conscientiam 5.

An. 397.

Concil. Carthag. 3. ca. 26.

Distinct. 99. ca. prima sedis 3.

An. 401. Innocent. Epist. 2. ad Vitric. Rothomagens. c. 3.

Epist. 7. ad Episc. Maced.

An. 402. An. 413.

Concil. Carth. ad Innocent. to. 1. p. 469. August. Epist. 90.

here we see a sentence plainly and absolutely giuen; and yet vnder these termes A
of humilitie, there is no disparagement or inequality to be obserued. In like sort
the Fathers of the Mileuitan Councell: Seeing, say they, that the Lord of his speci-
all grace hath placed thee in that Apostolike See; being such a one, as that our negligence
would be condemned, if we should conceale anything from thee which maketh for the good
of the Church, rather than our feare excused, as if we doubted of thy good acceptance; we
therefore entreat thee to use thy Pastorall care and diligence in these so great perils and
dangers of the members of Christ, &c. Their meaning was, that hee should doe in
these cases of heresie within the limits of his iurisdiction in the West, as they had
alreadie done in the East. But when they saw that vpon their round dealing with
them in the East, he was the rather inclined to absolue them in the West, they B
made short worke, and passed this decree in full Synod: whosoeuer shall say, that
the grace of God, in which we are iustified by Iesus Christ, is available onely for the remis-
sion of sinnes past, and that it is no helpe to vs against sinne hereafter, let him bee Ana-
thema. And thereupon adde they farther: This error and impietie, which hath eue-
rie where so many followers and abettors, ought also to be Anathematized and condemned
by the See Apostolike. As if they should haue said, It is high time, Innocent, that now
you shew your selfe, and doe your duertie. All which Innocent, as one not wil-
ling to breake with them, passed ouer, and seemed not to vnderstand; but as if they
had fled to him as to their superiour, frameth them an answer onely to futher his
owne ambition: You haue, saith he, well obserued the ordinances of the ancient Fa- C
thers, and not troden vnder foot that which they (not in humane wisdom, but by diuine
order) haue established; namely, that whatsoeuer is done in places, though neuer so remote,
should, for small conclusion, be referred to the audience of the See of Rome. And againe,
You haue, saith he, had due regard of the Apostolike honour, I say, of him which hath the
charge and care of all other Churches, in asking aduise of him in these perplexities, and
intricate causes: Following herein the ancient Canon, which you, as well as my selfe, know
to haue bene euer obserued in all the world. And where, I pray you good Innocent?
and when was it so obserued? for saw you not the contrarie in Afrike it selfe, and
in these two last Councils, practised?

Concil. Mileuit.
in Epist. ad In-
nocent. 10. r. Con-
cil. & apud Au-
gust. Epist. 92.
Concil. Mileuit.
c. 3.

Apud August.
Epist. 90. & 10. r.
Concil. apud
August. Epist. 92

Apud August.
Epist. 92.

Concil. Mileuit.
Can. 22.

24. 6. c. 35.

Concil. Carthag.
apud Balsam.
Can. 3. ex Con-
cil. African.

But let vs see whether they vse him any better in his matter of Appeals. The D
Fathers of the Mileuitan Councell spake plainly: It hath bene, say they, thought
fit in the case of Priests, Deacons, and other inferiour Clergie men, if in their causes they
complane of the wrongfull iudgement of the Bishop, that then the next adioyning Bi-
shops shall heare and end their cause, by the consent of their owne Bishop: And if they
thinke fit to appeale from them also, yet that they appeale not but onely to the Councils of
Afrike, or to the Primate of the Prouince: But if any shall presume to appeale beyond the
sea, that no man presume to receiue that man to his communion. And it is verie pro-
bable, that the like decrees were made in other Churches of the West, howsoe-
uer Gratian, to saue the Popes iurisdiction, addeth these words, Vnlesse, saith he, E
they appeale to the See of Rome: whereas it was properly against that See that they
raised this countermure and bulwarke of defence. Bellarmine yet goeth more
finely to worke, and saith, That this Canon concerneth only the inferior Orders.
But the Canon next precedent, which properly provideth for the cases of Bi-
shops, is linked with this as wel in reason as in order; & the conclusion is general,
whosoeuer shall offer to appeale beyond the sea, &c. without any distinction betweene
Priest and Bishop: and in the margent there is noted this diuers lection; Alias,
That they appeale not beyond the sea, but to the Primates of their Prouinces, as it hath of-
ten bene ordained in case of Bishops: and so are all sorts of Clergie men comprised.

And

A And in like manner is this Canon read in the Greeke copies. And to conclude
this point, we may not forget that Saint Augustine himselfe was present at this
Council. ὅς ἐστὶν τὸν
ἐπιτακτικὸν
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπο-
στα.

All these things standing as they doe, let vs now see what arguments Baroni-
us hence draweth, to the preiudice of the Churches of Spaine and Afrike, in fa-
uour of the Pope. And first, saith he, in the third Councell of Carthage, can. B
48. it is decreed, That concerning the baptisme of the Donatists, Syricius Bishop of
Rome, and Simplicianus of Milan, should be consulted: The one, saith he, as head
of the Church, the other for the worthinesse of his person: whereas the Fathers them-
selues make no such difference; but, say they, we haue thought good to consult our bre-
thren and fellow Priests, Syricius and Simplicianus: and no maruell, seeing that Au-
relius Bishop of Carthage wanting fit ministers to furnish his Churches, wrot
ioyntly to Anastasius Bishop of Rome and to Venerius Bishop of Milan, to sup-
plie his want; calling them Holie Brethren. Secondly, he taketh on because we al-
ledge the Canon, Prima sedis, That the Bishop of the first See should not be called Prince,
or the Chiefe of Priests, or High Priest, or by any such like name. And I would know,
whether these are not the verie words of the Canon it selfe? or are they not so re-
ported by Gratian in the Decrees? Yea, but he wil not that we should extend them
to Rome, especially those last words, viz. That the Bishop of Rome himselfe shall not
be called the Vniuersall Bishop: For what likelihood, saith he, that Afrike would presume
to prescribe titles to the Bishop of Rome? adding farther, That out of doubt they are Gra-
tians owne words, and that they are not found in the Canon it selfe which he alled-
geth. Nay rather, say we, seeing that they are in Gratian, who will warrant vs
their honestie, and that they themselues are not the men which haue torne it out
of the Councils? And why is it vnlkely that those poore Africans should vse
those words more than these, which they cannot denie, That no man should appeale
beyond the sea: that is, to Rome. For though it be true, that these Africans could
not, as Baronius saith, dispose of what was done at Rome, yet might they wel take
order against his vsurpation, and encroaching vpon their Church and liberties at
home; and cause that no man there should attribute to him those titles of insolent-
cie and ambition. Thirdly, because Aurelius Bishop of Carthage, at the opening
of the Council of Carthage, caused a certaine letter of Anastasius to be there o-
penly read, wherein he forewarned them to beware of the cunning sleights of the
Donatists; he therefore concludeth, That this Councell was assembled and held
by order from Anastasius; and that Aurelius acknowledgeth him for no lesse than
a Father, and consequently for a Head. But why did he not rather obserue, that
he calleth him also, Brother, and fellow Priest? must his aduise giuen, be indued to
proue his mastership? The Synod of Afrike, in the yeare 407, seeing a fell con-
tention risen betweene Innocentius of Rome and Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria,
made a decree in manner following: It seemeth good to vs, that as touching the dissen-
sion now fallen betweene the two Churches of Rome and Alexandria, we write to the holie
Father Innocentius, to admonish him, that either Church keepe that peace which the Lord
commanded. Shall now this brotherlie admonition of theirs be interpreted to pro-
ceed from a right of iurisdiction, or of soueraigne command? Fourthly, in the
cause of the Priscillianists of Spaine: Such as were fallen, saith the Council of
Toledo, if they come to penance, shall not be receiued vnlesse the See Apostolike
write in their behalfe. And thereby, saith he, you may plainly perceiue, that no
man might communicat with one which had fallen, vnlesse the See of Rome had first
approved of his reduction, and communicated with him. But why should he put

Baron. 10. 5. an.
497. art. 55.

Concil. Carthag.
3. ca. 26.
Distin. 99.
ca. prima sedis.

Baron. an. 307.
10. 5. art. 48.

Concil. Carthag.
provincial. 4. in
Prafat. Concil.
African.

Concil. Carthag.
can. 33.

Baron. 10. 5. an.
491. art. 9.

Concil. Afrie. 68.

Acta Concil. x.
Tolet.
Baron. an. 405.
art. 52. vol. 5.

vs

vs to read the acts of this Councell, seeing that he himselfe in other cases refuseth to admit of them. They tell vs indeed, That the Churches of Spaine, much infested with this heresie, sent to be aduised by Saint *Ambrose*, and that they gouerned themselues by his directions: which he denieth not; but saith that *Ambrose* himselfe medled not, but by expresse order from *Syricius*: for, saith he, the words are, *We had great patience, hoping that according to the letters of Saint Ambrose, of blessed memorie, if we condemned that which they had done amisse, and obserued the condition specified in his letters, they would returne to peace.* (Added hereunto, what *Syricius* of blessed memorie had aduised vs to doe.) And must then this accessorie carrie with it the principal? or this Parenthesis, be interpreted for a Commission directed to *S. Ambrose*? Let them rather take the paines and read a little farther, where they shall find it said in this manner: *We expect, say they, what the Pope and Simplician Bishop of Milan, and other Bishops of the Churches, will write in answer to our letters: much after the manner of the Councell of Turin in the same cause: According, say they, to the letters of the venerable Bishop Ambrose, or of the Priest of the Church of Rome.* What would, or rather, what would not *Baronius* say, if he had the like aduantage?

Concil. Turin.
can. 5.

Aut Romane
Ecclesie Sacra-
dotis.

IO. PROGRESSION.

Pope Zozimus seeketh to draw all causes to Rome, by vertue of a Canon of the Nicene Councell.

BVt *Zozimus*, successor vnto *Innocent*, would not be so answered: wherefore at the sixt Councell of Carthage, which was held the yeare 417, and where were assembled 227 Bishops of Afrike (whereupon also Saint *Augustine* calleth it a full and a grand Councell) *Zozimus* sent thither *Faustus* Bishop of Potentia, and *Philippus* and *Afellus* Priests of Rome, qualified as Legats from him, to require in precise termes, That the Bishops of Afrike should appeale to the Bishop of Rome: which matter they proposed to the Councell in these words: *Those who in the Nicene Synod gave their sentence concerning the Appeales of Bishops said in this manner: If a Bishop shall be accused, and the Bishops of his owne Prouince shall thereupon condemne and degrade him, and if he thinke fit to appeale, and thereupon slieth to the most holie Bishop of Rome, and he be pleased to haue a new hearing and examination of the cause, the said Bishop of Rome shall be pleased to write to certaine Bishops next adioyning, to the end that they may informe themselves aright of the cause, and then do as reason and equitie shall require. Wherefore if any be desirous to haue his cause new heard, and by way of request shall moue the Bishop of Rome to send his Legat à Latere, that it be at his pleasure to doe what he will, and as he in his iudgement shall thinke fittest to be done.*

An. 417.

Plenarium Con-
cilium.
August. Ep. 47.
Ep. Concil. Afri-
can. ad Bonifac.
in 10. 1. Concil.
pa. 59. a.
Faustin. in Com-
monit. ad Can. 1.
Synod. Carthag.
apud Balsam.
ex editio Her-
ucti. pag. 305.

OPPOSITION.

This matter so proposed by the Legats, *Alypius* Bishop of Thegast protesting openly, That he intended to hold himselfe in all poynts to the Nicene Councell, began to make question of this pretended Canon: *we haue, saith he, already promised to maintaine the Canons of the Nicene Councell: but this is that which troubleth me, that when we come to consult the Greeke copies, I know not how it should come to passe, but we find no such Canon there. And againe, we haue seene diuers copies, and yet could neuer find this Canon in any of them, no not in the Roman copies, neither yet in the Greeke copies*

ibid.

In Can. 135.
Sub fin.

A copies sent vnto us from the Apostolicall Sees. Whereupon *Aurelius* Bishop of Carthage, and President of that Councell, notwithstanding that the Popes Legats were there present, pronounced, That they would forthwith dispatch messengers and letters to the Bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch; with request, That they would be pleased to transmit vnto them the acts of the Nicene Councell, fast closed and sealed vp, thereby to take away all cause of doubt; Because, said he, we cannot find that Canon which is alledged by *Faustus* in the behalfe of *Boniface* Bishop of Rome: which *Boniface*, during this Councell, had succeeded *Zozimus*. And farther, they required *Boniface* himselfe to doe the like, to the end that these things passing in his presence, might be void of suspicion, and so find the greater credit with him. Which copies being after a time sent vnto them in due forme, from *Cyril* Bishop of Alexandria, and from *Atticus* of Constantinople, together with their letters, which we find recited in the Councell, followed that decree which we there read, and which a Synodal letter from them to *Celestin* Bishop of Rome, who during this pursuit had succeeded *Boniface*, and this Epistle closeth vp that Councell. Neither is it vnworthie our obseruation, that the copie which *Cyril* sent, taken out of the Archiues of Alexandria, came from Rome, being long before sent from *Marcus* Bishop of Rome to *Athanasius*, and to the other Bishops of Egypt, upon complaint which they had made vnto him, That the Arrians had burned all the copies of the Nicene Councell which were to be found in Alexandria: and we haue the letters of *Marcus* to testifie as much. The decree therefore of that Councell, made in confirmation of the Canon of the Mileuitan Councell, passed there by generall consent, in manner and forme following: *That Priests, Deacons, and other inferior Clerkes, appeale not beyond the sea, but to the Primats of their Prouince, as it hath often bene decreed, and expounded in case of Bishops. As for those which shall appeale beyond the sea (that is, as *Balsamon* expoundeth it, to Rome) that no man in Africke receive them to communion. Which clause is set downe in as generall termes as could be devised; and the letter sent to *Celestin* maketh their meaning yet more plaine; which letter we find registred in the Councell of Africke, according to the old Roman copie it selfe: *We earnestly intreat you, say they, that hereafter you giue no care to those which slieth vnto you from hence, and that you admit not to your communion such as we haue excommunicated: for your Venerablenesse knoweth well, that it is so ordered by the Councell of Nice, which though it seeme to dispose onely in case of inferior Clerkes, and lay persons, yet in reason their mind was, that it should be so obserued much more in case of Bishops; that those which had bene iustly censured, and put from the communion of their owne Church, should not our hastily be restored by your Holinesse. And further we request your Holinesse, that you would repell those Priests, and other Clerkes, which make you their refuge; both because there is no constitution of the Farbers, which hath at any time so much derogated from the authoritie of our Churches, as also because the Councell of Nice hath apparently left the ordering of all inferiours, whether Priests or Bishops, to the iudgement of their Metropolitans: and with great wisdom and equitie haue they provided, that all matters of controuersie should receive their finall determination in the place where they began: and that the grace of the holie Spirit would not be so wanting to any Prouince, but that the Priests of Christ (which word comprehendeth also Bishops) by the helpe thereof, will be able at all times wisely and discreetly to enter into the full knowledge and understanding of causes, and according to right and equitie to iudge of them, especially considering that euery man which findeth himselfe aggriued with the sentence of his Diocesan, may, if he will, forthwith appeale to the Synods of his owne**

In Commonit. ad
Can. 1. pa. 306.

In 10. 1. cōcil. pa.
299. & pa. 300.
Epist. Egypt. ad
Marcum, &
Marci ad E-
gyptios.

Concil. African.
Can. 105.
Codex Canonum
Vetus Ecclesie
Romane in Con-
cil. African.
105.

Vni cui libet.
Innumerabili-
bus sacerdoti-
bus.

A tue sanctita-
tis latere.

ὁμοῦ ἀπο-
δείξαι ἕν
ἐδύναθι.

Typho iso.

owne Prouince, or if him list, to a Generall Councell, vnlesse peradventure anie thinke, **A** that God will inspire with this gift of examining causes some one particular man, and that he will denie the same to an infinite number of Bishops and Priests assembled in a Councell: and how can a iudgement giuen beyond the seas be good, where witnesses necessarily required in such cases, cannot be present, either in regard of their sex, or of their age, or by reason of some other impediment. As for your sending of a Legat à Latere, we find no such ordinance in anie Councell, neither yet in the writings of the Fathers. And as touching that which you sent vs by Faustinus our fellow Bishop, as a Canon of the Nicene Councell, we let you to vnderstand, that there is no such Canon to be found in the true and vncorrupt copies of that Councell, which haue bene sent vnto vs, taken out of the Originals by Cyrill our fellow Bishop of Alexandria; and by the reuerend Atticus of Constantinople: which copies we also heretofore sent vnto Boniface your predecessor of worthie memorie, by Innocentius the Priest; and Marcellus a Subdeacon, wherein there was no such Canon to be found.

Now in the whole narration of this Epistle there are manie things worthie our obseruation: as first the inscription, To our louing and venerable brother Celestin. Secondly, that the Popes Legat brought back againe and presented before them Apiarias a Priest (whom *Vrbain* Bishop of Sicca had condemned) to purge himselfe before the Councell, notwithstanding he had fled to Rome. Thirdly, that it is said, your Holinesse beleeued that he had appealed vnto you, that is, your Holinesse was made to beleue, that he had right to appeale vnto you, which yet you were not able **C** to proue, and therefore his appeale auailed him not, as one which was conuicted by his owne confession, notwithstanding the sleights and practises of the Legat. Fourthly, that Celestin here is fairely entreated no more to protect or receive their Priests or Bishops, as you (say they) shall find ordained in the Councell of Nice, where as that which you pretend is not there to be found: so that the lie was put vpon those three Popes as plainly, and as mannerly withall, as possibly could be deuised. Fifthly, that whereas they talke so much of that fountaine of Gods spirit, flowing so plentifully at Rome, in the person of their Bishop; by farre greater reason it is to be presumed, that it will not wax drie and faile among so manie holie persons assembled in their owne Prouince. Sixthly, that they will not heare **D** of anie Legats à Latere, that they know not what they meane, nor found they anie such officer mentioned in the Canons of the Church, as also that they neuer heard of anie such clerkes, as lately came by strong hand to put his decrees in execution: by which attempts of theirs it appeareth how much ground their ambitious violence had already gotten, through the breach which was made in their liberties by those rebell Bishops which fled vnto them for protection. And this is that which the Fathers call *Typhum seculi in Ecclesiam Christi inducere, to bring in worldlie pride and arrogancie into the Church of Christ*: which they doubted not to speake vnto Boniface himselfe, saying, we beleue, that seeing thou sittest in the Roman Church, we shall no longer be oppressed with this vaine pride, calling him alwaies **E** *Domine frater*. For whereas they triumph in this word *Sanctitati vestrae, i. your Holinesse*, they must vnderstand, that the Popes themselves vsed the same stile, and gaue the same title to them, and to all other Bishops; as *Zozimus* writing to these verie Africans, we are persuaded (sayth he) that your Holinesse hath bene informed touching the prooffe and triall which we haue made of Celestins his absolute and sound faith: and so likewise to others.

Against this maine wall of truth and veritie, *Baronius* opposeth the brittle glasse of his owne fancie, seeking to darken this cleare light with the smoake of his

A his vaine discourse: howbeit, like a bird in a net, the more he striueth, the more he is intangled, and the reader may easily obserue, that he spendeth himselfe in vaine talke and sophistrie. And first, it much offendeth his patience, that we say, that those three Popes produced the Canon of Sardica, vnder the name of the Councell of Nice: for if it were done by error, where is their infallibilitie? if of malice, where is then their sanctitie? But (saith he) it may be that the text was corrupted, and this word *Nicene* put for *Sardican*, and I am forced to beleue, that these acts are not reported truly and as they ought to be. Tell me reader, who soeuer thou art, will such a shift serue in a matter of this importance? Secondly (saith he) what aduanrage was there to be gotten, in alledging the one for the other? for was not the Sardican Councell as good as the Nicene? or are they not both Generall Councils? and we haue already proued, that the Sardican Synod was neuer reckoned among the Generall: neither did *Innocent* euer plead for himselfe other than the Canon of Nice, vnder colour of this glorious name to dazzle the eyes of men, and to abuse the world. Thirdly (saith he) what likelihood that the Africans would withstand these Appeales, seeing they had bene used from all antiquitie? the only thing which they misliked was the forme. What need of answer to this argument, more than the bare recitall of the argument it selfe? and who doubteth of their presumption and arrogancie? Or who knoweth not, that euill manners giue commonly occasion of good lawes, that vsurpations cause orderings, and that if iniustice were not, we should not need the knowledge of the lawes? Thou tellest vs, that *Celestinus*, a companion and an abettor of the heretike *Pelagius*, was condemned in Africke; that he appealed from this sentence to *Zozimus* Bishop of Rome; that he admitted of the appeale, and that this was but the yeare before: true; and *Baronius*, you may perceiue that this proceeded of that Papall humor, to admit of all plaintifes, suffering themselves with flatterie and faire words to be abused oft times by the most dangerous heretikes. But say, I pray you, what followeth? Is it not, that the Africans complained of these wrongs? that *Zozimus* carried it not farre? that he was regulated and ordered the next yeare following? Yea, but (saith he) Doe you not see so and so manie examples of these Appeales mentioned in *S. Augustine*? and thereupon alledgeth his 261 Epistle all at large. Anmalist would be, as he is: Doth he not see, that all these examples were before the law was made, and that they were the proper occasion and cause of this Decree; and doe men in Commonwealthe matters ground themselves vpon abuses, or rather vpon Lawes: vpon that which, *de facto*, is done, or rather vpon that which of right ought to be done? The truth of the cause is this: *Anthony* Bishop of Fousfall in Africke being deposed by the Bishops of his owne Prouince, got letters of commendation from the Primat of Nicomedia to *Zozimus* Bishop of Rome, by means whereof he found access to *Zozimus*, and after him to his succesor *Celestin*; who, bad man as he was, went about to restore him by force of armes. **E** Whereupon *S. Augustine*, who was present at his condemnation, wrote to *Celestin* in this manner: We are threatened (saith he) with a *Posse comitatus*, and force of armes, to put the sentence of the Apostolike See in execution, and so shall we poore Christians, stand in greater feare of a Catholike Bishop, than the heretikes themselves doe of a Catholike Emperour: Let not these things so be, I doe coniure thee by the blood of Christ, and by the memorie of the Apostle *S. Peter*, who warneth those which are set ouer the Christian assemblies, not to dominie with violence ouer their brethren. What could this holie Bishop doe more, to stay the course of his rage and madness? but in that great Synod of Carthage, he with a multitude of other worthie persons

Baron. vol. 1.
an. 419. an. 70.
& sequ.

Idem ib. an. 87.

August. contra
duos Pelagij,
ep. 1.2. c. 3.
Epistola Zosim.
ad Aurel. Car-
thag. Episcop.

Augustin. epist.
261. edit. P. lan-
tin.

persons layed the axe to the verie root of his pretended soueraignetic, by their sentence there pronounced against him. Now tell me, whereas *Baronius* in this cause of *Antonie* Bishop of Foussall crieth out, *O admirabilem Dei prouidentiam, &c.* O she wonderfull prouidence of God, in matters concerning the Catholike Church! as that verie time when controuersie was betweene the Fathers of *Afrike* concerning the Canon of *Nice*, God would haue it, that a cause should fall out, by occasion whereof *Saint Augustine* himselfe, who was present at that Councell, was euen compelled to record vnto posteritie so manie examples of those who had recourse and did appeale to the Church of *Rome*. Tell me, I say, whether we haue not farre greater cause to prayse his goodnesse, in that out of these enormities and abuses he was pleased to direct this Councell, to set downe a rule, and a certaine order, by which the Churches of *Afrike* might from that time forward for euer be directed? Fourthly, will you see (saith he) how much they attribute and yeeld to the Church of *Rome*? When they went about to set downe a certaine Canon of the Bible, they consulted *Boniface* thereupon, requestng him to confirme it: and what likelyhood, that they would not vse the like submission in the rest of their Canons? But the verie reading of that Canon is a refuting of this assertion: *It seemeth good vnto vs* (say the Fathers in that Canon) *that nothing be read in the Churches but onely the holie Scriptures; which are these, Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, &c.* Wherefore their resolution and decree was absolute without anie reseruatiou, both that the Scriptures onely should be read, and also which bookes they are which ought to be accounted for Canonically: onely for correspondencies sake they adde farther in these words, *We will also that this be signified to our companion in Priesthood Bonifacius, and others, to the end, that they may confirme it; for so haue we receiued from the Fathers, that these onely ought to be read in Churches.* Now if the Popes authoritie alone had bene necessarie to the validitie of this Canon, what needed they to signifie it vnto others? This therefore was nought else but a testimonie of their mutuall loue and charitie. *Baronius* here stormeth because we say, That by occasion of that forenamed Canon the whole Church of *Afrike* was cut off from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; because it thence followeth, that *S. Augustine*, and such a multitude of other holie Fathers died out of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and excommunicated by the Pope: and thereupon seeketh by all meanes to discredit that Epistle of *Bonifacius* the second, which testifieth, that they were not reunited till a full hundred yeares after. I confesse, that whereas it is there said, Vnder the reigne of *Iustin*; the mistake was easier of *Iustin* for *Iustinian*, than that of *Nicene* for *Sardican*, and the inconuenience thence arising is verie great: for what then shall become of so manie Martyrs, put to death during those hundred yeares, vnder the persecution and tyrannie of the Vandales? But they themselves must looke to that: Sure I am, that this is none of their greatest cares, wittenesse the poore Grecians in these dayes, who haue now lyeu groning vnder the yoke of the Turks so manie yeares. And if this Epistle was not written by *Bonifacius*, they may thanke themselves, who haue inserted it in the bodie of the Councils.

Let the reader now judge what reason *Bellarmino* had to say, that those Fathers neuer intended to forbid their Bishops to appeale to *Rome*; seeing they name Bishops in expresse tearmes, and ordaine that all causes should be determined within the same Prouince: Or what conscience, when he saith, that *S. Augustine* vnderstood that Councell otherwise in his 262 Epistle, because he there saith, that *Cecilian* needed not to care for the conspiracie of his aduersaries, seeing himselfe

ib. art. 76.

Baron. vol. 9. an. 419. art. 92.

Concil. Carthag. Can. 47.

Bellarmino de Bonif. Rom. l. 2. c. 24.

August. ep. 262.

A

B

C

D

E

A selfe ioyned in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, and with all other countries whence the Gospell first came into *Afrike*, where he would be alwayes readie to plead his cause, if his aduersaries should seeke to alienate those Churches from him. For what can he gather from thence but onely this, that it was no hard matter for him to purge himselfe vnto those Churches, in case he had bene traduced: for if he thence conclude, That therefore he might appeale to *Rome*; as much may be said and concluded of all other places: But he was wise not to quote the place, for there is nothing (and he knew it well ynough) which maketh for his purpose. And farther here obserue, that *S. Augustine* was present at this Councell, as appeareth by his 207 Epistle.

B Allowe read, that about the yeare 431 the Generall Councell of *Ephesus* was assembled against *Nestorius*, where we find not this pretended Primacie in anie sort acknowledged. For as touching the calling thereof, the Bishops (saith *Socrates*) assembled themselves together out of all quarters vnto *Ephesus*, by order from the Emperour. And *Euagrius* and *Nicephorus* say, that they were assembled by the letters of the Emperour directed to the Bishops of all places. And the Synod it selfe in more than twentie seuerall places vseth these words, *By the will of the most religious Kings; meaning Theodosius and Valentinian.* And the Acts all along speake in this and the like manner, *Whom your Maiesties commaunded to come to Ephesus &c.* and, *Their letters commaunded vs so &c.* and, *By vertue of the Edict of the most religious Emperours &c.* And so likewise wrote *Theodosius* vnto *Cyrril*, that he had appointed the Bishops to assemble at *Ephesus* out of all parts, at *Easter*. And *Celestin* Bishop of *Rome* writing to *Theodosius*: *Wee yeeld* (saith he) *our presence in the Synod which you haue commaunded, by those whom we haue sent.* As for the Prefidencie in that Synod, it is a matter questionlesse, and not denied by our aduersaries, That *Cyrril* Bishop of *Alexandria* presided; onely they say, that he was Vicegerent to Pope *Celestin*: hauing no other colour for their assertion but this, That the Pope requested him to execute his sentence giuen in the Synod at *Rome* against *Nestorius*. But the Synodall Epistle to the Emperour euidently sheweth, that that was done long before this Councell at *Ephesus* was called. And the truth is, that the

D Popes Legats there present were neuer called to preside, which yet they should haue bene, had they bene colleagues with *Cyrril*: but at a pinch a forgerie must helpe. A certaine moderne Writer, in his abridgement of the Councils sayth, *That in this Councell presided the blessed Cyrril, Bishop of Alexandria.* Which sentence he tooke out of *Isidore*; but he addeth of his owne head these words, *In the place of Pope Celestin; which are not to be found in Isidore: and Bellarmine himselfe is more than halfe ashamed of it.*

Now let vs see what aduantages *Baronius* here taketh; and first, When *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople* had broached his heresie, against the vnion of two natures in *Christ*: *Cyrril* Bishop of *Alexandria* tooke him to taske; and then they went each of them to make his partie the strongest, and to haue a Bishop of *Rome* on his side, was thought no small aduantage; therefore they both wrote vnto him: *Nestorius* was the first; *Eraternas nobis inuicem debemus colloquutiones &c.* We owe (saith he) each to other brotherlie communications: and *Cyrril* much after the same manner, *The aunient customes of the Church aduise and counsell vs to take instruction one of another &c.* And hence it is that *Baronius* concludeth, That no matter of Faith could be questioned without the Bishop of *Rome*; yet how manie heretikes haue we alreadye seene condemned, sometimes without him, and sometimes in despight of him? Secondly, *Celestin* vpon this alarme giuen him by

An. 431.

Socrat. l. 7. c. 3.

Euagr. l. 1. c. 3. Nicephor. l. 14. c. 34.

Alla Concil. Ephesin. in 1. 10. Concil.

θεσπιματος δευτερουτος. τα εργα των εν επισω. c. 1. 10. 2. & cap. 17, 18, 19. & passim.

ib. pa. 99. 177. 201, 202.

Bellarmino. l. 1. de Concil. c. 19. Alla Concil. Ephes. c. 17.

Isidor. Decret. Varis. impres. an. 1524. pa. 79. To. 1. Concil. in Concil. Ephes. Colon. an. 1551.

Nestor. epist. ad Celestin. ex Co. Antio. August. apud Baron. to. 5. an. 430. art. 3.

τα μακροδ τον ευαγγελιον τον περιθεωσιν ανακρινισθαι.

Epist. Cyrrilli. ad Celestin. in All. Greg. pa. 141. Baron. vol. 9. an. 430. art. 112.

G

Cyrril,

Cyrril, called a Synod at Rome, and from thence wrot a long Epistle to Nestorius, A
 willing him to hold fast the faith of the Church of Rome, of Alexandria, of Constantinople, and of the whole Catholike Church; not as now the fashion is, of the Romane
 Catholike Church; if not, he declareth him excommunicate: and withall he sent a
 letter, in nature of a Proxie vnto Cyrril, whereby he requested him to denounce
 and put in execution this sentence of his: a thing done euerie day betweene
 friends and equals. And whether tended all this, but onely to joyne his authoritie
 with that of Cyrrils, to kill this cockatrice in the egge? The words themselues are
 plaine and cleare: *The authoritie of our See (saith he) being ioyned vnto thine, that*
is to say, vsing thine owne authoritie together with ours; and vsing the power of
our succession, that is, vsing our power, as if we our selues were there present, thou
shalt put in execution this our sentence with all seueritie; and if he abiure not his per-
uerse opinions within ten dayes, your Holinesse shall presently put another in his roome.
 This they did, and all was little ynough to depose a Patriarch: and yet the questi-
 on remaineth still, whether Cyrril did euer accept of that Proxie or no, though he
 might well haue done it, without anie prejudice at all to his authoritie: As for the
 Phrygium and Mitre, and the name of Pope, and Iudge of all the world, which *Calestin*
 is said to haue sent to Cyrril, he should haue done well first to haue proued, that
Calestin euer vsed such names and weeds himselfe; and euerie man knoweth, that
 the name of Pope was aunciently giuen to Priests and Bishops without his leaue:
 neither is it probable, that he which was so forward to chalenge to himselfe the
 jurisdiction of the whole world, would so liberally cast this title vpon another:
 neither is there anie author thereof but only *Balsamon* and *Nicephorus*, who liued
 the one siue, the other six hundred yeares after; and euen they report it, not as a
 matter certaine, onely they say *Fama est*, the report is, &c. as of a thing that hath
 no ground of truth.

Thirdly, this Proxie of *Calestin* vnto *Cyrril*, which was onely for the execution
 of this sentence, *Baronius* would faine extend to a facultie of Legatship, by vertue
 whereof *Cyrril* should preside ouer the Ephesin Councell, as representing the
 person of the Pope. But we would know where this title of *Legat* is so much as
 once giuen him: for seeing that we haue the Acts of this Synod more at large
 than of anie other; or rather, and to speake more properly, seeing we haue the
 Acts of no other Councell but onely of this; how commeth it to passe, that we
 find among them no such Commission directed to him? nor recited in the Synod,
 as so manie other writings of lesse moment were? Peraduenture, because that dur-
 ing the first eight hundred yeares there was neuer anie Pope present at a Gene-
 rall Councell, *Calestin* hauing no purpose to be there himselfe, and *Nestorius* by
 reason of his heresie being made incapable, the Pope could be content that the
 world should thinke, that *Cyrril* was there to supplie his roome, as doubting that
 his owne Legats would not be able to preuaile for the presidencie, no more than
 they had done in former Councells; and *Cyrril* himselfe perhaps might be glad to
 vse the name and authoritie of *Calestin*, for the easier suppressing of so great and
 so potent an aduersarie as *Nestorius* was. And indeed *Eugarius* speaketh of *Cyrril*
 as of one *δισταλτος του τωρον του Καλαστίνου*, i. which exercised the roome of *Calestin*: And
 the Councell it selfe vseth these words, *Cyrril Bishop of Alexandria, who exercised*
also the place of Calestin, speaking of him as of one which executed the sentence
 of *Calestin*, as appeareth more plainly in his letter vnto *Theodosius*. But let *Baronius*
 tell me, whether in all that Councell he be once stiled by the name of *Lieutenant*
 or *Legat* of *Calestin*? or doe not all the proceedings euident the contrarie? *Calestin*
 saith,

Epist. Calest. ad
 Cyrril. in 4. to.
 Cyrril. & in ep.
 Pontif. numer.
 3. extat. Grec.
 εν τοις παρα-
 τακτις τῆς ἐν
 Εφεσοῦ συνόδου
 pag. 85.

ἐκ βιβλίου.

ib. art. 26.

Balsamon. in
 Nomocan.
 Phocij. tit. 8. c. 1.
 Nicephor. l. 14.
 c. 34.

Baron. an. 431.

ταπεινῶτα.
 pag. 197.

Cyrril. in Apolog.
 ad Theod. to. 4.
 το πολυπῆλος, ὁ
 τῶν τῶρον τῆ-
 ρῶν, ὁ ἀγαθός.

A
 saith, That he sent thither *Arcadius* and *Patroclus* Bishops, and *Philippicus* a Priest,
 τῶν λεγόμενων, i. his Legats: and *Baronius* himselfe produceth their letters of Cre-
 dence, which they had vnto the Fathers of the Councell. Now I would know,
 what need of anie Legat at all, at least of so manie, if *Cyrril* had bene his Lieu-
 tenant? Or is it likely that he would haue made no mention of *Cyrril* in them, nor
 so much as to say, We haue sent these to supplie our roome together with *Cyrril*?
 Now these Legats came thither a day after the fayre, when all was done, and
 when sentence was alreadie solemnly pronounced against *Nestorius*: and yet *Bar-*
onius telleth vs, that they were sent to put the sentence giuen against him at
 Rome, in execution: and whence then was it, that the Fathers, as *Cyrril* testifieth,
 placed Christ as President of that Councell: for (saith he) the Synod placed the ve-
 nerable Gospell in the holie Throne, as crying in the eares of the Fathers, Iudge rightly
 you that are Iudges, betweene the holie Gospels and the words of *Nestorius*. Was the
 Gospell, trow you, placed there onely to execute the sentence giuen by the
 Pope? or doe you call this the holie Ghost, comming from Rome in a budget?
 And why also doth the Councell in the preamble to that their sentence vse these
 words, *We haue thought it necessarie for vs to proceed to the examination of his impie-*
ties? as taking no notice of what had passed in the Romane Synod, vnlesse you
 will say, that because when sentence was now readie to be giuen, there is menti-
 on made of *Calestin*, and of his letter, (so dangerous a thing is it to our Libertie
 to attribute neuer so little to the Pope) therefore it was his sentence and not the
 sentence of the Synod. But let vs obserue the order and manner of their subscri-
 bing to this Synod, which *Baronius* hath here omitted, and is as followeth: *Cyrril*
Bishop of Alexandria hath subscribed, pronouncing with the Councell: *Iuuenal* Bishop
 of *Ierusalem* hath subscribed, and so the rest each one according to the order of
 the Patriarchs; and *Cyrril* assumeth no other qualitie or title but his owne: in
 which qualitie, and in no other, the Synodall Epistle written to the Emperour sti-
 leth him, by the name of the Head of the Congregation of Bishops: and when the
 Popes Legats came afterward in the fourth Session (before which time sentence
 was alreadie giuen and signified to *Nestorius*) they tooke their place, and sat with
 the manie, without anie mention of prerogatiue or prioritie of place. Yea, but
 when *Calestins* letters were read, the Synod cried out, *To Calestin a second Paule*:
 I confesse; and did they not the like of *Cyrril*, crying out, *To Cyrril a second*
Paule: there is but one Calestin, but one Cyrril. And what other demaund, I pray you,
 did those Legats make, but onely that they might haue the Acts, to subscribe vn-
 to them? a thing, not to haue bene denied to anie ordinarie Bishop, which had
 come late as they did. And yet *Baronius* would faine haue it, that this subscrip-
 tion of theirs was a second sentence, confirmatorie of that which had bene giuen
 by the Councell; whereas they themselues writing to the Emperours, signifie on-
 ly this, that they are of the same beleefe and opinion with the Synod. Now if *Cyrril*
 had bene Legat, what need of this? Or if this were needfull, then it followeth
 that *Cyrril* was not Legat for the Pope, but was onely requested to passe his word
 vnto the Councell for the Orthodox beleefe of *Calestin*. Fourthly, *Philippicus* a
 Priest of Rome, and one of the Legats, in his speech said, that he rejoyced to see
 that the members did so well agree with their holie Head. And hereupon *Baronius*
 maketh a flourish, and because these Fathers had the patience to heare him, Doest
 thou see Reader (saith he) how all these Fathers were content to heare him without re-
 pinning? For my owne part I know not what he would haue had them to doe in
 this case, vnlesse it be that they should haue made an vprore in the Synod, and
 haue

Ex collect.
 Cresco. ib. art. 9.

καὶ τὸν ἐξέτα-
 σεν τῶν δόξων
 καθέστησαν αὐτῷ

τα παρακινῶ,
 pag. 130.

Epist. Synod. ad
 Theod. apud
 Cyrril. to. 4.

Iterata demue-
 tio.

ἀπο-ἀποστ.

τα παρακινῶ,
 pag. 195.

haue fallen by the cares about it. He should rather haue considered, how at the ouerture of this Councell they placed Christ in his Gospell, for Head of this Councell: or if the doubt be of the ministeriall Head, that then in their Synodal Epistle they call *Cyril the Head of the Congregation of Bishops*: but of euerie such insolent pranke which the Popes or their Legats play, *Baronius* is euer readie to make a Title. But will you now know who was Soueraigne in this Council? The Synod by their letters to the Emperours, in all humilitie aske leaue to depart euerie man to his owne home, seeing that all controuersies were now decided: And the Emperour vpon relation of what they had done, gaue his confirmation in this manner: *The Emperour aduely informed, hath pronounced, That the holie Occumenicall Councell hath done all things according to the Canons, and therefore hath displaced and banished Nestorius, commaunding the Bishops of the Synod to enter vpon the Church, and to elect and consecrate a Bishop of Constantinople: and thereupon the Fathers ordained Maximinus. And farther the Emperour commaunded them to returne euerie man to his owne home.*

τα Πρακτικη
ρα. 273.
Βασιλικη
θεσπιμου.
επιτιροφου
σιδη.

Ambros. ad Gal.
la. ca. 2.

August. in Io-
han. Tract. 124.
in Epist. Io-
han. Tract. 10.

Basil. Epist. 10.
50. 52.

Chrysost. in
Maib. 16. &
in serm. de
Pentecost.
Euseb. Emis. in
serm. de Natiui-
tate Chrysost. Homil.
43. in Maib.

Consider we also, that the Fathers of those times speak of this Primacie by verue of Saint Peters chaire, in farre other tearmes than now men vse to doe. Saint *Ambrose* expounding those words of Saint Paul to the Galathians, where he compareth himselfe to Peter: *He nameth, saith he, onely Peter, and compareth himselfe to him, because he had receiued the Primacie, to lay the foundation of the Church among the Gentiles.* Now I would know whether Rome were not of the Gentiles? if so, to what purpose then serueth the Primacie of Saint Peter? But hee addeth yet farther: *Yet we see full and absolute authoritie giuen to Saint Peter, for the preaching to the Jewes; and so likewise full and absolute authoritie was giuen to Paul, to preach vnto the Gentiles: For which cause also hee tearmeth himselfe the Teacher of the Gentiles in truth and veritie; and yet was he neuer Bishop of Rome. For, saith he, euerie man according to his abilitie tooke vnto him, as by los, the dispensation: And a harder matter it was to draw those vnto the faith which were a farre off, than those which were neere at hand: as if he meant to preferre Paul before Peter, as one which vnder-tooke the harder taske. And Saint *Augustine*, *The Church*, saith he, *is founded vpon the rocke; from which rocke Saint Peter tooke his name: vpon this stone, saith our Sauiour: that is, vpon this stone which thou hast confessed will I build my Church; meaning, vpon this faith. Those which would build vpon men, said, I am of Cephas, i. of Peter: but those who would not build vpon Peter, but vpon that stone, said, I am of Christ.* Saint *Basil* doubtlesse neuer dreamed of this Primacie: he saw indeed, and grieued to see the pride and hautinesse of the Bishop of Rome: for with what indignation speaketh he of him in his tenth Epistle? *Yea, but, say they, in his 52 Epistle to Athanasius*, speaking of the combustions in the East, he saith, *That hee purposed to write to the Bishop of Rome. I confesse, but to what purpose would hee write? onely for this, To request him to giue them his aduise, and that hee would admitt such as were peruerse.* How much more gloriously doth he speake of *Athanasius* Bishop of Alexandria? saying, *That it was he which vnderwent the saue of all the Churches; and calling him the shelter and refuge of them all.* And speaking of the Church of Antioch, *Ambrosius*, saith he, *presideth there, as ouer the bodie of the Catho-like Church, and of which all other Churches are but as parcels.* And *Chrysostome*, vpon this stone: *he saith not vpon Peter, for he hath not built his Church vpon a man, but vpon that faith, and confession, and words of pietie.* And in like manner speaketh *Eusebius Emisericus*. And *Chrysostome* hauing laid this doctrine for a ground, goeth on, and speaketh plainely: *Whosoever, saith he, among the Bishops (he excepteth none)**

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A shall desire this Primacie here on earth, shall vndoubtedly find confusion in heauen: and he which affecteth to be the first, shall not be numbred among the seruants of Christ. And vpon the Epistle to the Galathians, speaking of Saint Paul, *He had, saith he, before declared, that he was equal to the rest in honour, but now he compareth himselfe to the greatest, that is, to Saint Peter; shewing that euerie of them had receiued equall dignitie.* Now if the Apostles themselues were equal, how commeth there one superiour among their successors? And yet this was spoken at what time the Pope began apparently to exalt himselfe aboue his fellowes; for of this verie age it was that *Socrates* speaking of *Innocentius, Zozimus, Boniface, and Celestin*, Bishops of Rome, vnder the Emperour *Theodosius* the yonger, testifieth, *That the See of Rome, like vnto that of Alexandria, passing the bounds and borders of the Priesthood, had long since aspired vnto a secular kind of soveraigntie and power: where the Latine interpreter hath put in Quasi, which word is not in the Greeke it selfe.*

Idem in Epist.
ad Galat. c. 2.

Socrat. li. 7. c. 10.
περα της ιερω-
συνης επι της
δυνασειεν
σαλας η ροηλη-
θερ.

Sozom. l. 1. c. 16.
edit. Graec. 17.
των μεν Απο-
στολων δεξ-
νον.

Theodoret. li. 5.
ca. 9.

Ruffin. li. 2. c. 1.

Adde hereunto, That in those dayes all the Patriarchall Churches were equal-ly called Apostolicall, and not the Church of Rome alone: For *Sozomene* speaking of the first generall Councell of Nice, *In this Synod*, saith he, *were present for Apostolicall Sees, Macarius Bishop of Ierusalem, Eustachius of Antioch, Alexander of Alexandria; but Iulius Bishop of Rome was absent by reason of his age: ranking Iulius in the same order and degree with the rest.* In which fence the Bishops of the East, as *Theodoret* reporteth, writing to *Pope Damasus*, call Antioch *the most ancient and truly Apostolicall Church*; and that of Ierusalem they tearme *the Mother of all Churches*. So likewise *Ruffine*, though himselfe a member of the Westerne Church, as being a Priest in Aquileia: *In the citie of Rome*, saith he, *Syrzicus succeding vnto Damasus, and Timotheus in Alexandria vnto Peter, and after Timotheus came Theophilus, and Iohn in Ierusalem after Cyril, restored the Apostolicall Churches: And therefore this usurpation of the Bishop of Rome proceedeth from the diuell, and from none other.*

Neither doe wee in all this age find any trace of that pretended donation of *Constantine*, but rather we light vpon many arguments to proue the contrarie; witnesse the verie production of the Instrument, and the Vatican it selfe. And for further prooffe; when (by reason of the schisme between *Boniface* the first, and *Eulalius*, contending together for the Popedome) *Symmachus* gouernour of the citie wrot vnto the Emperour *Honorius*, he saith in this manner; *That since the knowledge of these matters belonged to him, he thought fit to consult his Maieslie out of hand: who thereupon (rightly informed or not, I will not say) by his absolute command gaue order, That Boniface should presently voyd the place; and if hee obeyed not, that forthwith he should be cast forth by force.* And when a little after, for his more due information, he had assembled a Synod out of diuers Prouinces, *To the end*, saith he, *that the cause being debated to the full in our presence, may receiue a finall and absolute decision.* And thereupon he sent for *Paulinus* Bishop of Nola (a man at that time much respected for his sanctitie of life) and wrot to *Aurelius* Bishop of Carthage, and sent for Italians, French, Africans, and others; and in the meane time prouided the Church of Rome of a Bishop, namely, *Achilleus* Bishop of Spoleto, to the end the people of Rome might not be vnprouided of a Bishop at the feast of Easter: Commanding the Church of Lateran to be set open to him, and to none other. And when *Eulalius* offered, contrary to the Emperours command, to intrude himselfe into the citie, the Emperour, by the aduise of the Bishops there assembled, gaue sentence in fauour of *Boniface*, commanding *Symmachus* the Gouernour to receiue him into the citie; which he did accordingly, with these words: *Tonr Ma-*

Baron. vol. 5. an.
418. art. 81. &
sequent.
Absoluta in-
fusi-
one.
Idem an. 419.
art. 2. & 3.

1b. art. 10. & se-
quent.

1b. art. 15.

E shall

G iij

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Statutis celestibus per me publicatis & editis de more possit.

istie hath confirmed his Priesthood, &c. And when I published your Edict euerie man reioyced therat. And to conclude, Boniface falling sicke, to prevent the like inconuenience against hereafter, wrotte *Honorius*, to prouide by his authoritie, that the Popedome might no more be carried by plots and canuasses: The Epistle it selfe in the Councils bearing this Title, *Supplicatio Papa Bonifacij*; and being full of these and the like clauses, *God hath giuen you the regiment of worldlie things, and the Priesthood vnto me: You haue the gouernment of worldlie matters: and therefore wee were worthie to be blamed, if what was heretofore obserued vnder Heathen Princes, should not now be obserued vnder your glorie, &c. Vnder your raigne my people hath bene much encreased, which now is yours.* Neither doth the Emperour put this from him, as a thing not properly belonging to him: But let the Clergie, saith he, know that if God shall otherwise dispose of you, they must refraine all secret plots and practises: and if it fall out through their factions, that two be named, let them likewise know, that neither of them shall sit Bishop, but he which in a new election shall be by generall consent chosen. If therefore the Bishop of Rome had bene at that time Temporall Lord of that citie and territorie thereunto adioining, would he haue vsed these kinds of language? Neither was it farre from this time that *Syneus* Bishop of Ptolemais in his 57 Epistle, To comple the ciuile power, saith he, with the Priesthood, is to ioyne those things which will not hold together: they busie themselves in worldlie causes, whereas we were appointed onely for our prayers.

Synef. li. 57.
τὰ ἀσὺργικὰ
ἑαλεῖται.

II. PROGRESSION.

Of the Pretence which Pope Leo the first made vnto the Primacie.

An. 450.
Leo. 1. in Anni-
uerfar. de Af-
sumpt. Sermon. 2.
& 3.

Idem Epist. 8.
ad Flavian. Con-
stantinop.

Idem Epist. 89.
ad Episc. per Vi-
ennens. prouinc.
constitut.

Idem in Epist.
12. ad Theodos.
& ad Pulcher.

About the yeare 450 *Leo* the first would not giue ouer his pretence vnto the Primacie, and therefore tooke for a ground those words of our Sauour, *Tu es Petrus: For, saith he, Peter is here called a stone, or foundation, &c. and all his power was in his See, there his authoritie was principally scene, &c. He is the Primat of all Bishops, &c. whatsoever Christ bestowed on the rest, he bestowed it by his meanes, &c.* all which we read in those his sermons which he preached among the townesmen of Rome. And farther, he challengeth *Flavian* Bishop of Constantinople, for that he had not first aduertised him of the state of *Eutiches* cause, taking occasion therevpon to doubt of the lawfulness of his excommunication: and would faine haue persuaded *Flavian*, that he had done much wrong to him and to *Eutiches* both, in not giuing way to the appeale which *Eutiches* had put in to the See of Rome. This same *Leo* also complaineth to the Bishops of Viennois in France, That one *Hilarie* Bishop of Arles tooke vpon him to install and to depose Bishops without his priuie: which he tearmeth to be no lesse than a *Petri soliditate deficiere, to fall away from the soliditie of Peter, whom, saith he, our Lord associated to himself in the in- diuiduall vnitie, and commaunded him to be called as himselfe was called.* And yet in the end he flattereth our Bishops of France, willing them to remember that their ancestors ofentimes were pleased to consult the See Apostolike, seeking by these sugred words to make them swallow the bitter pill of his tyrannous Supremacie: and branding *Hilarie* with the name of a turbulent Bishop, and one who ordered Church matters by force and violence. Last of all, this *Leo* writing to the Emperours, assumed the title sometimes of *Pope of the Catholike Church of the citie of Rome*, and sometimes, of the *Roman Catholike Church*, and in the end, of *Vniuersall Bishop*. And because by vertue of the second generall Council of Constantino- ple,

ple, the Bishop of that citie tooke vpon him some authoritie in the East, he caused his Legats to be present at the generall Council of Chalcedon, giuing them expresse charge to oppose against it, by vertue of the Canon of the Nicene Council; to which, saith he, *no man may presume to adde: fallly grounding his pretence vpon this Council, as his predecessors had done before him. But now commeth the question to be decided, How farre forth the Fathers of Chalcedon gaue way to his demaunds and chalenges.*

Idem Ep. 5.
ad Pulcher.
August.

OPPOSITION.

First therefore *Leo* himselfe tempereth his stile in many places with sober language: *Vpon this rocke will I build my Church: that is, saith he, vpon the sound foundation of this faith my Church shall raise and exalt itselfe; and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against this confession, and the bands of death shall not restraine it.* Which confession surely was proper to no one man, but common to all the Apostles, and all the Orthodox Churches. And would God he had staid here, and not suffered himselfe to be carried downe the streame of his owne ambitious humors, in claiming his pretended priuledge. Secondly, vpon the complaint which hee made to *Flavian* Bishop of Constantinople, *Flavian* gaue him the reasons of his proceedings, and why he could doe no lesse than excommunicat *Eutiches* for his heresie: *But, saith he, this I doe to the end that your Holinesse hauing knowledge what hath passed in this matter, might be pleased to signifie as much to your inferiour Bishops, that they by letters or otherwise, ignorantly admit of no communion with him: Which was nothing else in effect, but to request him to execute his sentence for him, within the limits of his iurisdiction, as in the like case he would haue done for him. And we must farther vnderstand, that *Eutiches* seeing himselfe condemned, had presently recourse, by way of supplication, vnto *Leo*: wherein he gaue him to vnderstand, That he had appealed from *Flavian*, and from the rest of the Bishops of the East, vnto him; requesting him to take his cause into his own hands: which made *Leo* to demurre vpon the cause. And thereupon *Flavian* shewed him, that as in other things, so also in this, *Eutiches* had abused him with a tale: giuing him thereby to vnderstand, that in his countrey men scarce knew what these appeals meant; and therefore, saith he, *as it becommeth thy Priesthood, and as thy maner is, so make the common cause thine owne, and confirme euen by thy writings his condemnation, so canonically pronounced against him.* Wherefore though we should grant that *Eutiches* did appeale, yet it appeareth that *Flavian* neuer gaue way thereunto, no more than the Fathers of the African Council did before, in the case of the Pelagians: Thirdly, though we haue nothing concerning this *Hilarie*, but what we haue from his opposite and aduersarie *Leo*, yet is it euident, that he bent himselfe against this pretended Primacie: *For, saith Leo, this man cannot endure to be subiect to Saint Peter: and why? because, saith he, he presumeth to ordaine Bishops in France. And againe; He derogateth, saith he, from the reuerence of Saint Peter, &c. whose Primacie whosoever shall denie, that man is filled with the spirit of pride, and hath plunged himselfe into the pit of hell: Whereas indeed the question, as it appeareth, was touching the Primacie either of the Pope in generall, or of *Leo* in his particulat; not at all of the dignitie of Saint Peter. And these demaunds were euer made at the sollicitation of certaine Bishops, which complained to him of the censures of their owne Prouinces, which they requested might be reuoked at Rome, as appeareth by the Epistle of *Leo* himselfe, who yet euer vteth this protestation, that he thereby pretended no right in himselfe to ordaine Bishops in their Prouinces, as *Hilarie* would persuade**

Leo. serm. 2. in
Natali Aposto-
lor. Petri &
Pauli.

Flavian. apud
Leon. Epist. 9.

Leo. Epist. 89.
ad Episc. per
Viennens. prou-
inc. constitut.

*swade them, but onely sought to maintaine them in their owne against nouelties, and v-
surpations of others, and that such a presumptuous fellow might no longer continue to
breeke and violase, saith he, our priuiledges: Which he sought vnder the name of
Saint Peter, to extend to all causes whatsoeuer; yet this I find, that all his plot-
tings had not much preuailed here in France, about the elections of our Bishops,
in the yeare 478: for we find in Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop of Clermont in Au-
vergne, that the choise of the Metropolitan of Bourges being by common con-
sent of the Bishops of that Prouince, after the death of Eubodius, referred vnto him,
he nominated absolutely Simplicius to succeed in his roome, hauing first made a
verie solemne oration to the Bishops, in these words: In the name of the Father,
and of the Sonne, and of the holie Ghost, Simplicius is the man whom I nominat to be Me-
tropolitan of our Prouince, and High Priest of your citie: and therefore was not Simpli-
cius to hold his See in fee from the Bishop of Rome, or to doe homage for it. And
it is pretie to obserue, how this canting of Rome was not vnderstood in those daies
in France, seeing that he himselfe writing to Lupus Bishop of Troies in Cham-
pagne, calleth him our Lord the Pope, directing his letter, Domino Papa Lupo; this
title being at that time common to all Bishops, not proper to any one: and which
is more, he calleth him Father of Fathers, and Bishop of Bishops, which watcheth ouer
all the members and parts of Gods Church. What wonder then if we find that Stephen
a simple Archdeacon wrot so to Damasus, or Isidore to Hormisdas Bishop of Rome?*

An. 478.
Sidon. Apollin.
in Concion. que
sequitur Epist. 9.

Sammum Sa-
cerdotem.

Concil. Chalced.
can. 28.
ἴσχυος.
Χείριν τῶν
πρεσβείων.
ἡμῶν ὁμοῦθα.

Ἰα το βασι-
λευειν τῶν
ῶδων.

τῶν ἰσων
πρεσβείων.

Distinct. 11.
c. Renouantes.

Fourthly, this question concerning the Primacie was cleerely decided by occa-
sion of the claime which Leo made thereunto in the generall Councell of Chal-
cedon, where he thought to haue set the Bishop of Constantinople cleane beside
the cushion: and these are the verie words of the Canon, taken out of the Greeke
copies of that Councell, Can. 28. *The decree of the maior part of voyces of that holie
Synod, made concerning the prerogatiues and degree of the See of the most religious
Church of Constantinople: Following in all poynts the decrees of the holie Fathers, and
acknowledging the Canon of 120 religious Bishops, now read in our hearing; We here as-
sembled, vnder Theodosius of holie memorie, late Emperour of this royall citie of Constan-
tine, called new Rome, doe ordaine by common consent and assent, for the honour, degree,
and prerogatiue of that most holie Church of Constantinople, called new Rome, in all things
as in the said Canon is contained. For those Fathers did well to grant those honours and
prerogatiues to the See of old Rome, because it was the royall or imperiall citie (and not
in regard of Saint Peters chaire.) And likewise those other hundred and fiftie Fathers
moued with the same reason and consideration, did heretofore impart like priuiledges and
honours to the See of new Rome, thinking it fit in their discretions, that the citie which
they saw honoured with the name of the Imperiall seat and presence of the Senat, and
equalled in euerie poynt of ciuile honour to the old Rome, should likewise in matters of the
Church be equally advanced, as being next vnto her. By which wee see no prerogati-
ue belonging to Rome by vertue of Saint Peters chaire, and Constantinople
equalled in all things to her, saue onely in precedencie; which being a matter
which respecteth onely place and order, is no barre to her partitie in power and ju-
risdiction. Yet Gratian, to gratifie the Pope, hath corrupted this Canon; and
where the Fathers say, In matters likewise of the Church, he hath shamelesly altered
the words, and saith, Non tamen in rebus Ecclesiasticis, i. But not in matters of the
Church; turning vpside downe, by the change of one word, the whole drift and
purpose of the Councell: yet he citeth this Canon out of the sixt general Coun-
cell, because it is there againe repeated. But see, I pray you, the bounds and li-
mits which this Canon prescribeth to him: So that, saith that Canon, the Metro-
politans*

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*politans onely of the Diocese of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, together with the Bishops
which are among the barbarous nations, shall be ordained by the most holie See of the
Church of Constantinople: and the Metropolitan of euerie the said Diocese, according
to the Canons, shall haue power to ordaine the Bishops of his owne Prouince: So that, as
you see, the Bishops are to be ordained by the Metropolitan, and the Metro-
politans onely by the Archbishop of Constantinople; and consequently the Bishop
of Rome is likewise restrained in his iurisdiction, which is limited to him no lesse
than to the other. This decree pleased Leo but a little, though agreed vpon by the
common aduise and consent of 630 Bishops. Neither is that true which Gregorie
the Great affirmeth, That this Councell of Chalcedon, in honour of Saint Peter, offered
to the Bishop of Rome the title of Vniuersall Bishop, but that none would accept of so in-
considerat a name. And that none may say, That howsoeuer the Greeke copie
hath it, yet it is otherwise read in the Latine, it is apparent that this 28 Canon is
expressed in Latine in the same words: *Aequa antiqua Roma priuilegia tribuerunt:
i. Aequis antiquae Romae priuilegijs frui, &c. i. They gaue equall priuiledges with those
of old Rome.* Now the Popes Legats there present opposed against the passing of
this Canon; for Lucentius, one of the Legats, seeing them all subscribe, stood vp
and said, *They haue subscribed before the Canons are written;* meaning, before all the
acts of that Councell were written. The Bishops thereupon made answer, *That
no man was compelled thereunto. Lucentius replied, That they stood vpon the Canons
which were made scarce 80 yeres agoe, by 150 Bishops (meaning the second Council
of Constantinople, which yet, as we haue shewed, was confirmed and ratified by
Pope Damasus) and went from the decrees of 318 Bishops (meaning the Council of
Nice.) Whereupon the Iudges there present, who represented the person of the
Emperour, to maintaine peace betweene them, commaunded each partie to al-
ledge the Canon for himselfe: and then did Paschasius, another of the Legats, al-
ledge that forged fift Canon of the Nicene Councell, with this Preface, *Quod Ro-
mana Ecclesia semper habuit Primatum.* But Constantine Secretarie to the Councell,
taking the booke, which was deliuered to him by Aetius a Deacon of Constanti-
nople, recited it as it was indeed, beginning that Canon with these words, *Anti-
quae consuetudines tenent, &c. i. Let old customes stand:* where there is nothing to
be found for the Popes aduantage. Whereupon the Iudges took againe the
voyces of those which had subscribed, who all and euerie of them answered, *That
before God they had subscribed of their owne accord, and according to the true intent and
meaning of those Fathers: especially Eusebius Bishop of Dorylaeum, a principall a-
gent in procuring this Councell to be called against Eutyches: I haue, said he, sub-
scribed willingly and of mine owne accord, because I myselfe did read this verie Canon to
the Pope, in presence of the Clerkes of Constantinople; and the Pope then acknowledged
and receiued it. Where, by the way, there is this marginall note set, Either be ly-
eth, or for the present he deceived Saint Leo. But the Iudges thereupon pronounced
according to the Canon before rehearsed, in fauour of the Bishop of Constanti-
nople, all the Bishops applauding their judgement, and crying out, *This is a iust
sentence, we all say the same thing, it is the opinion of vs all; we all will abide by this:*
onely Lucentius the Legat protested, *That the Apostolike See which had sent him
thither, could not giue way to such proceedings: requiring that Canon to be retracted;
if not, at least his protestation to be admitted, and entred in the acts; to the end, saith he,
that we may haue what to answer to the Apostolike man, Pope of the Vniuersall Church;
and that he may thereupon aduise vpon the iniurie now done vnto his See, and of the
meanes to redresse this wrong, and to reuerse this Canon.* And when the Bishop
Sebasta***

Gregor. in Regl.
suo Epist. 32. c.
38. lib. 4.

Concil. Chalced.
Act. 16. pa. 530.

Pa. 938.

Euagr. de Euseb.
Doryli. 2. c. 2.

Sebasta had said to the Iudges, *We all referre our selues to the verdict of your Magnificence*; euerie man approuing of the motion by his silence, the Iudges spake againe and said, *What we haue pronounced, the whole Synod hath approued*. And this was the resolution of that Councell of Chalcedon. These things standing as they doe, tell me Reader, in thy conscience, what reason hath *Baronius* to affirme, that this Canon was clandestine, and carried by secret praetises? But it should seeme that there were good wits at Rome heretofore as well as now: For this whole A&tion of the Councell was long since expunged out of the old Romane Code, contrarie to the truth and credit of all other copies in the world. And where is the honestie of *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* both together, while they affirme, that when *Paschasius* had alledged for himselfe the said fifth Canon of Nice, according to his copie, the Iudges held themselves content and satisfied therewithall? Seeing that the verie words of the Acts are cleare against them; and seeing that *Liberatus* the Archdeacon affirmeth, *That the opposition made by the Popes Legats was not regarded neither by the Bishops, nor yet by the Iudges: And although* (saith he) *that the Apostolike See excepteth against that Canon euen to this day, being supported by the Emperour, yet the decree of the Synod continueth still for firme and good: and seeing also, that we haue the Epistles of Pope Leo himselfe to Anatolius Bishop of Constantinople, written after this Councell was concluded, wherein he debateth this point with all eagrenesse, and vpon this occasion rejecteth that second Councell of Constantinople, calling it a rotten ruinous Councell from the beginning, and that it was now too late to set it up againe: and drawing the Bishop of Antioch into the quarrell, complaineth sometimes to Martian the Emperour, sometimes to Pulcheria the Empreſse, not knowing to what Saint first to turne himselfe: and all this partly vnder colour of these words, Tu es Petrus* (though to me it seemeth a strange matter, that those 630 Bishops should not be able to reach vnto the mysterie of these words) and partly vpon a false supposition of that Canon of the Nicene Councell, which he protesteth that he will euer hold as sacred and inuiolable, and which he will neuer suffer to be infringed; whereas yet there is no one word to be found in all that Councell, which maketh for his pretended Primacie.

It remaineth now, the better to vnderstand what degree of authoritie and power the Bishop of Rome had at this time aspired to, (for Leo by his good will would not loose one ynch of his heighth) that we consider who it was which called this Councell, and who presided in it. Concerning the former of these two, the first A&tion of this Councell telleth vs, That it was called by the commandment of the most religious and Christian Emperors, *Valentinian* and *Martian*. And *Martian* himselfe in a certaine Constitution of his, saith it was called by his commaundment. And the Fathers themselves, when all things were now ended, asked leaue of the Emperors to returne euerie man to his owne home. But perhaps it were best to heare what *Leo* himselfe saith concerning this matter: *Leo* therefore vpon the first bud of the Eutychiean heresie, wrote to the Emperour *Theodosius* in this manner: *If your pietie* (saith he) *will vouch safe so yeeld so much to our petition, commaund, we beseech you, that a Councell of Bishops be assembled in Italie*. Where you see, that euen in Italie, where himselfe was all in all, he requested that a Councell might be called by order from the Emperour. And not long after vnderstanding that *Theodosius* had assigned it to be held at Ephesus, *Since so it is* (saith he) *that your pietie hath appointed a Councell to be held at Ephesus, I haue therefore sent thither my brethren Iulian a Bishop, Reinold a Priest, and my sonne Hilarie a Deacon, to supplie my*

Baronius. vol. 6.
an. 451. art.
136. 137.

Bellar. l. 2. de
Pontif. Rom.
c. 13.

Liberat. in Bre-
uia. c. 13.

Leo epist. 53.
ad Anatol.
Item ep. 54, 55.
ad Martian.
& Pulcher.
Et epist. 62. ad
Maximum. An-
tiocenum.

Council. Chalced.
Act. 1.

Martian. l. 3.
Co. de sum.
Trinit.

Leo. ep. o. ad
Theodos. lube-
alia.

Idem ep. 12. &
17. Constituit.

my roome. And afterward, when he was pressed to be present in person at the Councell which *Theodosius* commaunded to be held, he verie mannerly excused himselfe, vpon the shortnesse of the time, and the troubled estate of Italie. And againe, *You haue commaunded it* (saith he) *to be held at Ephesus: and hauing shewed the inconueniences of holding it at that place, Commaund* (saith he) *I pray you, that it be held in Italie*. Which request he therefore so often made, that he might thereby iustifie the Appeale which *Eutyches* had formerly put in, to the See of Rome, as he affirmed, and which *Flavian* Bishop of Constantinople had remonstrated to be false. And in the 49 Epistle to the Emperour *Martian* he useth the like stile as before: *We hoped* (saith he) *that your clemencie would haue yeelded so much to our entreatie, as to haue appointed this Synod at a more conuenient time: but since, out of the zeale which you beare to the Catholike faith you are pleased that a Synod should be at this time assembled, I therefore send my brother Paschasius to supplie my roome*. And euen like tearmes and phrase of speeche doth he vse in his 50 and 51 Epistles. And we farther obserue, that all these his Epistles beare date according to the Consuls, as the vse and custome of those times was, as an euident marke and argument, that the Pope at that time acknowledged their authoritie, without claiming to himselfe the dominion and seigniorie of Rome. Neither may we giue credit to *Bellarmino* when he affirmeth, that *Dioscorus* was thrust out of this Councell, for presuming to call a Synod without the authoritie of the Pope; quoting these words as out of the Councell, *which was neuer lawfull to be done, nor neuer was done before*; for so is he pleased to abuse his reader: for these are the words of *Lucentius*, one of the Popes Legats, and not of the Fathers of the Councell. To be short, the Epistle of the Synod vnto *Leo* would not suffer him to doubt who they were whom they acknowledged as Authors of that their assemblie, namely, *the Grace of God, and the most religious Emperours*: and so speaketh that Epistle throughout, and *Baronius* himselfe doth not denie it.

As for the Presidencie, which we distinguish from the Precedencie or Preſeancie (for we denie not, but that in regard of the honour of that Citie, he held the first place) *Leo* telleth the Emperours, that he sent his Legats to supplie his roome or presence. And in his Epistle to the Synod he speaketh yet more aduantageously for himselfe, saying, *That in the person of his Legats or Vicegerents they should imagine that he himselfe was there to preside among them*; whether he meant properly of the Presidencie, or else of the Preſeancie, I know not: but this is certaine, that in the Acts of this Councell we find no certaine order obserued. Which disorder grew from hence, because that *Leo* had drawne *Anatolius* Bishop of Constantinople into suspition, and *Dioscorus* of Alexandria was already attainted: for not to enueneome their minds, which were already but too much exasperated towards each other, their order in speaking was many times of set purpose altered: and sometime the Iudges, who represented the person of the Emperour, were saide to order the proceedings, to propose matters, to take the voices, to pronounce judgement, as we haue shewed before. And we haue yet farther a more euident example hereof in the first A&tion, where those Iudges obtained, *That the Patriarch should take each of them one in two of his owne Province vnto him, that they might handle the points of faith each of them with their severall companies; and so report to the whole Synod what they in particular had agreed upon*. Whereas if the Popes Legats had presided, this A&tion should haue belonged to them, and not vnto the Iudges. Yea, but saith *Bellarmino*, *They saie first; a good argument for their precedencie: and they saie first; a good argument for their presidentie: for eueries*

Vicem presen-
tie mee.

Leo epist. 13. ad
Pulcher. Au-
gullam.
Idem ep. 23, 24,
34, 49, 50, 51.

Epist. Synod. ad
Leon. in Concil.
Chalced.
Baron. vol. 6.
an. 450. art. 7,
8, 9.
apostolica
apostolica.

Leo. ep. 12. &
49.
Idem ep. 47.

Council. Chalced.
Act. 1. Cognita.

Bellar. de Con-
cil. & Eccles.
l. 1. c. 19.

man

man knoweth that the argument had bene stronger, if they had spoken last. But he saith yet farther, *That they pronounced in the name of the Pope, and of all the Councell, the definitive sentence against Dioscorus, and that they degraded him from his Priesthood.* But he should remember, that it is one thing for a man to giue his voice, as *Paschasin* did, and that first before all others, for *Leo*, and another thing to giue a sentence. In which matter we shall need the lesse prooffe, because *Paschasin* himselfe hauing giuen his voice, addeth farther, *Let the holie Synod* (saith he) *now decree;* meaning of *Dioscorus* his cause. Then followeth *Anatolius* Bishop of Constantinople, and the rest, euerie one in his order, which take vp ten or twelue leaues; and then in the end, and not before, was his condemnation signed. To conclude (saith *Bellarmino*) the Synodall Epistle it selfe written vnto *Leo* sayth, *Tu sicut membrum caput praeeras, i. Thou wert there ouer the rest as a Head ouer the members, in the person of those who supplied thy roome.* I graunt, in order of sitting: as for the Presidencie, read on, and thou shalt find toward the end of the letter, that the Emperours themselues, to grace and honour that assemblie, presided in a comelie order. But graunt we, that the Pope did preside in that Councell in the person of his Legats; what getteth he thereby, more than this, That to his face, and in the midst of all his ruffe, he lost his cause, condemning himselfe by his owne mouth, and pronouncing equalitie where he pretended superioritie, and that in so great and so renowned a Councell as that of Chalcedon was?

Neither may we here forget, how that when as about this time the Bishops began too licentiously to abuse their authoritie, the Emperour *Valentinian* thought it fit to meet with this inconueniencie, by making a law against them: *Manie* (saith he) *complaine of Episcopall iurisdiction, it is fit therefore to make a law for the restraint thereof. If therefore there shall happen to fall anie brawle or debate betwene clerkes, and the parties shall be pleased to compromit the matter, let the Bishops heare the cause, and determine of it. Which course is also permitted to lay men, if the parties can so agree vpon it, otherwise we no waies suffer them* (meaning the Bishops) *to be Iudges. For it is apparent, that by the lawes, Bishops and Priests haue no iurisdiction: neither ought they to take knowledge of anie causes by the lawes and ordinances of Honorius and Arcadius, contained in the Theodosian Code, save onely in cases of religion. If both parties, or either of them, being Clergie, refuse to stand to the iudgement of the Bishop, then let the cause be decided according to the common lawes of the Empire. But if the plaintife be a lay man, and the cause either ciuile or criminall, then it shall be lawfull for him to make the defendant, being Clergie, to answer vnto him by course of law before the publike Magistrate: which course we will and commaund also to be obserued in the person of Bishops. But if an action of Batterie, or other enormous iniurie offered, be brought against a Clergie man, then let him answer the plaintife before the publike Magistrate in course of law by their lawfull Attorney.* But because this law is long, and extendeth it selfe to so manie particulars, therefore I referre the reader to the place it selfe, where this law is set downe at large. But welfare *Baronius*, who sayth, That the making of this law incensed the wrath of God, and caused *Attila*, with the Hunnes, to come downe vpon the Empire. And why should we not rather beleue the Writers of those times, who impute that calamitie to the corruption of the Church and Churchmen? witnesse *Saluianus* Bishop of Marseilles.

But to returne from whence we came, *Baronius* is bold ynough to affirme, were we as forward to beleue, that the Popedome gat ground exceedingly vnder the reigne of *Leo* the first. And first he saith, that *Dioscorus*, that coile-keeper, which

Concil. Chalced.
Actum. 3.

Imperatores ad
orandum de-
centissime pre-
sident.

Lurgium.

In Cod. Theodos.
inter Nouell.
Valentinian.
lib. 2. tit. 12.

Baron. vol. 2.
an. 45. ar. 53.
53.

Baron. an. 44.
vol. 6. ar. 30.

- A gaue fire to the Eutylian heresie in the East, so soone as he was created Bishop of Alexandria, according to the custome saith he, dispatched away letters vnto *Leo*; which dispatch of his *Baronius* interpreteth for no lesse than a plaine homage. But can or will he be ignorant of this custome vsed among them? namely, that Bishops, especially those of the greater Sees, so soone as they were elected, were wont to send away their letters generall to all the Churches, at least to the most principall among them, together with a briefe confession of their faith, thereby to aduertise them both of their election, and also of their true profession, for the better maintenance of that bond of peace and loue which was betwene them? How manie such entercourses and reciprocal letters haue we recorded betweene the
- B Bishops of Rome and Constantinople? And so likewise did *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome aduertise those in Africke of his election; whereupon *S. Cyprian* and his Collegues congratulate him; and which is more, approue of his election: for the verie Epistle which *Cyprian* wrote vnto him in answer to his letter, beareth this inscription, *Of the election of Cornelius approved by him, the said Cyprian.* And yet he neuer demanded Annats, by vertue of such his approbation. Yea but (saith he) *Leo* reprobued *Dioscorus* for certaine ceremonies vsed in the Church of Alexandria, and calleth him backe to the vsages and customes of the Church of Rome, because that *S. Marc* was a disciple of *S. Peter*. No man can doubt but that *Leo* was euer harping vpon this string: but tell me, when *Cyprian* Bishop of Carthage either brotherly admonished *Cornelius*, or sharply reprobued *Steuens* (both Bishops of Rome) did he thereby pretend or challenge anie primacie ouer them? if so, by the like reason we may say, that *S. Paule* chalenged a superioritie ouer *S. Peter*, when he withstood him to the face. Secondly, in the case of *Hilarie* Bishop of Arles, *Baronius* would proue vnto vs, that *Leo* disposed absolutely of all matters in France: For (saith he) upon the difference which fell betwene the two Bishops of Vienna and Arles, by petition made vnto *Valentinian* the Emperour, he obtained that famous Rescript, directed to *Actius*, Lieutenant Generall for the Emperour in Fraunce. It is true, and the Historie saith as much, that the Emperours of that age growing weake in the reines, vsed all meanes possible to hold in with the Bishops of
- D Rome. But what are the words themselues of that Rescript? namely these: *That no man presume or attempt to doe anie vnlawfull act against the authoritie of this See. Item, that he shall be beleened concerning this variance now in question. Item, that whatsoever the Pope of the eternall Citie of Rome shall decree in this case, shall be taken, reputed, and held as a law.* I could wish that this man would but remember a saying of his owne, so often reiterated by him, and with so vehement exclamations: *O how dangerous a thing is it for Princes to meddle with matters of the Church, for they wrest them to their owne purposes: which words he vseth of this verie Emperour Valentinian.* But I wonder, that he obserueth not in this verie Rescript, that the Emperour there testifieth, that these pretended successors of *S. Peter*, held their prerogatiues from the dignitie of their Citie, from the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperors, from custome, and not from anie ordinance of God, where he saith, *That the worthinesse and deserts of S. Peter, the glorie of the Citie, and the authoritie of the Synod, haue established this Primacie of the Popes:* Of what Synod, saue onely as they made him to beleue of that of Nice? Now if the law of God ordained it, what needed the honour and dignitie of the Citie? But his words are plaine, where he willet them to obserue in all points what the Fathers haue granted to the Church of Rome. But in doubts and questions of this nature, I would know who is most to be credited, *Valentinian* or *Hilarie*? *Hilarie* I say, who (as *Baronius*

Ep. 42. edit.
Pamel.

Leo. ep. 81.
Cyprian. ep. 68.

Paulin Ep. ad
Galat. 1.

Baron. an. 445.
art. 9. vol. 6.

Nouell. Valen-
tin. post Codic.
Theodos. tit. 24.
de Episco. ordin.

Jdem. an. 448.
art. 47.

Gennad. de
Script. Eccles.
c. 69.

Martyrolog.
Roma. 5. May.

Leo. ep. 93. c. 17.

Council. Baraca-
ren, i. an. presat.

Epist. Flavia. ad
Leon. post ep. 8.

Baron. vol. 6.
an. 448. art. 53.

Epist. Flavia.
post epist. 9.

ronius confesseth) was the first which subscribed to the Councell of Orange; an inward companion of *Prosper*, and the scourge of the Pelagians which were in France: a man commended in the writings of Antiquitie, for his zeale, charitie, and learning; so much honoured by *Prosper*, and one which deserted to haue his life written and published by *S. Honoratus* Bishop of Marseilles, reckoned in the number of Saints, euen in the Martyrologie of Rome it selfe; and to conclude, so much renowned in the Histories of the Lumbards, for opposing himselfe against this *Leo*: which yet, in all probabilitie, so good a man would not haue done, had not *Leo* passed those bounds which the lawes and customes of the Churches had prescribed to him. Thirdly, *Baronius* extendeth this omnipotencie of *Leo* as farre as Spaine; for (saith he) he assembled there a Generall Councell of all those prouinces. For the clearing whereof we must obserue, that when *Turibius* a Bishop of Asturia, who had in times past bene his Notarie, consulted him concerning the Heresie of the Priscillianists, which much infested the Churches in Spaine (as the Popes wits euer serued them to take all occasions at the first bound, if they made for their purpose,) *Leo* returned him an answer, in all choise and select tearmes of aduantage which could be deuised, interpreting this consultation of theirs for an argument of their subiection; and in stead of counsell, which the other requested, layed his commaundements vpon him, *Let there be* (saith he) *a Synod of Bishops called amongst you*: which words may seeme to proceed onely from aduise and counsell; but a little lower in that Epistle, *We haue writtten* (saith he) *to the Bishops of Aragon, of Cartagena, and of Portugall: 899. Concilium Synodi Generalis indicimus. i. and haue commaunded them, or as Baronius rendreth it, haue inioyned them to call a Synod*: although a Latinist would peradventure say, that it should be written *Consilium Synodi*, and not *Concilium*: as if he had giuen them aduice and counsell onely to call a Generall Synod; for what can *Concilium Synodi* be, seeing that these two words signifie one and the selfsame thing? But this is not all: for the first Councell of Bracara (which he alledgeth as held vnder *Honorius* the first, about some 180 yeares after) teacheth vs, that euen at that time the calling of Synods belonged to Kings, and not to Bishops: *We* (say they) *here assembled by the commaundement of King Arémirus, who hath licenced vs by his royall commaundement &c.* Shall we thinke, that the Popes would in that meane time haue lost their priuledge? or may we not rather beleue, that it was onely a counsell, and not a commaund, for such requested, and for such accepted by them? Fourthly, *Flavian* Bishop of Constantinople, in a certaine Councell of Bishops of his iurisdiction, degraded *Eutyches* from his Priesthood, and deprived him of his Church by occasion of his Heresie: hauing so done, he aduertised *Leo* thereof, to the end that he should shun him in his Church. This brotherlie office *Baronius* interpreteth for a seruitude: *Knowing well* (saith he) *that to this first See it appertained of right to take knowledge of such Heresies as should arise*: whereas the words of *Flavian* shew sufficiently, that that care was cared for alreadie, *We haue giuen you to understand* (saith he) *by our letters, that we haue vnpriested him, and haue giuen order, that he be no more receined in the Monasteries, and haue excluded him from our Communion*. Which sheweth, that the blow was alreadie giuen, without expecting anie aduice from Rome. To what purpose then, may some man say, serued his aduertisement? his words declare, *That your Holinesse* (saith he) *knowing what hath bene done in his case, may informe the rest of your Bishops of his impietie, for feare least anie, through ignorance of his opinion, should communicate with him, taking him to be Orthodox*. As if he should haue said, *We haue discovered his venome, and do aduertise you thereof, that you may take*

A take heed. And who can say, that this is to request ratification, or rather to acknowledge it as due without contradiction, as *Baronius* fallely seeketh to persuade vs? Fifthly it is to be noted, that *Eutyches*, old fox as he was, fell in first with *Leo*, and knowing his humor, told him, That he had appealed vnto him, but that *Flavian* would not giue way thereunto. Whereupon *Baronius* in ferreteth, that such Appeals were ordinarie and vsuall in those times, and yet hitherto we find nor one. True it is, that in the second Councell of Constantinople, which ensued shortly after, *Leo* made instant suit for it, and was earnest to see the Acts, where he found it thus written, *Constantine a reuerend Deacon sayth, Eutyches when his condemnation was read vnto him, appealed to the Councell of the Bishops of Rome, of Egypt, and of Ierusalem, and of Thessalonica*. I would aske now, Whether this Appeale seemeth to haue bene made to the Bishop of Rome, or to a Generall Councell? and it followeth, *Florens said, The assemblie being broken vp, in the midst of the prease, he told me in my care, that he appealed to the Councell of Rome, of Egypt, and of Ierusalem*. *Basil* Bishop of Seleucia addeth farther, *Eutyches the Abbot, while the companie was yet sitting, said, That if the Fathers of Rome and of Alexandria should tell him, that he ought to confesse that there were two natures in Christ inseperable, though not conformed, no not after the vniou, then he will confesse it: but he spake not these words by way of Appeale*. But this is it, which I would know, Whether by vertue of this surmised Appeale the Bishop of Alexandria might not also take as much vpon him? and yet *Leo* himselfe, as he confesseth in his Epistles, was almost surprisid by this strageme. Sixthly, *Theodosius* the Emperour, by occasion of this trouble in the Church, assembled another Councell at Ephesus: he called thither *Leo* Bishop of Rome, *Knowing well* (saith *Baronius*) *that a Generall Councell could not be assembled without his authoritie: a thing* (saith he) *depehly to be grauen in the readers memorie*. But now what prooffe? *Leo* (saith he) *in the beginning of his Epistle to the Synod of Ephesus telleth them in this manner: The religious Emperour hath geelded this respect and reuerence to the diuine ordinances, to raise the authoritie of the Apostolike See, for the bringing of his holie intents and purposes to passe. All which I confesse was fit and requisite to be done: but is there no difference whether the Emperour call *Leo* to the Councell, or *Leo* him, or whether the Emperour by his authoritie call a Councell? And he addeth these words, As if the Emperour had bene desirous to haue that now declared by *Peter* himselfe, which was once so highly commended in his confession: and thereupon he falleth to ruffling with his *Tues Petrus*, as if these words had bene spoken not by *Leo*, but by the Emperour himselfe. But see the frothinesse and vanitie of this man, who neuer considereth, that this verie *Theodosius* wrot in like manner to *Dioscorus* Bishop of Alexandria, and to all other Bishops, threatening them, *That for default in appearing they should not be held, excused either before God or him, because no man could nom absent himselfe, but such as was wounded with a guiltie conscience*. Neither doth he regard, that the Emperour was purposed to make *Dioscorus* himselfe President of that Councell: *we* (saith the Emperour *according to the Canons of the holie Fathers, do giue and grant vnto him the authoritie and Primacie &c.* The reason was, because he thought (as well he might) that the Bishop of Rome would not be there in person, no more than he had bene in the former Synods, and held *Flavian* Bishop of Constantinople as a partie in this quarrell: *wherein* (saith *Baronius*) *the Emperour vsurped the authoritie of the Pope, seeing that *Hosius* presided in the Councell of Nice, and *Cyrill* at Ephesus both of them as Legats from the Pope*. All which are mere surmises, and as we call them, demands of Principals, taking those things for granted, which are principally in question, and most contradicted.*

Extant in
Cil. Chalced.
Art. 1.

Vol. 6. an. 449.
art. 65, 66, 67,
68.

in Council Chal-
ced. art. 1.

Petitione principij

H ij

But

But where was shame, when he aduentured thus to abuse, vnto his owne purpose, the graue and religious proceedings of the Emperour in this Councell? Seuenthyly, in this Councell (which was no doubt packed in fauour of *Eutyches*) the Popes Legats were by *Eutyches* chalenged and refused, as partakers with *Flavian* Bishop of Constantinople. Whereby *Leo* first began to haue his eyes opened, and to perceiue the tricke that *Eutyches* had put vpon him. And *Flavian* himselfe was there condemned, and degraded, as a man set vpon by a companie of rogues and thecues, and therefore was this Councell afterward called an Assemblie of Thecues. In this extremitie *Flavian* Appealed from them: and this is the first place where we read this word vsed properly, and as a tearme of law. And hereupon *Baronius* groundeth himselfe, and saith, *That he Appealed to the Bishop of Rome*; and voucheth for his author *Liberatus* Archdeacon of Carthage; who saith, *That hee Appealed in writing to the See Apostolike*: an author whose estimation *Baronius* himselfe hath cried downe in so many places. Adde hereunto, That the Councell of Chalcedon, wherein the acts of this Synod are repeated, reporteth, That he said onely, *Appello a te, i. I Appeale from thee*; without specifying to whom. And *Albrie* a Deacon of the Roman Church, saith onely, *That vpon the sentence giuen, contradicitur*, that is, *It was gain said*: meaning, that he appealed from that roguish companie to a more lawfull Synod, which he entreated *Leo* to obtaine of the Emperour, for the justifying both of his cause and person. And to speake a truth, there was none other now left to whom he might adresse himselfe, the Bishops of Alexandria and Ierusalem being his professed enemies, and he of Antioch deposed. Now what became of this appeal: no man can tell: for as one mischiefe lightly commeth not without a fellow; *Flavian* was outrageously beaten, and shortly after, partly of griefe, partly of his wounds, dyed. And euen such was that Appeal also of *Theodor*, vnderheard, and yee condemned; who in his Epistle to *Leo*, vseth these words, *Helpe me*, saith he, *who doo Appeale vnto your Holinesse, and commaund me to appeare before you, that I may geue an account of my faith vnto you*. Now whether he spake this properly, and as a tearme of law, or onely by a metaphor, wee should better discern if we had the Greeke; though the Greeke word it selfe, *ἐπιμαρτυροῦμαι*, be not alwayes taken in this rigour. For when the Father in the Councell of Egypt, vpon the banishment of *Athanasius*, in their Synodall Epistle request all Bishops to receiue him vnto their communion, they vse these words, *ἐπιμαρτυροῦμεν τὸν ἀθῆναιον*; that is, *We Appeals you or call vpon you, as reuengers of such iniustice*. In which sence this word is found in many other places. Wherefore when it is said, *That he Appealed to Leo*, the meaning is, that he had recourse vnto him, hoping by his meanes to procure a more lawfull Synod. And in effect the letters of *Valentinian* the Emperour, who at that time resided at Rome, and of *Galla Placidia* to her sonne *Theodosius*, be in the same: In which letters, at the suit of *Leo*, shew by request *Theodosius*, *That vpon this Appeale in writing*, he would be pleased, that *Leo* in a Synod of Bishops, assembled out of all quarters of the world, in some place within *Italy*, might take knowledge of the matter. And *Galla* in her letters plainly sheweth, that this was the drift and purpose of *Flavian*, who, saith she, *hath alreadie sent his libell to the See Apostolike, and so all the Bishops of these quarters, by whom the Bishop of Rome had sent to the Councell at Ephesus*. This Appeal therefore was put in as well to them as to the Bishop of Rome (saue onely that he was the more eminent person) and was to be heard and determined by them all, in the Councell which was to be assembled; as *Galla* in her Epistle concludeth, *That the matter, saith she, may be ended in a Councell, and by the See Apostolike*. So that all this

συνοδος
ἀνεγνω.

Liberat. in Bre-
uia, c. 12.

Epist. Synod. ad
omnes Episcopos.

Extant in Con-
cil. Chalced.
act. 11.

- A this was no legall and formall Appeal, nor made vnto the Pope, otherwise than as to a promoter and furtherer of the calling of this Councell: And it is worth the remembrance, that in these verie Epistles which *Baronius* maketh so much account of, *Valentinian* speaking of the Bishop of Rome, saith, as hath bene already alledged, *That Antiquitie was it which gaue him the Primacie, or chiefe place among the Priests*. And *Galla* in her Epistle: *It is fit*, saith she, *that we reserve in all poynts that respect which is due vnto this citie, as to the Ladie of all other cities*. And like tearmes vseth she vnto *Fulcheria*, whence it followeth, that this Primacie was taken as founded vpon the positieue law of man, and that the claime from *S. Peter* commeth but as accessarie to the principall. An. 451.
- B And that *Flavian* had no other purpose, appeareth by the proceeding of this cause; for the yeare following, at the suit of *Leo*, *Martian* the Emperour appointed a generall Councell to be held at Chalcedon; wherein are to be seene the traces of the former Synod; and the whole cause opened in a second hearing, to the confusion of *Eutyches*; and shame of all his partakers and abettors, and to the justifying of *Flavian*, and of his memoriall after him in the presence of the Popes Legats; who there saw the Church of Constantinople before their face equalled with that of Rome, by an expresse Canon, made in confirmation of that other of Constantinople. And let our aduersaries now shew vs any one Appeal after this made from Constantinople to Rome. Eightly, *Baronius* is faine to make the best of a bad cause: He now telleth vs, *that this Canon was made vnder the correction and good leaue of Leo*: Grant it were so: and that the Synod in their Epistle required his confirmation: and thereupon, after his manner, maketh a great flourish: *Seekest thou, O Reader*, saith he, *how these six hundred Fathers thought this Canon, though resolved on in two generall Councells; yet to be of no force and verue, without the authoritie of Leo?* and indeed a man not acquainted with his trickes might haply suffer himselfe to be lead away with his discourses: but the Canon it selfe is too plaine, and the continuall practise of the Church sheweth, that the validitie of that Canon neuer depended of his confirmation. True it is, that they were willing to draw *Leo* to some reason by faire words and remonstrances which they made vnto him; and this was the drift and purpose of that Epistle. But, as we haue often said, tearmes of courtesie and of honour vsed to the Pope, were euer by them drawne to some farther tye of seruice. And yet this verie Epistle determineth and decideth the question in many places, though *Baronius*, who commonly spareth for no paper to set downe things in the largest size, concealeth one part thereof; but thus run the words of the inscription, *The holie Oecumenicall Synod assembled by the grace of God, and by the commaundement of the most religious Emperours, at Chalcedon, to Leo Archbishop of the Romans*. Whence it appeareth, that this Synod was not called by his authoritie, neither was he accompted for Vniuersall Bishop by that Synod, as *Baronius* would make the world to beleue: and as for the prerogatiue of the Church of Constantinople, the words vsed in that Canon are precise and formall: *We haue*, say they, *confirmed the Canon of 150 Bishops, meaning of the second generall Councell*: and therefore after this confirmation of 600 Bishops, *Baronius* should a little blush to bring such cold coniectures. And againe, *we haue so defined*, say they, *thereby to cut off all confusion, and to establish the order of the Church*. And in the end they vse these tearmes, *Vouchsafe holie Father, to embrace this our decree, as is fit and seemly for the loue that ought to be between vs*. And what reason then hath *Baronius* of a sentence definitiue to make an interlocutorie, especially seeing that they to often repeat the same thing? *We beleue*, say they, *that the honour of the*

Baron. vol. 6.
an. 451. art. 149.

Baron. ib.
Confirmationibus.

See of Constantinople was confirmed in a generall Council, we now intreat you to honour our iudgement by your Decree, to give your consent, and to hold your selfe content with that which we haue done. And the cause why they sent him the Acts, was this, That he might thereby perceiue that they were led in all their consultations by diuine instincts, which they neuer expected to be sent from Rome, neither did they looke to haue their doings reformed there. We read indeed, that the Emperour by whose commaundement they were there assembled, confirmed their Acts: *The things, saith he, agreed vpon in the Council of Chalcedon are established by our authoritie: neither shall they goe unpunished who shall in any point contemne this law.* And indeed after this time matters passed according to the tenor of this decree, doe Leo what hee could to the contrarie, who yet did openly beare out the Bishops of Antioch and Alexandria: but, in the Church, men gouerne themselves by law; not by example, measuring their actions not after the long elne of one Bishops insolencie and pride, but according to the true rule of order and discipline established in a lawful Synod. Ninthly and lastly *Baronius* saith, That in the Epistle which the Clergie of Alexandria, oppressed by *Timotheus*, wrot to the Emperour *Leo*, they request that his impieties might be made knowne to the Roman Pontife, and to others. But why doth he not speake plainly, and say, as indeed it is, As to others; for they make no distinction betweene him and others: The words are these, *Vouchsafe, we pray you, to write to the Bishop of Rome, also to the Bishops of Antioch, of Ierusalem, of Thessalonica, of Ephesus, and others, as your Mightinesse shall thinke fit: and they adde, For our cause hath bene already manifested to Anatolius Archbishop of this royall citie, meaning Constantinople: which they did by vertue of that Canon of Chalcedon.* And the truth is, that this *Anatolius* in the Epistle which hee wrot to the Emperour *Leo* vpon this occasion, brandeth Pope *Leo* with the marke of an heretike, and censurath him to be vnworthie of the Priesthood.

Marianus apud Palladium.

Per nra precepta stabilita sunt.

Vol. 6. an. 457. art. 23.

Extat inter Epist. Iulian. Concil. Chalced.

PROGRESSION.

Of sundrie variances which fell out betweene the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, by occasion of the Canon of Chalcedon.

After this Canon of Chalcedon there was euer debate continuing betweene the two Churches of Rome and Constantinople; the one refusing a superiority, the other nor admitting of an equality; the one seeking to stretch the wings of his authoritie and iurisdiction ouer the East, the other ouer all. And this was the cause why the Bishops of Antioch and of Alexandria, seeking to crosse the attempts of the Bishop of Constantinople, who was lately start vp to this authoritie, and was therefore the more obnoxious to hate and enuie, had recourse oftentimes to him of Rome, and as it had bene in despite of the one, subiected themselves to the tyrannie of the other. Whence the Pope himselfe, and *Baronius* his champion for him, take no small advantage; for if we will beleue them, *Simplicius* hereupon gaue confirmation to *Calendinus* Bishop of Antioch: having no other prooffe or ground than this, That *Simplicius* in a certaine Epistle of his to *Acacius* Bishop of Constantinople, saith, *That he had received vnder the wing of the See Apostolike, the Priesthood of Calendinus.* But *Enagrius* an Historian of that time, saith simply without any reference vnto any, *That Calendinus undertooke the sterne of that See, and persuaded all which came vnto him, to pronounce Anathema against Timotheus, as against one which troubled the Church of Alexandria, and whose predecessor*

Baron. vol. 6. an. 482. art. 1.

Simplicius Epist. 14.

Enagrius li. 3. c. 10.

Stephen was notoriously installed by *Acacius*, as *Baronius* himselfe affirmeth; but he addeh farther, *That Simplicius had made Acacius his Vicar generall in the East.* His reason is, for that *Simplicius*, vpon the troubles of the Church of Alexandria, complaineth to him, That he had not aduertised him thereof, willing him to behaue himselfe wisely in the charge which was delegated vnto him. Committed then it was, but by whom? must we needs vnderstand, that by him? and why not as well either by the Church, or by the people, seeing nothing is expressed? And farther, these are *Simplicius* his own words. And, if he did delegate such a charge vnto him, yet where shal we find that the other accepted of it, as from him? And I would know whether in his Epistle to *Simplicius* he euer calleth him by any higher Title, than the Archbishop of Rome? and in the cause of *Timotheus* he professeth, That as far his so great a dignitie, he held it onely from *Christ the Prince of Priests.* And a man may easily perceiue by the complaint which *Simplicius* made vnto him, that if euer he did make him offer of such an office, hee made but little reckoning of his kindnesse. And the like may be said, when he offered to make *Zeno* Bishop of Seuille his Vicar in those parts. *Simplicius* also in his Epistle to *Acacius*, speaking of one *John*, who was elected in the roome of the said *Timotheus*: *It remained only, saith he, that after our thanksgiving vnto God, he should by the assist of the See Apostolike receiue his desired confirmation.* Whereupon *Baronius* setteth his marke in the margent, with these words, *It belongeth to the Bishop of Rome to confirme the Patriarches: and, doest thou see, O Reader, saith he, that this ancient custome was, that the election neither of the Bishop of Alexandria, neither yet of Antioch, was held for good, without the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome? and yet he produceth no one Canon to this purpose, or any one case wherein it was so practised.* Nay, we find, that when *Acacius* made light of his commaund, and when he was willed by the Emperour *Zeno* to beare out *Petrus Moggus* against *John*, who was an Orthodox Bishop, he qualified his stile with faire words and reasons: *It was reasay, saith he, that one condemned by publike decrees (meaning this Petrus Moggus) should also be acquitted in a common assemblee.* Where was then this omnipotencie of the Pope, when he spake in this manner? Yea but in the end, saith *Baronius*, when this *John* was deposed, he appealed to the Bishop of Rome, as *Athanasius* had done before him; and for prooffe hereof voucheth *Liberatus* the Archdeacon, who dwelt too farre off to be a good witness in this cause. But if his appeale was no other than was that of *Athanasius*, we are at an accord: for we haue already proued, that *Athanasius* did not appeale in forme of law, as we commonly call Appeales, but had onely recourse vnto him: and so *Enagrius* expoundeth it vnto vs; *John*, saith he, as *Zacharie* reporteth, having giuen a summe of money, contrarie to his oath taken, to the Emperour, was chosen Bishop of Alexandria, whence the Emperour commaunded him to be banished; who flying thence went vnto old Rome, where he made much trouble; saying, that for obseruing the decrees of *Leo*, and the Canons of Chalcedon, he had bene deposed from his See. Where you see there is no mention of any appeale, or of iudiciall proceeding: For, saith he, *Simplicius* moued with these words, wrot vnto *Zeno* the vsurper: who sent him word againe, That he was deposed indeed, but that it was for perurie: And shortly after *Simplicius* died, and *John* withdrew himselfe into Italie, where the Bishopricke of *Nola* was conferred vpon him. And *Liberatus* also saith, That *Acacius* by his letters required the See of Rome, That if any of his Clergie fled vnto him, he would be pleased not to receiue them: which are the proper terms vsed in these and the like cases.

Simplic. Epist. 17 Delegationem ubi magis, all' velle sensus legat. p. d. denter attolle.

Acacius in Epist. ad Simplic.

Simplic. Epist. 1.

Baron. an. 482. vol. 6. art. 14.

Liberatus in Breuiar. c. 18.

Enagr. Histor. Eccl. c. 12. & 15.

Ad eundem confugerint.

OPPOSITION.

All these contentions about iurisdiction proceeded from that Canon of Chalcedon,

An. 472.

cedon, to which the Popes would by no means stand; and yet they neuer talke vnto vs but of Councils, especially of those foure first generall Synods, which they vse commonly to paralell with the holie Scriptures. But in the meane time came forth a certaine Ediēt from *Leo* the Emperour, in this maner: *We decree and ordain, That the holie Church of this most religious citie, Mother of our pietie, and of all Christians whatsoeuer, of the Orthodox religion, and the most holie See of this royall citie* (meaning Constantinople) *in regard that she is the royall citie, shall haue all priuiledges and honours, concerning the creation of Bishops, and taking of place before all others, and all other points whatsoeuer, which they now haue, or at any time heretofore haue had.* *Baronius* saith, *That the good Emperour was ouertaken by the wiles and subtilties of Acatius:* and indeed it were hard if he should haue nothing to say. But in vaine did *Simplicius* oppose against it, whether before *Leo*, or before *Basiliscus*: and therefore *Gelasius*, which came after, changed his stile, and not alledging for himselfe either the Nicene Canon, as *Leo* did, or the ancient obseruation of the Church, as others, held himselfe fast to his *Tues Petrus: This goeth not*, saith he, *by any Synodall constitutions, but by the verie voyce of the Gospell, Tues Petrus, &c.* And why then did his predecessors, especially *Leo*, make their verie throats hoarse with crying out, and alledging alwayes the Nicene Councell? But *Gelasius* hereupon deprived Constantinople of the right of Patriarchship; and hauing so done, pronounced openly, *That the See of Rome might without a Synod, of himselfe, either absolute those whom a Synod had wrongfully condemned, or condemne such as had deserued it;* and so setteth his See vp about all Councils. And againe, *The Canon*, saith he, *hath so ordained, that all Churches ought to appeale to this See, and from this See to none; because this See indgeth of all Churches, and no Church of it, as being without spot or wrinkle:* and yet as much without spot or wrinkle as she was, his verie next successor *Anastafius* (see, I pray you, whether this pretended prerogatiue caried the Church) was defamed, for the heretic of *Acatius*, which was oppugned by *Gelasius*; and he was indeed a meere Acatian, doe *Baronius* what he can to free him from this imputation. For the Pontificall booke, in expresse teames saith, *That many Priests, and others of the Clergie, withdrew themselves from his communion, for that without the pruitie or knowledge of the Bishops, Priests, and Clergie of the Catholike Church, he had secretly entertained comunion with a certaine Deacon of Thessalonica, called Photinus, who was of communion with Acatius; and because he sought meanes vnder hand to call home Acatius:* which yet he could not effect, being preuented by God, and stroken by his dreadfull iudgement. By these Maximes therefore of *Gelasius*, it appeareth what a large step he had made into this tyrannie ouer the Church; but yet he forbore to meddle with the ciuil gouernment: and it seemeth he prophesied to vs, as sometimes *Caiphas* did, when he gaue vs this rule following: *There were*, saith he, *before the coming of Christ, some in figure appointed ouer temporall affaires, who were both Kings and Priests, as was Melchisedech: which manner the diuell also imitated in some of his seruants (as his custome is euer to attribute to himselfe those things which properly belong to diuine worship) in that some of the Heathen Kings were also Priests: But since the true Priest and King came into the world, there hath not beene found an Emperour which hath taken vpon him the Tittle of a Priest, nor yet a Priest which vsurped the regall dignitie, &c. But Christ remembering well mans frailtie, for his elect sake, hath distinguished these two authorities, by severall offices properly appertaining to either of them: so that the Christian Emperours haue need of the Priests, for their soules health, and the Priests of them, for the course of worldlie matters: so that the spirituall profession is seperated from the world, and a souldier of Christ may not busie himselfe in the affaires*

Leo Imperat. lib. 16. c. de Sacerdotibus, Ecclesie.

Baron. an. 472. art. 3. 4. 5.

An. 493.

Gelasius in Epistola ad Dardanios.

ib.

Liber Pontificalis.

Gelasius de A. mathematis vinculo.

A of this world; neither he who is busied in earthlie affaires may presume to gouerne in holie things: to the end, that the one supporting the other, they might not rebell the one against the other. I referre me now vnto the Reader, whether *Gelasius*, his successors haue kept themselves within those bounds which hee prescribed; and whether they haue not fallen within the compass of his condemnation; as followers of the Pagans, and guided by the instinct of the diuell, while they thus encroach vpon the temporall estate? For what *Bellarmino*, or what *Baronius* can reconcile those maximes and positions of *Gregorie* the seuenth, called *Hildebrand*, with these of *Gelasius*? And for conclusion, we may not forget, that because *Gelasius* wrot once in approbation of certaine writings of *Honoratus* Bishop of Marcellis, whom *Genadius* reporteth onely to haue sent him his bookes; *Baronius* inferreth, That it belongeth properly to the Bishop of Rome, to approue and censure bookes. What a little wind will serue to fill the sayles of these mens pride and arrogance! Belike so many learned personages as wrot vnto Saint *Augustine*, *Hierome*, and others; for their approbation of their writings, tooke them to be Popes, and so did they take others, when they imparted their bookes vnto them: which is so absurd and frivoliuous, as nothing can be more. And thus come we now to the yere of our Lord 500.

Institu diabolico.

C what wicked and vniuersall men used about this time, to aspire vnto the Popedom.

A About the yere 500 Italic was all wasted by the Northerne nations, who swarmed there in great numbers, which had been ynough to haue suppressed their ambition, had it not passed the bounds of all humane. But it was such, that euerie day it attempted something; and for want of worke abroad, would sometimes busie it selfe at home. In so much that it grew an ordinarie matter, to put in for the Popedom many prares before the Pope was dead; to get voyces before hand, by word of mouth, and sometime by deed intended, and to procure them by presents, and other meanes; as appeareth by the Synod which was held at Rome vnder *Symmachus*. Whereof ensued commonly, seditions, murders, and slaughters, in so much that it was necessarie for the Emperours, euen such as they called and accounted barbarous, to prevent the mischiefes which usually ensued of their factious combattions. Wherof those holie men would neuer haue beene so carelesse they were, had they not needed something else more than they did the sheepe of Christ. And yet, if we may beleue *Oratian*, in the middle of all these villames, *Symmachus* had the face to say, *That Saint Peter had transmitted and passed our to his successor, together with the inheritance of his innocencie, a perpetual gift of well beseruing; and what was granted to him for the brightnesse and beautie of his deede, belongeth to them, to beare and stand with the like benefite of commiseration.* For who can doubt, saith he, but that he is holy; who best is now extolled, to so high a degree of dignitie; who if perhaps he want merits of his owne, yet is he sure to be well furnished with the merits of him which went before him in this place: for he either provided, that none shall be preferred in other but such as are worthe; or if any other happens to be preferred; he maketh them worthe so soon as they are preferred. *Gregorie* in our time tooke the paine to renew the Canon Law, and taking especial notice of this Canon, is bold to equall it with the Apostolike Decrees. And I feare, that

An. 500.

Synod. Roma. sub Symmach. can. 2. c. 3.

D. 40. C. non nos. Ennod. in Ap. 1. c. 1. Symmach.

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ere it be long, a man may more truly say, that this See hath this especiall prerogative and privilege. That either it admitteth of none but knaues, or maketh them such so soone as they are admitted. But what will *Symmachus* say to *Gratian*, who speaking of *Anastasius* the second, his predeceffor, saith of him, *That he was stricken by the iudgement of God, because he communicated with Photinus the Deacon, a disciple of that master heretike Acatius*: which is auerred also by *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* in his life.

OPPOSITION.

Odoacer therefore, Captaine of the Rugians, hauing made himselfe King of all Italie, about the yeare 472, for preuention of tumults which might ensue, if *Simplicius* should happen to die, made a Law, and published it by *Basilius* in the open Vatican, and before the Bishops there assembled, *That in case Simplicius should happen to die, for the auoidance of trouble and hurt, both in Church and Citie, none should be elected without his priuie*. Which *Odoacer* hath at least this commendation from Antiquitie, That he was neuer offensiuē or troublesome to the Catholike Church, in matters belonging to Religion, though himselfe were a professed Arrian: and farther, is reported to haue bene of so good a temper, that in thirteene yeares space, which he held Italie vnder his commaund, he neuer tooke vnto him either the title or the robe of the Emperour; who, all barbarian as he was, shall yet one day rise in iudgement against these mens insolencie and pride. True it is, that *Sigonius* reporteth, that this law was made by the aduise of *Simplicius* himselfe, but what author hath he for it? For the third Synod of Rome, which was held vnder *Symmachus*, sayth no such thing, but tearmeth it in precise termes, *The Law of Odoacer*. And there was good cause to be made of this Law about the yeare 498, at the election of a Bishop after the death of *Anastasius* the second: For by reason that *Anastasius* the Emperour had filled the seats of a great part of the Clergie of Rome, to this end, that he might haue alwaies a Pope at his owne deuotion; it came to passe, that one part set vp and named *Symmachus*, and the other *Lawrence*, and each faction kept quarter apart, vntill in the end some being wiser than some, the matter was referred to *Theodoric* King of the Ostrogothes, who at that time reigned in Italie; and he preferred *Symmachus*, who not long after in a Synod at Rome abrogated this verie law, as *Sigonius* reporteth: And we doubt not of the most good will, but yet we find that this Law stood in force vntill the tittle of *Remus* the second, whom the Emperour *Constantine Pogonatus*, about the yeare 684, absolved from the obseruance of this Law, as *Onuphrius* himselfe acknowledgeth. But these matters stayed not here. For foure yeares after this wound began to bleed afresh. *Lawrence* was called home to Rome, where the factions sturied still to blowes: whereat *Theodoric* took great offence, and deposing them both, he placed *Peter*, Bishop of Alcin, in the see. *Paulus Diaconus* and *Nicophorus* speaking of this accident, report, *That there were infinite spoiles, and murders committed by either partie, the greater part of the priests, namie Clerkes, and a multitude of the Citizens were there slaine, and the holie virgins themselves, as Sabellius writeth, were not spared in those seditions*. Yet must all this passe for zeale towards the Church; inso much, that one *Ennodius*, a Writer of that time, maketh them all Martyrs, who died in the cause of *Symmachus*: *Their blood shal beod* (sayth he) *enrolled them in the Register Booke of the Court of Heauen*. And *Baronius* is of the same opinion: and for prooffe he voucheth a saying of that great *Demis*, Bishop of

D. 196. Anastasius.

Anast. Biblioth. in Pontific.

An. 472.

Baron. vol. 6. an. 476. art. 1. 2. 3.

Cassiodor. in Chron.

Sigon. de Occident. Imperio. l. 15. c. 16. Synod. Roma. 3. sub Symmacho. an. 498.

Theodor. Collician. l. 2.

Synod. Roma. 3. sub Symmacho.

Paul. Diacon. l. 5. Nicophor. l. 16. c. 35.

Sabell. Euan. 8. l. 2.

Ennod. in Epist. ad Faustum.

A of Alexandria; but see his honestie, for the case standeth thus: *Demis* wrote to the schismaticke *Nomatus*, who would haue made him beleoue, that he was taken by force, and made Bishop whether he would or no: whereupon *Demis* told him, *That it had bene better for him to haue suffered anie mischiefe, than to haue broken the vnitie of the Church, and that it had bene as glorious a martyrdom vnto him, as if he suffered for not offering vnto Idols*. True, if rather than thou wouldst be made a Bishop in a Schisme, thou wouldst suffer thy selfe to be killed: But the case is altered, if thou puttst thy selfe in danger, or causst either thy selfe or others to be laine, not to auoid, but to obtaine a Bishopricke. And such was the case of those which died in *Symmachus* his quarrell. And we must remember, that

B the fourth Synod, which was held at Rome vnder *Symmachus*, where the greatest part of the Bishops of all Italie were assembled, was called by *Theodoric*. True it is, that at the first the Bishops began to remonstrate to him, *That the calling of the Synod belonged to the Pope*: but *Theodoric* produced *Symmachus* his owne letters, wherein he requested him to assigne the place, and *Symmachus* himselfe in open Synod gaue him humbly thanks for so assigning it.

Here *Baronius* putteth on his brazen face: *He knew well* (sayth he) *that to assemble a Synod of Orthodox Bishops appertained not to him, and therefore treading the steps of his predeceffors, he assembled it by the authoritie of Pope Symmachus, and the verie Acts of the Councell testifie as much*. And then falleth he to his accustomed acclamations: *A memorable matter* (sayth he) *that a Prince, a Barbarian, a Goth by nation, a stranger, an heretike, and an Arrian, do the schismatickes what they could by importuning him to the contrarie, should yet yeeld such respect and reuerence to the See Apostolike*. But what if the whole proceedings and the Acts themselues of this Synod shew the contrarie? It is therefore to be vnderstood, that the yeare before, *Theodoric* at the instance of the aduerser part, had sent *Peter* Bishop of Alcin to Rome, in qualitie of a Visitor, to informe himselfe of the crimes which were layed to *Symmachus* his charge. And so it seemeth, that *Theodoric* and *Ennodius* were not both of the same mind; when *Ennodius* saith; *That the Pope is accountable to none but vnto Heauen*. Afterward *Theodoric* gaue order, that this difference should be taken vp, or ended in a lawfull Synod: which Synod was held the yeare following at Rome, in the Acts whereof we find it thus written. *The Synod here assembled out of diuers countries, by the commandement of the most religious King Theodoric &c.* And againe, *The Royall authoritie hauing so commaunded, that the Bishops should assemble here at Rome out of diuers Prouinces &c.* The reason is, for that one Metropolitan hath no power ouer another: and therefore when Bishops of diuers Prouinces had occasion to assemble themselues in a Synod, it could not be done without the Kings authoritie: and in this Synod were present the Bishops of Liguria, Emilia, and Venice, to decide this cause, wherein the Bishop of Rome was defendant. Yea, but sayth *Baronius*, the Bishops told him, that it belonged not vnto him; true: but read on, and you shall find that he replied, *That the Pope himselfe had by his letters declared his will touching the calling of this Synod*: which was, that *Theodoric* should call it; and thereupon shanketh him for so doing, as hauing thereby giuen him the meanes to iustifie and to cleare himselfe. And it followeth afterward, *That this Synod presumed not to decree anie thing without making the King first acquainted therewith*. And againe it is there said, *That Symmachus was forced by the Emperour to enter the lists against his aduersaries, and that before the Fathers assembled in this Synod, as before his lawfull Delegates or Commissioners*: For (sayth he) *he would neuer haue committed this cause to them as a new cause, had he held him as already committed*.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 37.

Iornandes de Rebus Goth. c. 10. Synod. Roma. 4. sub Symmacho.

Vol. 6. an. 501. art. 2.

Ennod. in Apolog. in 1. vol. Concil.

Synod. Roma. 4. Palmaria d. 12.

Nunquam commisset.

Then

Then follow the Acts themselves, *whiles they were in deliberation what was fit to be done, Symmachus came and offered to plead his cause*: And hauing expressed the violences which his aduersaries had vsed towards him, the Fathers spake and said, *That they must yet againe flie to the iustice of the Prince &c.* who declared there openly, *That the knowledge and ordering of Church masters belonged vnto them: that he brought nothing but reuerence with him when he came to the hearing of such causes: and that he committed it to the power of the Bishops to heare or not to heare it, and to dispose thereof at their discretion, provided that by the care and wisdom of the Councell the Christians might haue peace within the Citie.* By all which it appeareth, that he did not put off his authoritie from himselfe, to conferre it vpon the Bishop of Rome. In the end these Fathers proceeding according to the commaundment of the Prince, resolued in this intricate cause to arbitrate and to compose the variance, rather than as Iudges to decide it; and for the peace of the Church, to cloake offences, rather than to expose them to the view of the world: and therefore commaunded they the people to receiue *Symmachus* againe; leauing the judgement to God, of those things which could not sufficiently be proued by men. And let the reader note these words of the Fathers, *According to the commaund of the Prince, which giueth vs this power: But we restore all Ecclesiasticall power to him againe, as well within the Citie as without.* And who will say, that by these words they acknowledged the Pope for Bishop of all the world? or that *Theodoric* called this Councell by the Popes authoritie? especially seeing that we find at the same time, That the Councell at Agda in Languedoc, of Orthodox Bishops, was assembled and held by the authoritie of *Alaric*, an Arrian by profession, and a Goth by nation: which yet the Fathers themselves acknowledge in the verie beginning of that Councell: *This Synod assembled (say they) in the name of the Lord in this Citie of Agda, by the permission of King Alaric*; and therefore they ordained prayers and supplications to be made for his prosperitie. And seeing also we read, that shortly after, whiles the same *Symmachus* was yet Pope, the first Councell of Orleans was held: whereof *Hincmar* speaking in the life of *S. Rhemigi*us saith, *That by the aduise of S. Rhemigi*us, *Clouis* called a Synod of Bishops at Orleans, where were manie good things ordained. And the Fathers themselves of that Councell in their Synodall Epistle to King *Clouis* speake in this manner: *We (say they) whom you haue commaunded to come vnto this Synod, here to treat of necessarie matters &c.* Which things they desire afterward to be confirmed by his rightfull iudgement, though in his Patent directed to them he speaketh with as much respect to them, as he could haue done to the Bishop of Rome himselfe. *King Clouis* (saith he) *to our holie Lords, the Bishops most worthie of the Apostolike See &c.* and at the foot thereof, *Pray ye for me, my holie Lords, Popes most worthie of the Apostolike See.* This good King had neuer yet learned this lesson, though instructed by *S. Rhemigi*us, that there were no more Popes but one, no other Apostolike See but that of Rome. All which we haue bene faine to deduce at large, to right the Historie of that wrong which our great Annalist hath done vnto it.

An. 509.

Ala Concil.
Agath.An. 512.
Ala Concil.
Aurelian. 1. in
1. Sa. Concilio.

14. PROGRESSION.

Of sundrie opportunities and meanes which the Popes about the yeare 500 had to raise themselves to their pretended Primacie.

IN this age, which came to close vp the first five hundred yeares, manie opportunities offered themselves, to open the passage to the Popes ambition. First the absence

A absence of the Emperors, who now resided wholly at Constantinople, and yet to maintaine their authoritie in the West, thought it fit to make faire weatherall waies with Popes of Rome, who neuer let slip anie opportunitie which might serue to encrease their Estate. Secondly, the comming downe of the Northerne nations, who one after another assailed Italic, and spoyled it at their pleasure: all which were faine to sooth and to flatter the Popes, onely to haue their fauour and furtherance at their need. Thirdly, diuerse Heresies, which then sprung vp both in the East, and also in the South, from whence the heretikes, when they were condemned at home, fled presently to Rome (whether by Appeale, or whether by way onely of Reulew) to haue their cause heard againe before his pretended Primacie. Adde we hereunto, that in all places men were willing to hold correspondencie with the Bishop of the first See, who resided in the chiefe Citie of the Empire, and who was held for the source and fountaine of all good and sound aduise in matters of importance; the greater part of the world in the meane time not obseruing, how the Popes by little and little made their aduises to stand for lawes, and interpreted all requests made vnto them for consultations; how they turned their mediations into Commissions, and that being chosen for arbitrators, they euer made themselves Iudges. And note withall (to the end you may discern how their doctrines crept into the Church together with their power) that at this time came in the inuocation and adoration of Saints and Martyrs in stead of the gods, the verie ground-plot of Heathenisme, to erect the building of Christianitie vpon.

OPPOSITION.

Such were then the proceedings of the Popes: yet when he presumed to passe his bounds too farre, there neuer wanted some one or other to lay a blocke in his way: which we should now more clearly discouer, had the writers of those daies bene as carefull to record vnto posteritie the oppositions of the one part, as they were to set downe the attempts of the other. But this appeareth, that *Leo* his pretensions were euer opposed by the Churches: and we may perceiue by *Symmachus* his owne Epistle, that in Sclauonie, Dardanie, and Dace, his authoritie was little esteemed. And in Rome it selfe his owne Clergie accused him to *Theodoric*, at what time he was wiser than to repleie, as now they doe, that no man may presume to aske him, *Domine cur ita facis?* Neither did his predecessor *Anastasius* the second find the Bishops of France and Germanie ouer gentle in taking their bite into their mouths, when they wrot vnto him in the time of *Clouis* the first, and first Christian King of Fraunce, that memorable Epistle, whereof we will here insert some few of the most important clauses. *Non putatiue sed veraciter affirmant Episcopi*, that is, *The Bishops doe constantly and truly affirme, that a Councell is of greater authoritie than is a Pope Anastasius. Pawle the Apostle which crieth out, Be ye followers of me, resisted Peter who was chiefe of the Apostles, because he was to be reprobud &c.* This is indeed a verie fountaine and nurserie of scandales to the people, when the Bishops of the Church rise in dissention against each other, among whom there should be a full and a perfect peace &c. And againe, *Our weake wit (say they) cannot conceiue what this new kind of compassion meaneth, which these Phisicians of Italic use in the cure of the disease of France: They who pretend to cure our Bishops, are themselves shaken with a continuall seauer: they who promise sight to vs, are themselves blind: they take vs to be crouchbackes, and haue themselves such a bunch of auarice growing on their backs, that it will not suffer them to enter in at the narrow gate: they let their owne sheepe goe astray,*

Symmach. in ep.
ad Presbyt. Il-
lyr, Dardania,
& Dacie.Epist. episc. Gal.
& German.
ad Anastas. in
Collecta. Auen-
tin.

ere it be long, a man may more truly say, that this See hath this especial prerogative and privilege, That either it admitteth of none but knaves, or maketh them such so soone as they are admitted. But what will Symmachus say to Gratian, who speaking of Anastasius the second, his predecessor, saith of him, That he was stricken by the iudgement of God, because he communicated with Photinus the Deacon, a disciple of that master heretike Acaius: which is auerred also by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in his life.

D. 19. c. Ana-
basius.
Anastaf. Bibli-
oth. in Pontific.

OPPOSITION.

An. 472.

Odoacer therefore, Captaine of the Rugians, hauing made himselfe King of all Italie, about the yeare 472, for preuention of tumults which might ensue, if Simplicius should happen to die, made a Law, and published it by Basilus in the open Vatican, and before the Bishops there assembled, That in case Simplicius should happen to die, for the auoidance of trouble and hurt, both in Church and Citie, none should be elected without his priuie. Which Odoacer hath at least this commendation from Antiquitie, That he was neuer offensiuē or troublesome to the Catholike Church, in matters belonging to Religion, though himselfe were a professed Arrian: and farther, is reported to haue bene of so good a temper, that in thirteene yeares space, which he held Italie vnder his commaund, he neuer tooke vnto him either the title or the robe of the Emperour; who, all barbarian as he was, shall yet one day rise in iudgement against these mens insolencie and pride. True it is, that Sigonius reporteth, that this law was made by the aduise of Simplicius himselfe, but what author hath he for it? For the third Synod of Rome, which was held vnder Symmachus, sayth no such thing, but rearmeth it in precise termes, The Law of Odoacer. And there was good vs to be made of this Law about the yeare 498, at the election of a Bishop after the death of Anastasius the second: For by reason that Anastasius the Emperour had filled the lists of a great part of the Clergie of Rome, to this end, that he might haue alwaies a Pope at his owne deuotion; it came to passe, that one part set vp and named Symmachus, and the other Lawrence, and each faction kept quarter apart, vntill in the end some being wiser than some, the matter was referred to Theodoris King of the Ostrogothes, who at that time reigned in Italie; and he preferred Symmachus, who not long after in a Synod at Rome abrogated this verie law, as Sigonius reporteth: And we doubt not of the mans good will, but yet we find that this Law stood in force vntill the time of Benedict the second; whom the Emperour, Constantine Pogonatus, about the yeare 684, absolved from the obseruance of this law, as Omphrius himselfe acknowledgeth. But these matters stayed not here: For foure yeares after this wound began to bleed afresh. Lawrence was called home to Rome, where the factions fairely fell to blowes: whereat Theodoris took great offence, and deposing them both, he placed Peter, Bishop of Alen, in the throne. Paulus Diaconus and Nicephorus speaking of this accident, report, That there were infinite spoiles and murders committed by either partie; the greater part of the priests, manie Clerkes, and a multitude of the Citizens were there slaine, and the holie virgins themselves, as Sabellicus writeth, were not spared in those seditions. Yet must all this passe for zeale towards the Church; inasmuch, that one Ennodius, a Writer of that time, maketh them all Martyrs, who died in the cause of Symmachus: Their blood there stood (sayth he) enrolled them in the Register Booke of the Courts of Heauen. And Baronius is of the same opinion: and for prooffe he voucheth a saying of that great Denis, Bishop

Baron. uol. 6.
an. 476. art. 1.
23.

Cassiodor, in
Chron.

Sigon. de Occi-
dent. Imperio,
l. 15. c. 16.
Synod. Roma. 3.
sub Symmacho,
an. 498.

Theodor. Col-
lectan, l. 2.

Synod. Roma. 3.
sub Symmacho.

Paul. Diacon.
l. 15.
Nicephor.
l. 16. c. 35.

Sabel. Eua. 8.
l. 2.

Ennod. in Epist.
ad Faustum.

A of Alexandria; but see his honestie, for the case standeth thus: Denis wrote to the schismaticke Nomatus, who would haue made him beleue, that he was taken by force, and made Bishop whether he would or no: whereupon Denis told him, That it had bene better for him to haue suffered anie mischiefe, than to haue broken the vnitie of the Church, and that it had bene as glorious a martyrdome vnto him, as if he suffered for not offering vnto Idols. True, if rather than thou wouldst be made a Bishop in a Schisme, thou wouldst suffer thy selfe to be killed: But the case is altered, if thou puttest thy selfe in danger, or causest either thy selfe or others to be slaine, not to auoid, but to obtaine a Bishopricke. And such was the case of those which died in Symmachus his quarrell. And we must remember, that the fourth Synod, which was held at Rome vnder Symmachus, where the greatest part of the Bishops of all Italie were assembled, was called by Theodoris. True it is, that at the first the Bishops began to remonstrate to him, That the calling of the Synod belonged to the Pope: but Theodoris produced Symmachus his owne letters, wherein he requested him to assigne the place, and Symmachus himselfe in open Synod gaue him humbly thanks for so assigning it.

Euseb. Histor.
Eccles. l. 6. c. 37.

Iordanes de
Rebus Gothicis,
Synod. Roma. 4.
sub Symmacho.

Here Baronius putteth on his brazen face: He knew well (saith he) that to assemble a Synod of Orthodox Bishops appertained not to him, and therefore treading the steps of his predecessors, he assembled it by the authoritie of Pope Symmachus, and the verie Acts of the Councell testifie as much. And then falleth he to his accustomed exclamations: A memorable matter (saith he) that a Prince, a Barbarian, a Goth by nation, a stranger, an heretike, and an Arrian, do the schismatickes what they could by importuning him to the contrarie, should yet yeeld such respect and reuerence to the See Apostolike. But what if the whole proceedings and the Acts themselves of this Synod shew the contrarie? It is therefore to be vnderstood, that the yeare before, Theodoris at the instance of the aduerser part, had sent Peter Bishop of Alen to Rome, in qualitie of a Visitor, to informe himselfe of the crimes which were layed to Symmachus his charge. And so it seemeth, that Theodoris and Ennodius were not both of the same mind; when Ennodius saith, That the Pope is accountable to none but vnto Heauen. Afterward Theodoris gaue order, that this difference should be taken vp, or ended in a lawfull Synod: which Synod was held the yeare following at Rome, in the Acts whereof we find it thus written. This Synod here assembled out of diuers countries, by the commandement of the most religious King Theodoris &c. And againe, The Royall authoritie hauing so commaunded, that the Bishops should assemble here at Rome out of diuers Provinces &c. The reason is, for that one Metropolitan hath no power ouer another: and therefore when Bishops of diuers Provinces had occasion to assemble themselves in a Synod, it could not be done without the Kings authoritie: and in this Synod were present the Bishops of Liguria, Emilia, and Venice, to decide this cause, wherein the Bishop of Rome was defendant. Yea, but saith Baronius, the Bishops told him, that it belonged not vnto him; true: but read on, and you shall find that he replied, That the Pope himselfe had by his letters declared his will touching the calling of this Synod: which was, that Theodoris should call it; and thereupon thanketh him for so doing, as hauing thereby giuen him the means to iustifie and to clear himselfe. And it followeth afterward, That this Synod presumed not to decree anie thing without making the King first acquainted therewith. And againe it is there said, That Symmachus was forced by the Emperour to enter the lists against his aduersaries, and that before the Fathers assembled in this Synod, as before his lawfull Delegates or Commissioners: For (saith he) he would neuer haue committed this cause to them as a new cause, had he held him as already convicted.

Vol. 6. an. 501.
art. 2.

Ennod. in Apo-
log. in 1. col.
Concilio

Synod. Roma. 4.
Palmaria dicta.

Nunquam com-
missit.

Then

Then follow the Acts themselves, *whiles they were in deliberation what was fit to be done, Symmachus came and offered to plead his cause*: And hauing expressed the violences which his aduersaries had vsed towards him, the Fathers spake and said, *That they must yet againe flie to the iustice of the Prince &c.* who declared there openly, *That the knowledge and ordering of Church matters belonged vnto them: that he brought nothing but reuerence with him when he came to the hearing of such causes: and that he committed it to the power of the Bishops to heare or not to heare it, and to dispose thereof at their discretion, provided that by the care and wisdom of the Council the Christians might haue peace within the Citie.* By all which it appeareth, that he did not put off his authoritie from himselfe, to conferre it vpon the Bishop of Rome. In the end these Fathers proceeding according to the commaundement of the Prince, resolued in this intricate cause to arbitrate and to compose the variance, rather than as Iudges to decide it; and for the peace of the Church, to cloake offences, rather than to expose them to the view of the world: and therefore commaunded they the people to receiue *Symmachus* againe; leaving the iudgement to God, of those things which could not sufficiently be proued by men. And let the reader note these words of the Fathers, *According to the commaund of the Prince, which giueth vs this power: But we restore all Ecclesiasticall power to him againe, as well within the Citie as without.* And who will say, that by these words they acknowledged the Pope for Bishop of all the world? or that *Theodorice* called this Council by the Popes authoritie? especially seeing that we find at the same time, That the Council at Agda in Languedoc, of Orthodox Bishops, was assembled and held by the authoritie of *Alaric*, an Arrian by profession, and a Goth by nation: which yet the Fathers themselves acknowledge in the verie beginning of that Council: *This Synod assembled (say they) in the name of the Lord in this Citie of Agda, by the permission of King Alaric;* and therefore they ordained prayers and supplications to be made for his prosperitie. And seeing also we read, that shortly after, whiles the same *Symmachus* was yet Pope, the first Council of Orleans was held: whereof *Hincmar* speaking in the life of *S. Rhemigijs* saith, *That by the aduise of S. Rhemigijs, Clouis called a Synod of Bishops at Orleans, where were manie good things ordained.* And the Fathers themselves of that Council in their Synodall Epistle to King *Clouis* speake in this manner: *We (say they) whom you haue commaunded to come vnto this Synod, here to treat of necessarie matters &c.* Which things they desire afterward to be confirmed by his rightfull iudgement, though in his Patent directed to them he speaketh with as much respect to them, as he could haue done to the Bishop of Rome himselfe. *King Clouis* (saith he) *to our holie Lords, the Bishops most worthe of the Apostolike See &c.* and at the foot thereof, *Pray ye for me, my holie Lords, Popes most worthe of the Apostolike See.* This good King had neuer yet learned this lesson, though instructed by *S. Rhemigijs*, that there were no more Popes but one, no other Apostolike See but that of Rome. All which we haue bene faine to deduce at large, to right the Historie of that wrong which our great Annalist hath done vnto it.

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Of sundrie opportunities and meanes which the Popes about the yeare 500 had to raise themselves to their pretended Primacie.

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An. 509.

Alia Concil. Agath.

An. 512. Alia Concil. Aurelian. 1. in 7. de Conciliis.

Absence of the Emperors, who now resided wholly at Constantinople, and yet to maintaine their authoritie in the West, thought it fit to make faire weather alwaies with Popes of Rome, who neuer let slip anie opportunitie which might serue to encrease their Estate. Secondly, the coming downe of the Northerne nations, who one after another assailed Italie, and spoiled it at their pleasure: all which were faine to sooth and to flatter the Popes, onely to haue their fauour and furtherance at their need. Thirdly, diuerse Heresies, which then sprung vp both in the East, and also in the South, from whence the heretikes, when they were condemned at home, fled presently to Rome (whether by Appeale, or whether by way onely of Reulew) to haue their cause heard againe before his pretended Primacie. Adde we hereunto, that in all places men were willing to hold correspondencie with the Bishop of the first See, who resided in the chiefe Citie of the Empire, and who was held for the source and fountaine of all good and found aduise in matters of importance; the greater part of the world in the meane time not obseruing, how the Popes by little and little made their aduises to stand for lawes, and interpreted all requests made vnto them for consultations; how they turned their mediations into Commissions, and that being chosen for arbitrators, they euer made themselves Iudges. And note withall (to the end you may discern how their doctrines crept into the Church together with their power) that at this time came in the inuocation and adoration of Saints and Martyrs in stead of the gods, the verie ground-plot of Heathenisme, to erect the building of Christianitie vpon.

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Symmach. in ep. ad Presbyt. Illyr. Dardanie, & Dacie.

Epist. episc. Gal. & German. ad Anastas. in Collecta. Auentin.

astray,

astray, and call our Shepheards into the way of truth, going about to persuade vs, that the physike of spirituall diseases, the absolution of soules is at Rome &c. But if they will needs applie their searing yrons to our wounds, they shall quickly seeke our French truth, which they without a cause provoke against themselves &c. And if they say yet further, That the Bishops of France are spirituallly sicke: let them remember the commandment of our Saviour, and visit us in our sicknesse; for the sicke must not runne to the Physitian, but the Physitian come vnto the sicke: which if they refuse to doe, then let them know, that we haue of our owne a perfect good Antidot, euen the Gospell of the Sonne of God, to expell all venome from our hearts: that is to say, We haue no need of your Treacle. Let them take this for a warning, not to make shew of too great zeale of iustice, thereby to draw vs into the snare of their Kinglike iudgements, least we answere them as it is in the Gospell, Let him (of the Bishops of Italie) which is without sinne, cast the first stone at vs. All which we say to this end, that they in the hardnesse of their heart may not offer to lay their pretended authoritie vpon our Bishops: For it is not impossible; that the stone which they cast at vs may flie backe in their owne faces; for our men vse not to be afraid of feathers. Let them rather this day confesse before Christ, that they are a sort of miserable comforters: those properly whom S. Iohn saw in Patmos, of whom he saith, He sent the Dragon, and he threw the third part of the starres &c. The stinke of their ill name is spred to the utmost borders of the earth. They which dwell beyond the mountaine of God (that is, they which will make themselves gods) shoot their arrowes beyond the stone of saluation, because they are not planted in the house of the Lord, after the order of Melchisedech &c. that is, are not called by a lawfull vocation. And although (say they) by the shaking of our Oxen of France the Arke of our covenants should be like to fall, yet it belongeth to our Bishops to hold it up, and not to them. But if they by their euill speaking slander the Arke of our Church, the like mischiefe befall them as befell Vzzias the Lewis. To conclude, let them learne this Syllogisme, if there be equall power in all Bishops, then is it equall in euerie one: but it is equall in all, ergo in euerie one. And by this you may see what reckoning the Bishops of France made of the Bishops of Rome in those daies.

15. PROGRESSION.

That Pope Hormisdas tooke vpon him to constitute diuers Vicars of his See in the West.

After Symmachus succeeded Hormisdas, who would lose no time. If we may beleue his Epistles, he made diuers Bishops his Vicars in sundrie Prouinces of the West: as Anitus Bishop of Vienna in the Prouince of Narbona, Iohn of Arragon in Spaine, on this side the riuer Betis; and on the other side, Salust Bishop of Scuille. These Bishops accepted of this title, thereby to aduance and to set themselves aloft above their brethren: and the Pope cunningly soothed them in their ambitious humor, thereby to enlarge the precincts and limits of his owne authoritie. And in the East also, vnder colour of composing a certaine difference in religion, concerning the Chalcedon Creed, he sent his Legats to the Emperour Anastasius, who would not receiue it. The Pontificall Booke sayth, That he did it by the aduise and counsell of Theodorice, forbearing to say, By his permission, though indeed it had bene farre more honourable for the Pope to haue bene the author of so good an aduise himselfe. And yet, how earnest soeuer he would seeme to be in the defence of this Councell, it is euident that he renoun-

D. 50. c. Si ille qui.

ced one of the principall Canons thereof, concerning the place and ordering of Bishops, seeing that he protested, though vpon another occasion, that he receiued nothing but what was contained in the Councell of Nice, for feare of broaching himselfe vpon the Canons of those two Councils of Constantinople and of Chalcedon, both which equall in all points the priuiledges of the Church of Rome and of Constantinople. And it is sport alone, to see the instructions which he gaue vnto his Legats; how he setteth downe how farre they should goe, and no farther, and what they should say, for feare least happily they might mistake in the circumstances of his pretended authoritie; together with the relations which they make vnto him at their returne concerning their voyage, and of the complements which were vsed to them: how carefull they are to set downe and to record euerie cap and knee which was made vnto them, as purposing to make vse thereof in time to come. But although the Emperours were content to gratifie them the most they could, to retaine by their meanes some small credit and reputation in the West, yet we find that all matters succeeded not according to their hope and expectation.

OPPOSITION.

These Legats therefore comming to Constantinople, were verie honourably receiued by the Emperour Anastasius: but because they came as minding to command rather than to confere about matters of Religion, therefore Iohn the second, Patriarch of Constantinople, as Basilides reporteth, made head against them: I know (saith he) that it is fit for an Emperour to command, not for a Bishop: But if there be cause why, and if he which hath charge of spirituall things, must needs command, it is fitter a great deale, that in this place I should command rather than be commanded. The Pontificall Booke here addeth, That the Emperour (no doubt offended with both their behauors) sent them out at a bucke dore, and stopped them in a rotten vessell, commanding the Master of the Ship not to land them at any Citie. And so in this businesse we find ill dealing on all hands. After Anastasius succeeded Iustin in the Empire, an vndoubted Orthodox, who called a Synod at Constantinople vpon the same occasion as before: in the Acts whereof we may obserue, that notwithstanding the friuolous conjectures of Baronius, the Bishop of Constantinople, as it were in despight of the Pope, is so qualified by the name of Vniuersall Patriarch; so farre were the Bishops of the East from yielding this authoritie to the See of Rome. And yet in the reign of this same Emperour Baronius writeth for some thing, which he may take to serue for his owne advantage: he saith therefore, That the Bishops of the East saw that they laboured to no end without the Bishop of Rome, and therefore they treated with him: That the Emperour Iustin sent an ambassage vnto him: that the Synod and the Patriarch wrote vnto him to send some thither in his behalfe, for the maintenance of the common peace: That they gaue him to vnderstand of their Orthodox beliefs, to the end that hereafter they might haue Communion each with other. And what of all this? For is this a doing of homage, or is it not rather a presentation of brotherly loue and kindness? Or doth this proue the Popes superiourie, when they invite him to come vnto their Synod, when the Patriarch writeth vnto him in this manner, To Hormisdas myne religious brother, and companion in seruice: When Hormisdas himselfe visiteth and other stile but this, The Bishop Hormisdas to Iohn Bishop of Constantinople: Secondly he saith, That the Emperour sent forth the chiefe of his Court to meet them a great way off true, but is it fit that they should interpret the reuerend

Baron. an. 518. art. 90. vol. 7.

an. 518. 99.

Baron. an. 519. vol. 7.

παλαια η προεβουλη η Νηα Ρομην.

Indivisiblem adnationem.

respect which this Prince vsed to them, for an argument of his subjection? But he addeth farther, That a poore snake, Bishop of Lignida, wrote to *Hormisdæ* in this manner, *Adorando Apostolicæ Patri: and another of Prewasi and Epirus, To the Father of Fathers, of equall merit with the Angels.* And by this, saith he, you may perceiue what respect the Bishops of the East bore vnto the Pope of Rome. And tell me, I pray you, is it reason that of these fooleries, or rather impieties, *Baronius* should make a rule of law? or should he not rather looke vnto the proceedings of the Councils? It is certaine, that *Hormisdæ* had deliuered his Legats their lesson in a booke, to which the Bishops of the East must first subscribe, before they might joyne in communion with them. And the good Emperour *Iustin*, because he much affected the peace of the Church, and therefore feared to offend him by any contradiction, seeing nothing in their articles repugnant to the Orthodox religion; did what he could to make his Bishops subscribe vnto them; which yet carried the marke of ambition in their verie front, beginning with their *Tu es Petrus*, together with that which they inferre in consequence of that text; and hauing this for a close, *Following in all things the Apostolike See, and preaching as it ordaineth.* Which clauses the Bishop of Constantinople thunned as so many rockes, and refused to subscribe vnto them; requesting them to content themselues with this, That he was readie to testifie his faith by his letter, which himselfe would write to that purpose. In the end it came to this, That he should begin with a preamble vnto the articles, directed to *Hormisdæ* in forme of a letter. Which he did, and in such sort, as that it might for euer after well serue him for an Antidote. The inscription was according to the vsuall manner, *To our most blessed brother and companion of seruice, which siteth but all with the Popes Tu es Petrus.* And whereas the Pope magnified the See of Rome, he taketh occasion to say, *I hold these two holie Churches of the old Rome and of the new, so be but one and the selfe same Church:* where in stead of *Senius Roma*, they make vs to read, *Superioris Roma*, by an abreuiation, of set purpose and wittingly corrupted. For who euer heard speake of a superior Rome? or what is more vsuall, than to say, the elder and the new Rome? And then follow the articles of *Hormisdæ*. Thirdly; when this was done, both the Emperour himselfe, and the Patriarch *Iohn*, went vnto *Hormisdæ*; the one in this manner, *The Emperour to Hormisdæ Archbishop and Patriarch, &c.* And perhaps vpon this ground it is that *Istorie*, in his Chronicle saith; That the Pope received this Title first of all from *Iustin* the Emperour. The other, with the vsuall tearmes of *Brother and fellowe Administrator.* Wherein he letteth him to vnderstand, That this generall peace proceeded from the petic and vertuous disposition of the Emperour to the end that he should not offer to arrogate the praise thereof to himselfe; and putteth him out of mind, that their two Churches were indeed but one & the selfe same Church; and is farre ynough from making the one superior to the other. Vnderstanding alwayes, saith he, *That the two Churches, Senioris & Nouæ Romæ (and so by this place one may correct the former) of the old and the new Romæ, were but one; and resting that there is but one See of both; I now acknowledge with all sinceritie of mind our indivisible vniou, and equall confirmation of both Churches.* By which words I would know, whether he intended to subiect his Church to that of Rome, or rather to inake them squall each to other? For whereas the Countie *Iustinian* tearmeth the Bishop of Rome *Arch Pontiffe*, which importeth no more, as *Baronius* himselfe confesseth, than Archbishop; this argueth not any superiority, but onely a Primacie of this See. Neither doe those words in the letters of *Pompeius*, *Archbishop of the Vniuersall Church*, make any thing at all for *Baronius* his cause, as if the Popes

της καθολικης εκκλησιας.

Baron. vol. 7. an. 519. art. 140.

ib. art. 98.

ib. an. 519. art. 140.

Popes had at that time bene taken for Vniuersall Bishops. For it is in the Greeke onely, of the Catholike Church: a Title long before giuen (as already hath bin declared) vnto *Basil*, and to *Athanasius*, and to sundrie other Bishops: Because, as Saint *Cyprian* saith, *the Church is but one, of which euerie Bishop governeth his part or portion alone without a confeder* and the Bishop of Rome had at that time a great part vnder him. For I would know, when Pope *Agapete* consecrated *Mennas* by the name of Vniuersall Bishop, whether he purposed to make him Pope or no? and *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, though inferior in degree to the Patriarches, yet called he the Bishop of Rome Father and fellow Minister, and Companion in seruice. Fourthly; wee shall best iudge of the cause by casting our eye vpon the effects. It fell out therefore, that one of *Hormisdæ* his Legats had been foulely outraged at *Theopolita* *Dorotheus*, which had euer much fauoured them before, was accused as author of that outrage: Whereupon *Hormisdæ* sent vnto his Legats, That they should be instant with the Emperour, that *Dorotheus* might be deposed, and banished into some farre countrey; or otherwise sent to Rome vnder sure and sufficient guard; and withall, that one *Aristides*, who was supposed to haue had a finger in that businesse, should not succeed him. The Emperour his answer was, That there was no reason why he should be sent to Rome so be heard there, where they might easily acquit themselves for want of an accuser. And so all his punishment was, to be sent for a few dayes to *Heraclea*, and then was he restored to his See againe. How farre are these proceedings from that power which the Pope pretendeth? And yet haue we no more of all this matter than we find in an Epistle of one of those Legats to *Hormisdæ*. Here *Baronius*, as his manner is, crieth out, *Is it possible that Iustice vnder an Emperour, who taketh his name from Iustice, should be thus forestalled through money, in the cause of the holie Father?* for that was the imputation which *Iohn*, one of the Legats, laied vpon the Emperour. But it somewhat staieth *Baronius* his stomacke, that the Emperour shortly after consulted the Pope vpon certaine points of faith. And what of that? for, his place considered, what more vsuall? or what would he inferre thereupon? Moreover, he pleaseth himselfe much in a certaine sentence taken out of a certaine letter which he wrote vnto *Hormisdæ*; which sentence he causeth to be printed in great letters: *We beleene and hold for Catholike, that which was intimated to vs by your religious answer.* O how dangerous a thing it is to deale fairely with this kind of people! And what shall we oppose this same dealing against all those proceedings formerly by vs declared? And yet he cutteth off this sentence with an *&c.* where as commonly he is no niggard in reciting whole Epistles: and therefore we haue reason to suspect that something followeth, which if it were knowne would make his cause, especially considering that these Epistles are taken out of the Vatican, and the greater part of them as yet remaine vnprinted. First and lastly; he speaketh much of one *Possessor* a Bishop of *Africke*, who sent a certaine commentarie which he had composed vpon the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, vnto *Hormisdæ*, and complaineth that he could receiue no answer: The reason was, saith he, because *we well knew that the Catholike Church admitteth of no interpretation of holie Scriptures, but onely such as were first approved by the Apostolike See.* And where, I pray you, can he shew vs, that Saint *Cyprian*, *Hilarie*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Ierome*, *Chrysostome*, and others, euer sent their bookes to him for his approbation? or what should they haue done, to haue gotten their bookes approued, when Pope *Marcellinus* sacrificed vnto Idols, and when *Liberius* became an Arrian? and when many of the rest turned Heretikes? To what purpose therefore serueth all this discouerie

of *Baronius*, but onely to busie and to abuse mens thoughts with childish vanities. A

16. PROGRESSION.

That *John Bishop of Rome* was sent embassadour from *Theodorice* to the Emperour *Iustine*; and what honour the Emperour there did vnto him.

An. 524.

ABOUT the yeare 524, when *Iustine* the Emperour had depriv'd the Arrians of those Churches which they had in Constantinople, *Theodorice* then king of Italic, and a professed Arrian, tooke offence therat, and sent *John Bishop of Rome* his embassadour vnto him (The Popes now vse to send kings in their errands) assisted with certaine Senators, to intreat him to restore them to their Churches; if not, to tell him, That he purpos'd to serve the Catholics throughout Italic with the same fauce. And the Pontificall booke saith, That they entreated the Emperour with many false teares, and that in the end they obtained their request. Which he repeated twice severall times, howsoever *Baronius* would faine disguise the matter. And *Nicophorus* reporteth, That when *John Bishop of Rome* was brought to an equal seat with *Epiphanius Bishop of Constantinople*, who sat by side with him (for henceforth contended with him for the precedencie) he was not there with content, but required to be placed up above *Epiphanius*, in a throne by himselfe; which perhaps was granted vnto him, in regard of his qualitie of embassadour. And *Marsellinus* speaking hereof, saith, That *dexter dextero Ecclesia assedit solo*: meaning, that *Epiphanius* gave him the right hand; which, if we will credit *Baronius* in many places of his booke, is the lesse honourable place. But the Pontificall booke maketh sure worke, and saith, That the Emperour *Iustine*, in honour vnto God, prostrated himselfe before the Pope, and adored him.

Liber Pontificalium Iohann. 1.

OPPOSITION.

Theodorice, though an Arrian, yet much commended for his great moderation, whether it was because he could not endure this pride, or whether he had beene informed, that he had suffered himselfe to be led away by those extraordinarie honours which *Iustine* had done vnto him; immediatly vpon his returne to Rauenna, clapt him vp in prison, where he continued to his dying day: Which made the Popes for a while after not to carrie themselves so briskly as before. Yet persuaded they the common people, that a certaine good man had scene the soule of *Theodorice* carried betwene this *John* and *Symmachus* the chiefe Senator (whose head he had taken off) into the isle of *Lipara* by *Sicilie*, there to be cast headlong into *Vulcans* boiling lead. For we now enter into an age wherein the people was not fed but with such fables. Now this Pope *John* passeth for a Martyr, and was enrolled among the Saints, as having suffered for converting the Arrian Temples into Christian Churches. But *Anastafius Bibliothecarius* seemeth to report the contrarie: and *Gregorie* of *Tours* speaketh too confusedly to be beleued. It is therefore more probable, that he was so handled vpon a poynt of State, as about the same time *Boetius* and *Symmachus* lost their heads, for that they had intelligence with the Emperour against *Theodorice*. For it is cleere, that *John* crowned the Emperour at Constantinople, though he had bin already Sacred by the Patriarch: which was too much for an embassadour to do, who would not voluntarily fall into suspition with him which sent him.

Paul. Diac. l. 15

Anastafius Iohann. 1. Greg. Turonensis de gloria Mart. 17. c. 40.

An. 525.

So likewise it was a more matter of State which moued *Theodorice*, when hee sav

saw the factious bandings which were vsed in the election of Popes, to put to the hand of his auctoritie, and to appoint him to be Pope who was at that time in greatest reputation of honestie among the Orthodox, which was *Felix* the fourth. Whereupon *Athalaric*, who succeeded his grandfather *Theodorice* the same yere, much reioyced, as appeareth by the letters which he wrote to the Senat of Rome, which had received him: *Ton hanc, laith he, requirere personage instituted by God, and approved by the judgement of the Prince.* And he had reason, seeing that *Baronius* proueth out of this verie Epistle, that for the space of fiftie eight dayes which the See was vacant, the citizens of Rome had bene in continuall ielousies, readie alwayes to come to blowes; as in the former schisme which was between *Symmachus* and *Lawrence*, had not *Theodorice* interposed his auctoritie. But *Baronius* can by no means be brought to dispencc with *Theodorice* for this grieuous sinne; but whereas he was wont highly to commend his moderation, hee now blazoneth him for a barbarous and a cruell tyran: And see Reader, saith he, who it was which first made the ouerture to Emperours to confirme the Popes, a Barbarian, a Tyran, and an Arrian; Yet should he haue remembred, that for preuention of the like confusion *Odoacer* long before had made the same law: Which they neuer imposed vpon other places, because they saw no where else the like disorders. And which is more, *Athalaric* was faine, at the request of the most Orthodox among them, though himselfe an Arrian, by a law made, to repress their vnlawfull simonie: VWhom yet they cannot accuse as ouer hard vnto them, seeing that at the humble suit of the Roman Clergie he released them of the law of *Valentinian* the second, by which they were iustifiable in all causes both ciuile and criminall, before the secular Magistrat, in like sort as any other persons were; and ordained, That in the first instance they should goe onely to the Bishop of Rome, and not to the secular Iudge but by Appeal: of which more at large hereafter. And likewise in the East, the Emperour *Iustinian* was faine to meddle in Church gouernement, to rectifie what was amisse therein. And this stucketh fore in the stomacke of *Baronius*, and of his companions, for that the more to repress the ambition of certaine Bishops which haunted the Court, by a law directed to *Epiphanius* Bishop of Constantinople, he forbad all Bishops to come at Court, vnder what colour or pretence soeuer, saue onely vpon expresse order and commaundement from himselfe; vpon paine and perill not onely of his displeasure, but also of excommunication to be inflicted; if the partie offending were a Metropolitan, by the Bishop of Constantinople; if an inferiour Bishop, by his Metropolitan. And it seemeth that this canker was farre gone, when he was forced to applie so sharpe a remedie, when by another law directed to *Atarbius* Grand Master of the household, he ordained, That so often as any See fell void, the inhabitants should nominate three men of Orthodox religion, and of sound life, of which one to be chosen to the See, whom the Emperour should thinke fit; with many other circumstances there added: forbidding also any Bishop, Visitor, Priest, or other Clergie man, of what dignitie soeuer, or any Master of an hospitall, to be made for money; vnder paine as well to the giuer, as to the receiver, of exclusion from all offices and dignities in time to come. Which lawes would neuer haue bene made, but by occasion of a strange dissolution and corruption of discipline, in suing for dignities in the Church. And farther, he was constrained to proceed to the reformation of the ordinarie Liturgie, and of the Sacraments, commaunding vnder paines both temporall and spirituall throughout the Empire, that both the one and the other should be celebrated in a knowne language; and that in such absolute and mandatorie termes,

Athalaric. Epist. ad Senat. Roma. apud Cassiod. l. 8. Epist.

Athalaricus apud Cassiod. l. 8. c. 24.

Idem li. 9. Variar. Epist. 15

L. 14. Co. de Episc. & Cler.

L. 42. Co. de Episc. & Cler. Nouell. 23.

as a man may well perceiue that they proceeded not from a borrowed jurisdiction: Which law of his was also to take place, and to stand in full force, within the walls of Rome it selfe.

17. PROGRESSION.

Of Boniface the second, and that he restored the Churches of Afrike to the communion of the Roman Church.

An. 530.

Lib. Pontif. in
Bonifac. 2.

Reum maiestatis

Bonifac. in Epist. ad Eulaliu
in 1. 10. Concil.

A Bout the yeare 530, vpon the death of *Felix*, successour vnto *John* the first, new strifes arose about the election of a Pope, some standing for *Boniface*, and others for *Dioscorus*: but *Dioscorus* happening to dye about eightene dayes after, left the roome voyd for *Boniface* the second of that name; who, vnder colour of preuenting the like inconuenience in time to come, called a Councell, where he passed a Decree, That a successor should there present be created; and thereupon he nominated to it *Vigilius* the Deacon: but finding him to be a man of more sufficiency than he thought for, hee called another Synod, wherein he declared *Vigilius* to be guilty of treason; and thereupon burnt the nomination which was made of him: So well was this new forme of election already ordered by the holie Ghost. And yet this man in a certaine Epistle of his to *Eulalius* Bishop of Alexandria, vaunteth, That he had receiued authoritie from *Saint Peter* to be a helpe to the Vniuersall Church; and that he ought to haue a superioritye ouer other Priests and Pastors of the Church, as the Archangels haue ouer the ordinarie sort of Angels. Which comparison serueth well for Archbishops; but vnlesse he will compare himselfe to God, how will he find a Pope among the Angels. And it followeth in that Epistle, That by vertue of this authoritie hee had by his Legats restored the Church of Carthage to the Communion of the Church: Which Church of Carthage the Popes had excommunicated long before; for that those 227 Fathers of Afrike, assembled in the sixt Councell of Carthage, had decreed, as hath bene already declared, That they had no need of their Legats, à Latere, nor yet of Appeals to Rome: and that they were able ynough, by the grace of God, and by the assistance of his holie Spirit, to decide their owne controuersies by themselves at home: For, saith he, *Aurelius* Bishop of Carthage (that was he which presided in the said sixt Councell of Carthage) with his Collegues (so many great personages as there were, and among them *Saint Augustine* himselfe) began the instigation of the duell, in the time of our predecessors *Bonifac* and *Celestine*, began to exalts themselves against the Church of Rome: But *Eulalius* now Bishop of Carthage, seeing himselfe, through the sin of *Aurelius*, to stand separated from the communion of the Roman Church, hath repented him therof; insreating to be receiued to peace and communion with her: And by a certaine writing signed by himselfe and his Collegues, hath condemned by the Apostolike authoritie all and euery such books written, by what spirit soeuer, against the priuiledges of the Church of Rome. This poore *Eulalius* brought to this extremitie by the eage pursuit of these holie Fathers of Rome, who would neuer let goe their hold, but tooke their aduantage of the miserable estate which those poore Churches were in; being spoyled by the Vandals, and oppressed by the Arrians, so that they were neuer after able to hold vp their head. *Bellarmino* therefore, who would needs persuade vs, that the variance betweene those Popes and these poore Africans, was not such as the world taketh it to haue bin, let him tell me, seeing that by occasion of that variance Rome did excommunicat them,

Bellar. de Rom.
Pontif. l. 2. c. 25.

whic-

A whether they could esteeme it as a light occasion: and if it were, or if they so esteemed of it, what conscience then to excommunicat them for it; such multitudes of people, so many worthie Bishops, and *Saint Augustine* himselfe, being all dead in state of excommunication, which was thundered out against them in a time when they were already vexed with the heresie of the Pelagians, and oppressed with the schisme of the Donatists, and wholly ouerrun with that inundation and deluge of the Hunnes and Vandals, and other barbarous nations? *Baronius* to saue themselves from this scandal of excommunicating *Saint Augustine*, condemne this Epistle as forged, and consequently staineth the credit of him which compiled all their Councils: his reason is onely this, That it is directed to *Eulalius* Bishop of Alexandria, whereas *Timotheus* was at that time Bishop of that See, and not *Eulalius*. But *Harding*, one of his strongest pillars, answereth for vs, That it was directed to *Eulalius* at that time Bishop of Theffalonica. Wherefore let them agree among themselves as they will, it is ynough for vs that we haue it from them, though indeed to iustifie this Epistle we may farther say, That it is taken in among their owne Decrees, and standeth for good in the late edition of *Gregorie* the thirteenth, ca. Ad hoc. 7. with these words, This chapter is read word for word in the Epistles of *Bonifac* to *Eulalius*, then Bishop of Theffalonica: which may serue for an answer to all these fruitolous coniectures of *Baronius*. Moreover, *Baronius* thinketh that he hath gotten a great catch, in that the Emperor *Iustine*, and after him *Iustinian*, sent vnto the Pope a confession of their faith; which was a custome vsed by the Emperours, vpon their installation in the Empire; and not onely to the Pope, but also to sundrie other Bishops of the better sort: to the end that they should publish to the people, That they were of the Orthodox faith; because there had bene many Arrian, Nestorian, and Eutychiean Emperours elected, who had caused no small trouble in the Church.

Harding. de
prima Pape
sect. 28.

OPPOSITION.

But that the Emperors meaning was not thereby to acknowledge him as Vniuersall Bishop, besides that they did the like to other Patriarches, appeareth moreover in this, that they speake alwayes with reference to the Councill of Chalcedon, which we haue heretofore spoken of, as it is euident both out of their confessions, and also by the Nonell Constitution 131. But to come to the matter, no law could be a bridle strong ynough to hold in that headstrong and vnlicke ambition of the Popes. We haue already seene the lawes of *Odoac*, and of *Theodorice*; and *Athalaric*, who succeeded after *Theodorice*, was faine to doe the like: For when as vpon the death of *Bonifac* there went an open and a violent canuasse throughout the citie, wherein some were neither ashamed nor afraid to offer the Senators their selues money for their voyces, the Senat tooke high displeasure at these proceedings: and thereupon they passed a certaine Decree, which wee read in *Cassiodorus* in these tearmes: whosoever, for the obtaining of a Bishopricke, shall either by himselfe, or by any other person, be found to haue promised any thing; that contract shall be deemed and held as execrable: He that shall be found to haue bene partaker in this wicked act, shall haue no voyce in the election; he shall be accounted a sacrilegious person, and shall be forced by course of law to make restitution of it. Moreover, the Senat complained of this great abuse to the king *Athalaric*, and the Defender of the Roman Church joined in petition with them to the king, who ratified their Decree by an ordinance of his owne, directed to Pope *Iohn*: The Defender, saith he, of the Roman Church came lately to vs weeping, and shewed vnto vs, that in the late election

An. 533.

Nonell. 131.

Cassiod. li. 9. E.
tit. 15.

election of a Biſhop of Rome, ſome men making their benefit of the neceſſitie of the time, by an vngodlie praſiſe had ſo ſurcharged the meanes of the poore by extorted promiſes, that the verie veſſels of the Church was by that occaſion ſet to ſale. But the more cruell and vngodlie this act is, the more religious and holie is our purpoſe to cut it off by due courſe of law. And a little after, having mentioned the aboue named decree, he addeth, For this cauſe, all that which is contained in that decree, we commaund to be obſerued and kept to all effects and purpoſes, againſt all perſons which either by themſelues, or others ſhall haue anie part or portion in thoſe execrable bargaines. What a pitie was it, that the Defendor of the Church ſhould be conſtrained to lay open this filthie nakedneſſe of the Church vnto an Arrian? But *Baronius* to make the beſt of a bad cauſe, ſayth, That he did it by the exhortation of Pope *John*: but the Reader may obſerue, that neither in the Hiſtorie, neither yet in the ordinance it ſelfe, there is anie ſuch mention made. The concluſion is as followeth, *Our will and pleaſure is, that this our Ordinance be intimated to the Senat and people by the gouernour of the Citie, to the end that all may know, that we are deſirous to find out thoſe who run a courſe ſo contrarie and repugnant to the Maieſtie of God: and you alſo (ſaith he) ſhall intimate the ſame to all Biſhops, which by the grace of God are vnder your commaund and government.* Which words are plainely directed to the perſon of *John*: but in that which he wrote to the gouernour of the Citie he addeth farther and ſayth, *To the end that this benefit of ours may continue firme and ſtedfaſt in time to come, we ordaine, That as well this our Ordinance as the ſaid Decree of the Senat be deeply grauen in tables of Marble, and ſet up as a publicke teſtimonie before the Porch of S. Peters Church.* A great honour, no doubt, vnto the Prince himſelfe, but an euerlaſting blemish and reproach to the Clergie of the ſame.

Baron. vol. 7.
an. 533. art. 3.
ſeq.

Ceſſo. lib. 9. va-
riat. epist. 36.

L. S. Co. de ſum-
ma Trinit.

But in the viſages of *Juſtinian* the Emperour towards *John* the ſecond, *Baronius* imagineth, that he findeth much for the Popes aduantage. It is certaine, and we haue often ſaid as much, that the Emperours being now retired into the Eaſt, had need to hold intelligence with the Popes of Rome, by their meanes to find alwaies a dore open into Italic. Wherefore this Emperour being newly come vnto his Crowne, ſent an honourable embassage vnto him, to aſſure him of his true faith and Orthodox religion. And *Baronius* obſerueth in his Epistle, that he ſayth in this manner: *We are all carefull to aduertise your Holineſſe of all ſuch things as concerne the eſtate of the Church: with thoſe other words following, To ſubmit and to vnite to your Holineſſe all the Biſhops of the Eaſt &c. Your Holineſſe, which is the Head of all the holie Churches.* And thence he concludeth, that the Emperour acknowledged this full and absolute authoritie of the Pope; and conſequently, that all the Churches of the Eaſt did the like; not caring how manie pages he filleth with this argument. But to let paſſe, that the moſt learned Ciuilians of our time hold this Conſtitution as neither lawfull nor legitimate, it would trouble his conſcience to haue all this Epistle conſtrued according to the letter: For firſt the inſcription is onely this, *To the holie John, Archbiſhop of Rome and Patriarch*, as the Emperour *Juſtin* his predecessor had ſtilled him before. Doth this title, I would know, import an vniuerſall charge and authoritie ouer all? But what then ſhall we ſay, when we ſee this verie Emperour, writing to *Epiphanius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople, to vſe theſe tearmes following, *To the moſt holie Archbiſhop of this royall Citie, and Do- cumenicall*, that is to ſay, *Vniuerſall Patriarch*? What would *Baronius* haue ſaid, had the Emperour ſo written to the Biſhop of Rome? And farther, doth he

Leg. & S. Co. de
ſumma Trinit.

not vſe the ſame tearmes vnto him which he doth vnto the other? We will (ſayth he) that your Holineſſe know all matters which belong to the State Eccleſiaſticall: and we haue written to the ſame effect to the Pope of old Rome. And all this we read in an Epistle, which *Baronius* himſelfe acknowledgeth to haue paſſed in nature of a publicke Ediſt. VWherefore *Baronius* hath nothing to ſtand vpon but this, that the Emperour ſaith, *We endenour to ſubmit and to vnite vnto your Holineſſe all the Biſhops of the Eaſt.* Which words Pope *John* layed hold on with both his hands in his anſwer to this letter: where he telleth him, that among other his vertues this was moſt eminent, that he ſubjected all things to the See of Rome. And tell me I pray you, when he expoundeth this word *ſubijcere* by that other word *vnire*, doth he not ſufficiently explaine his meaning, which was to reduce them, not vnder the ſame dioces, but vnder the vnion of the ſame faith and true doctrine which the Church of Rome had kept: and ſuch is the drift of this whole Epistle. Yea, but he calleth it the Head of all the holie Churches; true: but ſo doth he likewise, and that not by letter onely, but by an expreſſe law, pronounce the Church of Conſtantinople the Head of all other Churches: and *Zeno* the Emperour doth the like. But had either of theſe therefore anie purpoſe to ſubject the Church of Rome to that of Conſtantinople? And if *Baronius* replie, that their meaning was of all the Churches of the Eaſt, Why may not I as well ſay, that the other was likewise meant of all the Churches in the Weſt? And becauſe he will needs interpret this place by the 131 Nouell, I would know what he can thence gather more than this, that the Biſhop of old Rome ſhould hold the firſt place, and he of Conſtantinople the ſecond? which we denie not: but it followeth not that therefore the one is ſubject to the other. But both of them ſtand vpon equall ground by the Canons of Conſtantinople and of Chalcedon, to the which the Emperour from the beginning promiſed to hold himſelfe. For whereas he farther alledgeth the ninth Nouell, directed to *John* the ſecond, wherein he graunteth this priuledge to the Church of Rome, that ſhe ſhall not be preſcribed but by an hundred yeares, calling that Citie the *Foundation of Lawes, and Fountaine of the Prieſthood*, not to ſay, that this Nouell is not found in the Greeke, he ſhould rather haue obſerued that he is there called onely, *The Patriarch of the Citie of Rome*; that he diſtinguiſheth in expreſſe tearmes betweene the Churches of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, and graunteth the ſame priuledge to them both, and had graunted into the Church of Conſtantinople ſeven yeares before the other. Likewise, that which he enfor- ceth out of the 42 Nouell, directed to *Mennas* Patriarch of Conſtantinople, (which he here alledgeth before the time) That Pope *Agapete* had depoſed the Patriarch *Antymus*; becauſe he agreed not with the Church of Rome, is not truly alledged, and therefore it is that he doth not alledge the text it ſelfe. The truth is, that *Agapete* being then at Conſtantinople, preſided in the Councell wherein *Antymus* was depoſed. And this is that which the Emperour meaneth when he ſaith, That he was put from his See by *Agapete*, who then held the firſt See in the old Rome. But how was he depoſed? it is there ſaid, *By the common ſuffrage of him and of the Synod there aſſembled.* And the reaſon is alſo added, for that he viſurped the place, contrarie to the holie Canon, and had departed away from the ſound do-ctrines of the holie Councells. And this depoſition of him was alſo authorized by the Emperour in his 42 Nouell directed to the ſaid *Mennas*, who is there againe qualified with the name of *Vniuerſall Patriarch*: which place *Holoander*, for feare of the Popes displeaſure, hath tranſlated, *Patriarch of all that quarter*; whereas the word there vſed, *καταμένη*, ſignifieth all the habitable earth.

Caput. l. 16. Co.
de Iaerof. eccleſ.
c. 1. 2. 4. ſibid.
Baron. vol. 7.
an. 534. art. 36.

Nouel. 131.

Nouel. 10. in
ed. Holoan.

Nouel. 42.

καταμένη
αυτή, ἡ ἑσ-
πράξῃ τῷ
ἑπιφάνῳ
κατὰ τὸν
ἕλενον
ὁ ἡμῶν
ἀρχιεπίσκοπος
ἀντιόχειας
ἠρξάμενος
ἐξουσίας.

Where-

Wherefore it is to be vnderstood, that all those Patriarchall Sees are sundrie times called *Oecumenicall*, without prejudice of each to other, because the Bishops of those Churches being placed in the midst of the enemies of Christianitie, were alwaies taken as watchmen ouer the whole Church, who were to looke euerie man not to his owne peculiar charge onely, but to all in generall, that Sathan by schismes and heresies infected not the bodie of the Church; like vnto fellow tutors, who though by consent they admister euerie one his portion of the pupils goods apart, yet is euerie one of them answerable for the whole. Wherefore we see, that sometimes these Patriarchs without blame put their sickles into each others corne, and vpon the first alarme giuen by anie of these, they all fought presently to procure an *Oecumenicall* Councell; which was then so esteemed and called, when they all, or the greatest part of them, with their inferior Bishops, met in Synod: and as Rome, for the honour of the Citie, held alwaies the first roome in dignitie, so the Church there, for the grace which God had giuen her to keepe her selfe more cleane from heresies than anie other, was most respected, and the Bishop also of that Citie tooke place before the other Patriarchs, and in causes which arose, was euer consulted with much respect and reuerence; whereof *Iustinian* yielded the cause, which was, for that (saith he) *we haue sundrie times bene reformed, by the Church of old Rome*. But so soone as either the Pope, or anie other Patriarch began to abuse this honour, and to encroach thereby vpon the liberties of their fellowes, euerie man began presently to crie out of tyrannic and oppression.

L. 7. Co. de sum. Trinitat.

18. PROGRESSION.

- 1 That the Gothish Kings vsed their authoritie in the election and creation of the Popes.
- 2 That *Belisarius*, by the commaund of the Emperesse, thrust out *Syluerius*, and placed *Vigilius* in the Popedome.
- 3 That *Vigilius* condemned the Councell of Chalcedon, and confirmed the Heresie of the Eutychians.
- 4 *Baronius* his censure of *Vigilius*.

It cannot be denied, that the Popes of this age were sharply set vpon this desire of soueraignie and dominion; but they met commonly with one or other, who knew well how to prouide a Martingall for a jade: and so much the rather, because men began now to grow jealous of their authoritie and power, as they saw them to vse it in fauour of one or other. Wherefore these Gothish Kings vsed ordinarily to beare a hand in their elections, which were carried otherwise after a fashion more befitting rogues and theues than ingenuous competitors. And *Agapete* was no sooner elected Pope, but *Theodatus* immediatly sent him as embassador to *Iustinian* the Emperour of Constantinople, to excuse him of the death of *Amalasontha* his wife, daughter to *Theodoric*, and by him recommended to the Emperours protection: a fit commission for a Pope. And the same *Theodatus* vpon the death of *Agapete* placed *Syluerius* in his roome, being the naturall and lawfull sonne of Pope *Hormisdas*. The Pontificall Booke saith, That it was done without anie deliberation of the Decree: and he made manie Priests to subscribe thereto by force and feare. How then can these men, who boast so much of their Mission, iustifie this calling, with sundrie actions ensuing thereupon?

Syluerius

Analaf. in Agapete.

Sine deliberatione Decreti. An. 536.

Syluerius accepted of his kindnesse: but *Vigilius*, whom *Boniface* had formerly nominated to the See, by solicitation of the Emperesse, put in now againe for his interest. And here the Reader may well obserue an apparent progresse and proceeding of the iniquitie of this See: the relation therefore of *Liberatus* Archdeacon of Carthage is as followeth, *The Emperesse Theodora* (who was of the Eutychian Heresie) called vnto her *Vigilius*, sometime Deacon to Pope *Agapete*, requiring him to promise her vnder hand, That if he were made Pope of Rome, he would abrogate the Councell (meaning that of Chalcedon) and that he would write his letter to *Theodosius*, *Anthyminus*, and *Senerus*, heresikes of the same profession, and therein ratifie and confirme their faith; promising him to send her commaund to *Belisarius*, that he should set him in the See, and withall to giue him seven hundred markes of gold. This *Vigilius*, what for lone of the gold, what for desire of the Popedome, accepted of the offer, and thereupon came to Rome, where he found *Syluerius* already created Pope: wherefore he went to *Belisarius*, who then lay at Rauenna, to whom he deliuered his message from the Emperesse, and of those seven promised him two hundred markes, if he would thrust out *Syluerius*, and put him in his place. *Belisarius* thereupon returned to Rome, and called *Syluerius* before him into the palace, layed to his charge, that he had entertained secret intelligence with the Gothes, to surprize the Citie: and it is reported, that one *Marcus* a scholer, and *Iulian* one of the gard, had forged certaine letters as from *Syluerius* to the King of the Gothes, whereby he was convicted of conspiracie against the Citie. And yet in the meane time did *Belisarius* and his wife deale prively with *Syluerius*, to satisfie the Emperesse, by cancelling and disannulling the Councell of Chalcedon, and by writing to authorise and to confirme the faith of the heretikes. But he was no sooner gone out of the place, but having had conference with his Councell, he withdrew himselfe into the Temple of *S. Sabina*, from whence, vpon assurance giuen vnto him by one *Photis*, sonne to the Ladie *Antonina*, he was againe sent for to come into the Palace: his friends aduised him not to aduenture his person vpon the tickle faith and promise of those Grecians: yet he came into the Palace, from whence in regard of their oath and promise they suffered him to returne safely vnto the Temple of *S. Sabina*. But when *Belisarius* sent for him a second time, seeing a mischiefe readie to fall vpon him, he recommended his cause to God, and went vnto the Palace, where he entered all alone, and after that was neuer seene by anie of his friends. The day following *Belisarius* called together all the Priests, Deacons, and Clerkes, commaunding them to proceed to the election of a new Pope: who, after some little variance, agreed in the end vpon *Vigilius*, whom they chose in fauour of *Belisarius*; and *Syluerius* was then banished vnto *Patara*, a Citie of *Lycia*.

Belisarius immediatly vpon the installation of *Vigilius* demanded performance of promises which *Vigilius* had made vnto the Emperesse, and the two hundred markes which he had promised vnto him: but he, what for feare, what for auarice, refused to performe his promises. *Syluerius* in the meane time arrived at *Patara*, and the Bishop of that Citie went and acquainted the Emperour with his cause: the Emperours answer was, That if those letters were found to haue bene written by him, *Syluerius* might not presume to stirre from thence; if otherwise, that then he should be restored to his See againe. And it came to passe, vpon the examination of these letters, that *Syluerius* returned into *Italie*: Whereupon *Vigilius* fearing least he should be deposed, told *Belisarius*, That vntlesse he would deliuer *Syluerius* into his hands, he could not performe that which he had promised. Wherefore *Syluerius* was deliuered to a couple of his gard, and was by them carried prisoner to *Palmaria*, where he starued in their custodie. Then *Vigilius* to performe his promise to the Emperesse, wrote by *Antonina*, wife to *Belisarius*, that letter which *Liberatus* setteth downe all at large,

K

directed

2
Liberatus in
Breviario. ca.

Centenaria
septem.

directed to the chiefe Eutychians, as the Emperresse had required him to doe: wherein he telleth them, That he holdeth and ever did hold the same faith which they did, requesting them not to let anie know what he had written, but rather seeme to mistrust him. And he farther declared his faith in these words, We doe not confesse two natures in Christ, but one Sonne composed of two natures, pronouncing Anathema against all such as should affirme the contrarie. And now let the champions of the Romane Church tell vs, what vocation or calling this good Pope had.

Baron. vol. 7. an. 538. art. 20.

4. *Baronius* to defend the matter, saith, That the like schisme was neuer scene in that Church: (and yet we may remember that his predecessors had their errors) *A Pope* (saith he) thrust into the Chaire by a secular authoritie, a theefe in at the window, a Wolfe amongst the Sheepe, a false Bishop amongst the true, an Antichrist against Christ: The impietie of *Nouatus*, the obstinacie of *Yrscim*, the presumption of *Lawrence*, all these put together seeme as nothing in comparison of him. And yet shortly after, when he had murdered *Syluerius*, he maketh him a Saint, and a Vicar of Christ, excellent, beyond comparifon. He laboureth by all meanes to proue, that this Epistle in *Liberatus* sinelleth of the forge: for, What probabilitie (sayth he) that in his inscription he should call the Emperour and the Emperresse Lords and Fathers? But he is egregiously mistaken, not seeing, that this Epistle was not directed to them, but to the chiefe heretikes, *Theodosius*, *Anthymius*, and *Senerus*, according to the promise which he had formerly made vnto the Emperresse. And *Liberatus* in the end of that discourse saith, That *Vigilius* writing praiely as he did, continued in his See. Looke now and see what is become of these men, of their vndoubted succession, and infallibilitie in points of faith, who the worse they are, the more they crie out *Tues Petrus*.

Jb. art. 19.

Dominos & Patres.

Libera. c. 22.

Agapete. in ep. ad Justin.

Agapete, who made his mone vnto *Iustinian*, That *Epiphanius* Bishop of Constantinople had receiued *Achilles* an heretike vnto penance, without his authoritie, being himselfe at Constantinople, would needs vse his power and authoritie, euen to the deposing (if anie man thinke fit to beleue them) of the Patriarch *Anthymus*, and to the setting of *Mennas* in his place. But we will shew how this was done by authoritie of the Prouinciall Synod. And *Vigilius*, who groweth violent in his Epistles, and pronounceth, That vnto *Peter* was given the preheminnence ouer all the rest, and that therefore he was called *Cephas*, that is by interpretation a Head (by which it appeareth, that he was much better scene in the ambition of the Latines, than in the language of the Grecians) that for this cause all Appeals must come to Rome, and all greater causes be referred to the hearing of the Consistorie there. To be short, That all other Bishops may peradventure be said to be called in partem sollicitudinis, i. into part of the cure, but not into that plenarie of power and absolute iurisdiction. A prophane speech, and well befitting Antichrist; and so *Baronius* himselfe doubteth not to call him.

Vigilius ad Euterium.

OPPOSITION.

Novel. 45.

Novi. 45.

We haue scene how farre their ambition would haue gone: let vs now see how fare it went. For the case of *Anthymus*, *Liberatus* saith briefly, That *Anthymus* seeing himselfe deposed at the suit of *Pope Agapete*, deliuered up his Pall vnto the Emperour, and went his way; and that *Agapete* to consent the Emperour, ordained and consecrated *Mennas* in his place. But reason would, that in this case we should giue more credit to the Emperour *Iustinian* himselfe, in whose presence these things were done. He therefore telleth vs in his 42. Nouell; That *Anthymus* was cast out, being first condemned and deposed by the common consent and suffrage, as well of *Agapete* as

of the Synod. Where *Baronius*, by occasion of this word *First*, will needs shew a trick of wit, and thence inferreth, that he was first deposed by *Agapete*, who vsed (saith he) therein the falsesse of his power. Whereas the Emperours meaning was onely to shew a legall proceeding in the cause, and that nothing was done by violence against him; as the word *aprius* doth properly signifie, not first, but before, with relation to that which followeth: as also those words, *By the common suffrage of Agapete*, what sence haue they, vntlesse they be joynd with that which followeth, and of the Synod? And so hath *Holoander* himselfe translated it. For how can the suffrage of one alone be teamed common but onely in relation to some other man? Moreover, if he by his full and absolute authoritie had deposed him, what need was there then of a Synod? And when they had done all, yet was the confirmation of the Emperour necessarie thereunto, which he expresseth in the 42. Nouell in these words, *Though this be a matter vnusuall to the Maestie of a King, yet we also now set our hand to the making of this Decree and Ordinance: For so often as the generall suffrage of Priests and Bishops hath deprived anie of their Priestly Sees, as vnworthie of their place and calling (such as were. Nestorius, Eutyches, Arrius, Macedonius, Eunomius; and others not inferior to them in wickednesse and malice) so often hath the Regall dignitie contributed the vigor of her authoritie with the authoritie of sacred persons: Which tearmes expresse and declare, that the confirmation depended of him, not of Agapete, which had already passed his sentence of him: To the end*

Prius, non primum.

in Synodis

synodus

(saith he) that both the diuine and secular authoritie may concurre, for the establishing of lawfull and iust decrees. But if perhaps the Emperours credit be not good, we can, for a need, produce the testimonie of *Agapete* himselfe, whose Synodall Epistle we find registred in the Acts of the fifth Generall Councell, written by him to all Bishops in the name of the Synod: where speaking in the name of the companie, he saith, *We haue pronounced him unworthie of all holie function: and speaking of the placing of Mennas in his roome, Though the Emperour (saith he) elected him, yet the whole Clergie and people gave also their consent, so that he may well seeme to haue bene elected by all.* What therefore doe we find in all this to proue the Popes authoritie, but onely a bare consecration, which anie other Metropolitan or Bishop might haue done as well as he? onely being present, he was pleased himselfe to grace him with that office. Here *Baronius* alledgeth a certaine writing taken out of the Vatican, as he sayth, and which containeth the Acts of *Agapete*, during his abode at Constantinople; where he sayth simply, That *Agapete* thrust *Anthymus* out of the Church, and eniyned him his penance. But to goe no farther, he might as well haue obserued out of that Script which he alledgeth, that he is there onely called *Antistes prima sedis, i. Priest or Bishop of the first See*, and not *Uniuersall Pope*: as also that when *Iustinian* and he met, it is not there said as in the Pontificall Booke, That the Emperour adored him: but onely thus, *The King and the Bishop kissed each other with a holie kisse, and each did reuerence to the other*; naming the Emperour as first in order. And againe, he might haue obserued, that the See of Constantinople is there called an *Apostolike Throne*, as well as that other of Rome. And of the ordination of *Mennas* it is there said, *That the Ministers of the Church, to the great reioicing of the Catholike Emperour, tooke counsell to preferre him to that place, and recommended him to the Bishop Agapete, so ordaine him their Bishop: That Mennas then deliuered his confession to Pope Agapete, who meant to present it with his owne hands to S. Peter at Rome: and that, this being done, he then obtained the uniuersall Bishopricke, by the imposition of hands of the Prince of all Bishops; whom a little before he called only the Bishop of*

Council. uniuers. quantum, act. 1. ubi ep. Synod. Agapete.

Baron. vol. 7. an. 536. art. 59.

Rex & Pontifex sancta delibans oscula, & alter alterum veneratus.

Prasuli.

Principe.

Subiectionem sibi
provinciarum.

the first See. Which word of *Vniuersalitie*, *Baronius* expoundeth, as meant on-
ly of those Provinces which belong to his iurisdiction: And why then may not we
make the like construction, when any man letteth fall the same, or the like word
of the Pope of Rome? But this is much after their ordinarie Grammar, when by
saying the *Catholike Roman Church*, they make a particular *Vniuersall*. And that
much for *Agapete*.

Baron. vol. 7. an.
540. tit. 6, 7, 8, 9

Now followeth *Vigilius*, whom *Baronius* immediatly after the murder of *Syl-
rius*, of an Antichrist, as he termed him before, now maketh Christs Vicar, and
which is more, a verie Saint. He was no sooner set in his chaire, but presently he
became a new man: Whereupon our Annalist crieth out, *What a myracle is*
this from God vpon this chaire, which thus transformeth a bad man into a good
And yet by all the particulars which himselfe deduceth at large in his election, it
should seeme that God had no finger in it: All was of pure man, the authoritie
of the Empreffe, the force and violence of *Belisarius*, gained before hand by mo-
ney, the feare of a present vprore in the citie if they had presumed to elect any o-
ther, which made them in this election to leape ouer all Lawes and Canons of
the Church: for these are his verie words. But let vs see whether there were any
greater myracles wrought vpon him after his election.

Anastasin Vi-
gilius.

*Anastasin Bibliothecari-
us*, not a flatterer, but a verie Idolater of the Popes, in the life of *Vigilius*, telleth
vs, That he was no sooner established in his See, but the Romans presently accu-
sed him before the Emperour: *we make it knowne*, say they, *unto your Maiestie*,
that he dealeth ill with your seruants and people of Rome, and that we here accuse him of
murder: He is growne so furious, that he gaue his Notarie a blow on the eare, which
made him to fall downe dead at his feet: Also he commaunded a nephew of his, and his
owne sisters sonne, to be beaten unto death. And are these the myracles which this
chaire worketh? Now vpon these complaints the Empreffe, as it is there reported,
sent Anthemius the Scribe to apprehend him by maine force, yea though he found
him in the Church, and to bring him by sea sure prisoner to Constantinople:
who following his commission, seised on him in Saint Cecils Church, and carried
him away forthwith to ship him vpon the Tiber; the people following him with
curfings, and casting stones at him, and crying out, Hunger and pestilence goe with
thee: Euill hast thou done vnto vs, and euill mayest thou find where euer thou comest.
Baronius beleueth nothing of all this which *Anastasin* reporteth; his reason is,
because *Procopius* saith nothing of it: And no maruell, seeing that the scope of *Pro-
copius* was to write the warres of the Gothes, not the liues of the Popes: Now
when he was brought to Constantinople the Empreffe challenged him of his pro-
mise, which was, to restore *Anthymus*. Whereupon *Baronius* would faine cano-
nize him for a Martyr, and presumeth to affirme; *That in this man, when he was set*
in Saine Peters chaire, Christ himselfe, was onely as he was man, but also as he was God
*and man, sat also with him. Now whether this was the true cause, or onely a co-
lour, I cannot say. But Anastasin* reporteth, That they reproached him with the
murder of *Syluerius*, and of his owne Notarie, and of his sisters sonne, *haling him*
along the streets with a rope about his necke. Nicephorus addeth farther, That he had
excommunicated the Patriarch *Mennas*, whom his predecessor *Agapete* had him-
selfe consecrated in the roome of *Anthymus* the Heretike, who excommunicated
him againe, and could not forbear his wonted violence: So that in the end, to
stint these strifes, there was a Councell called at Chalcedon: *Baronius* here ob-
serueth, That *Eutyechius*, who was chosen in the roome of *Mennas*, tendered the
profession of his faith vnto *Vigilius*: and we on the contrary haue already shewed,
that

Procopede bello
Gothico. 3.

Baron. lib. an.
552. tit. 11.

ib. an. 553.

that this was a thing vsually practised among the Bishops. But he should ra-
ther haue obserued, That in his letter he calleth him onely by the name of *Brother*;
and *Companion of the Priesthood*; knowing, as he there saith, *how much good proceedeth*
from the peace of God: And that in the end of the letter hee subscribeth him-
selfe, Eutyechius by the grace of God Bishop of Constantinople, without any reference
to the Pope. Where also Baronius obserueth, That *Eutyechius* requested *Vigilius*,
That the difference which yet remained betwene the Orthodox, *De Tribus Capi-*
tulis, might be referred to a Councell, in which *your Beatitude may preside ouer vs,*
and where the holie Gospels may lye open before vs.

Well then, saith *Baronius*, by this it appeareth that he acknowledged his Pre-
sidentie. Which poynt deserueth to be handled somewhat more at large: And
first we must see who called it. *Baronius* runneth to his old shifts, and saith, That
the Emperour decreed it to be called, by the Pope *Vigilius* his aduise; being loath
to speake plainly, and to confesse that he called it: and thereupon he citeth *Eua-*
grius, where he saith, *That Vigilius consented by his letters to the Councell* (which he
sent from Chalcedon, whither he had withdrawne himselfe at that present) *but*
himselfe would not be at it. And why then will he not as well beleue him, when he
saith, That Iustinian called the fifth Councell? or if Vigilius had called it while hee was
present at the place, why did he afterward refuse to be present at it? The best is,
that the Histories make this matter cleere ynough. Nicephorus saith, That the
Emperour *Iustinian* called the fifth generall Councell, and summoned the Bishops out of
all quarters. And the Emperour himselfe vnto the Fathers of the Councell: *wee*
haue, saith he, *assembled you in this regal citie. And the Fathers themselves, we*, say
they, *here assembled, according to the commaundement of the deuout Iustinian. And*
Baronius in that writing which he alledgeth vnto vs out of the Vatican, teacheth
vs, That *Vigilius* did what lay in him to haue this Councell held in Sicilie, as a
more indifferent place for the Bishops of the East and West to meet in; and yet
he could not obtaine it. As for the Presidentie, it is euident, that at the first
Mennas Bishop of Constantinople presided in it, and there gaue sentence a-
gainst *Anthymus* and other Heretikes; which sentence is yet to be seene in the
bodie of the Councels. And after *Mennas* his death, *Bellarmino* cannot denie,
but that *Eutyechius*, who succeeded him in the See, succeeded likewise in the Pre-
sidentie: and the whole course of the Acts shew as much. But, saith he, *Vigilius*
might haue presided if it had pleased him. It should seeme, by his leaue, that *Ni-*
cephorus was of another opinion, when he saith, When *Eutyechius* was by the Em-
perour put in the roome of *Mennas* late deceased, *Vigilius*, though agreeing with
him in poynts of doctrine, yet refused to sit by him: which was, no doubt, because he
affected a higher seat; and thereupon, though he was at that time in the citie, yet
would he not stay at the Councell, pretending that there was but a small number
of the Westerne Bishops there: whereas the true cause was, because hee saw his
predominant omnipotentie neglected. *Bellarmino* replieth out of *Zonaras*, That
Vigilius was chiefe of this Synod. How chiefe, if he were not there at all? But
that place of *Zonaras* answereth for it selfe: *There were*, saith hee, *165. Fathers,*
ὄντων, quorum princeps fuit, saith the Latine translation, that is, *of whom was*
chiefe Vigilius Pope of Rome, and Eutyechius, and Apollinarius of Alexandria: where
we see that this word ὄντων is referred to all three, as Heads of these three Patri-
archall Churches. So likewise he speaketh in another place of the sixth generall
Councell, ὄντων, of which were chiefe, or Captaine and Leaders the Vicars of *Agatho*
Pope of Rome, George of Constantinople, and Theophanes of Antioch: where the
transla-

ib. art. 20, 21,
22, 23, 24.
Eua. gr. li. 2. c. 37

Nicephor. li. 17.
ca. 27.

To 2. Concil.
act. 1.

Synod. Constante
quin. vniuersale.
actio. 4.
Bellar. li. 2. de
Concil. ca. 19.

Zonar. to. 3. pa.
55. c. 74.

Explicatio
Sanctor. & ve-
nerabil. Concili-
orum & Cap.
1553.

Zonar. 10. 3.
pa. 30.

Iuni. Controuerf.
4. pa. 186.

Concil. Matifico.
& passim.

apud abis. Coen-
vis & p. 105.
ons.

Concil. constant.
5. art. 9.

translator rendreth the word *ἡγούμενοι*, by *Principes fuerunt*, and so are they vsually tearmed as well the one as the other. There is a booke intituled, *The Explanation of the Holie Councils*, taken out of the kings Librarie: this booke speaking of the Council of Nice, *In that Council*, saith he, *were Heads and Presidents, Syluester Bishop of Rome, Alexander of Alexandria, and Macarius of Ierusalem*. And againe speaking of the second generall Council, *The Presidents there were Damasus Bishop of Rome, Neclarius Bishop of Constantinople, Timothie of Alexandria, Cyril of Ierusalem, Melitius of Antioch*; all which were Patriarches: But he addeth afterwards, *Great Gregorie the Diuine, Gregorie of Nissa, and Amphiloehius of Iconium, by reason of their great learning*: where Zonar as vseth a higher straine, and saith, That among all these *Gregorie the Great, and Gregorie of Nissa, and the sacred Amphiloehius, in all encounters, were chiefe and principall*: which word vsed in the singular number by the Author, is by the Interpreter referred to all three, as was also that other word *ἡγούμενοι*, referred to *Vigilius, Eutychius, and Apollinaris*. And this same booke speaking of the Council of Ephesus, saith in like manner, *In this Council presided Celestin Bishop of Rome, Cyril of Alexandria, Iouenal of Ierusalem, Memnon of Ephesus*. And so likewise of other generall Councils of Chalcedon, Constantinople, the second Nicene, and the rest; where the Greek words are, *ἡγούμενοι δε τῆς Συνόδου*, and the Latine Interpreter rendreth it, *Huius Concilio presuerunt*, i. *They were chiefe in this Council*; naming alwayes the Pope for companie among the rest, and that most commonly when himselfe was not there in person, and sometimes no man for him, as namely in the Council which we now speake of. Bellarmine yet vrgeth out of that Epistle which *Baronius* alledgeth, That *Eutychius* Bishop of Constantinople, writing to *Vigilius*, saith vnto him, *We desire to treat and to confer of these poynts together, Presidente nobis vestra beatitudine*, that is, *Vnder your blessed Presidents*. But this is to grate too farre vpon the plaine speaking of these letters, contrarie to all course of historie. And it is not improbable (which a learned man hath obserued) that this place is corrupted, and *Presidente* written in stead of *Residente*, that is, *While you are here abiding with vs*; as we find this word vsed vpon like occasion in many other Councils: *Residentibus Prisco Euanthio, Pratextato, &c.* that is, *Assisting in the Council*: For at the first sitting of this Synod *Vigilius* was in the citie; and if we should read *Presidente*, yet there is a large difference betweene *Presencie*, which importeth onely a prioritie of place, and *Presidencie*, which implieth a superioritie. But more than this, a great part of that action is spent only in requesting him to be present at the Synod; and in the end they protest against him, and openly reproach him, *That he is an offence and scandall both to the Emperour and also to the Churches; as one which wought regarded the curse pronounced by our Saniour, against those who offend euen little ones*. Yet he started not, onely he sent them this word, *That they should receiue his aduise in writing*. Now what can a man imagine to haue bene the cause of this his tergierification, but onely this, That he saw his pretended *Presidencie* neglected, and himselfe called thither not to commaund, but onely to conferre; not to make shew of his omnipotencie, but of his learning. So that in the end, for such his contempt against the authoritie both of the Emperour and of the Council, he was cast into banishment; and hauing afterward by the meanes of *Narfes* gotten leaue to returne home againe, he died by the way in Sicilie.

And thus we see that the calling of the generall Councils was not as yet deuolued, nor did belong to the Bishop of Rome, no not so much as the calling of Nationall Synods: seeing that wee find the second Council of Orleans, which was

was held about this time, speaking in this manner: *We, say the Fathers, being now to deliberat concerning the obseruation of the Catholike law, by the commaundment of the most glorious King, &c.* and that other of *Auvergne*, That they were there assembled by the consent of our most renowned Lord the King *Theodebert*: and so of others. And which is more, *Iustinian* himselfe, whose fauour toward them they do so much magnifie and extoll, made no difficultie to create a Pope by his owne authoritie: which appeareth in that which *Anastasius* reporteth, and *Baronius* cannot denie it, That he put the citizens of Rome to their choise, Whether they would receiue *Vigilius* againe, or take *Pelagius* his Archdeacon to be their Bishop. Neither was this a matter of fact onely, but a lawfull right: For *Onuphrius*, a man of their owne, saith, and groundeth his saying vpon the authoritie of *Vigilius*, That when the *Gothes* were turned out of *Italie* by *Narfes*, and both *Italie* and *Rome* were now annexed to the Easterne Empire, vnder the Emperour *Iustinian*, by the authoritie of *Vigilius*, there was brought in a new fashion to be obserued in the creation of Popes, which was, That so soone as the Pope was deceased, the Clergie, Senat, and People, should presently fall to the choise of another, after the custome of their forefathers. But the Pope so elected by them, might not be consecrated by the Bishops, vntill his election were first confirmed by the Emperour of Constantinople, and his pleasure herein signified by his letters patents for the authorizing him in the execution of his Pontificall iurisdiction: for which licence the Pope elect was to send the Emperour a certaine summe of money: (How farre is this from that pretended donation?) which done, he was then consecrated, and took vpon him the administration of that See. Whereas before that time he was euer elected and consecrated all in a day. And it is certaine, that either *Iustinian* himselfe, or *Vigilius* by his authoritie, brought in this fashion; to the end that the Emperour might stand alwayes assured of the Popes inclination towards him, because his authoritie was growne great in *Italie*, since the time that the Emperours seated themselues in Greece: and the feare was, least that if a Pope should happen to be chosen either of a factious and turbulent disposition, or peradventure ill affected to the Emperour, he might by his authoritie draw *Italie* from his allegiance, in fauour of the *Gothes*; a thing once before attempted by *Syluerius*, at least the Emperour was so persuaded. And this custome, as he saith, and citeth many authors for it, dured till the dayes of *Benedict* the second.

19. PROGRESSION.

That *Pelagius* the first caused the fifth generall Council of Constantinople to be received in *Italie*.

After the death of *Vigilius*, who deceased in Sicilie as he returned from Constantinople, *Pelagius* the first, who succeeded him in that See, neuer consulting vpon the matter, but onely seeking to gratifie the Emperour who had named him to the place, went about to make the Bishops of *Italie* to receiue the fifth generall Council held at Constantinople, whereas there were verie few Bishops of the West, and not one Metropolitan of *Italie* which was present at it.

OPPOSITION.

The Bishops of *Italie* fearing some attempt against the Council of Chalcedon, and purposing to be better informed of the matter, refuse to admit of that other of Constantinople at that present, especially those of *Liguria*, *Venetia*, and *Istria*, and among them *Macedonius* Bishop of *Aquileia*, *Honoratus* of *Milan*, and *Maximinian* of *Rauenna*; all which presently assembled in Synod at *Aquileia*, to deli-

Onuphr. in Pelag. 10. 2.

In Comitijs Pontificallibus.

More maiorum.

Sigon. de Imper. Occident. l. 20.

deliberat of the admittance or refusall of that Councell which *Pelagius* sought to thrust vpon them: at which time *Macedonius* Archbishop of Aquileia fell sicke and died, and *Honoratus* Archbishop of Milan, consecrated *Paulinus* in his roome: and all with one consent reiected the Councell, vnder colour of certaine chapters therein contained, which pleased them not, and farther drew their neckes from vnder the yoke of the Roman Church. *Pelagius* then thought it high time to run to *Narses*, whom he requested by his letters, to send the chiefe of those Bishops prisoners to Constantinople, and to repress the rest by rigour of law, and his own authoritie. Where we may obserue, that he alledgeth not his owne interest, in that *Paulinus* was ordained Archbishop of Aquileia, without receiving the Pall from him, but onely the interest of the Emperour: Seeing, saith he, that euen then when *Totilas* possessed and held all this countrey in his subiection, he would neuer suffer a Bishop of Milan to be consecrated, vnlesse he had first acquainted the Prince with his election, and obtained leaue in writing from him: That therefore *Narses* should make no scruple to vse his authoritie vpon these fellowes, because such persons were by order of the Canons to be excommunicated, to be ordered by rigour if reason could not rule them. *Narses* hereupon grew so violent, that he drew an excommunication from the Bishops vpon his owne head. *Pelagius* egged him on still by his letters, which we find recorded in the Councils, and reported by *Signonius* and *Baronius*; and importuned him againe to send *Honoratus* and *Paulinus* prisoners to Constantinople: vntill at length *Narses* apprehended some of them, made others to flie the countrey; among the rest *Vitalis* Bishop of Altin fled to Meuce in Germanie. And hence it is that some writers hold opinion, That this *Pelagius* was the first which decreed, to pray in aid of the secular power, against such as stood condemned for schisme or heresie.

An. 556.

Baron. vol. 7. an. 556. art. 31.

Neither was he any thing better respected or obeyed in Tuscany, which yet lieth euen at Rome gates; witnesse his owne letters which he wrot vnto *Gaudentius*, *Maximilian*, *Gerontius*, *Iustus*, *Terentius*, *Vitalis*, and *Laurence*, his beloued brethren (as he tearmeth them) throughout Tuscany: where he complaineth, That they had separated themselves from him, and consequently from the communion of all the world, in not mentioning his name in the ordinarie seruice of the Church. All which Bishops certainly tooke not the See of Rome, much lesse euery one that should come to sit thereon, as infallible in points of faith; seeing that *Pelagius* himselfe was faine, for his owne discharge, to send vnto them the confession of his faith: as it appeareth by that Epistle. As for those other Bishops of Venetia and Istria, they proceeded so farre, as to constitute and ordaine the Bishop of Aquileia Ouerseer of their Church, by the name of Patriarch; a knot which the Popes were neuer afterward able to vndoe: and *Baronius* himselfe giueth that Patriarchship no other beginning than this.

Baron. vol. 7. an. 570. art. 11.

Iuxta communitiam.

Pela. in Epist. ad Childebert. in 2. tom. Concilio.

As for France, he was as little obeyed there as in any place whatsoever: For the second Councell of Tours saith, That they were there assembled by the sufferance and permission of the most renowned king *Cheribert*: and the first of Orleans, That they were assembled by *Childebert*, to learne from the mouth of these Fathers what was holy. And the like is to be seene in the second Councell of Paris, where *Pelagius* writing vnto *Cheribert* then king, what paine, saith he, ought mee to take to free our selues from scandall and suspicion, by presenting to you the obedience and dutie of our confession: that is, to giue them an account of their true beliefe and Orthodox profession: adding a reason farre different from the learning of these times, For that, saith he, the holie Scriptures doe commaund, that we also be subiect to higher powers. Which

Which Epistle is also taken into the Decret. And to conclude, the first Councell of Paris decreed, That so often as Bishopricks fell void, prouision should be made by the joynt election of Clergie and peoples; and that the Metropolitan, assisted by the Bishops of his owne Prouince, or of some Prouince next adjoyning, should consecrate and ordaine him, according to the ancient Canons, without any reference at all to Rome: though we find, that euen at this verie time *John* the third, successor to *Pelagius*, pursued the chase of his predecessors, writing not onely to the Bishops, but to all in generall in France and Germanie, in manner following: We will and commaund, that you and euery of you, all Bishops also and Priests whatsoever, to obserue all the Decretals and ordinances of our predecessors, in matters belonging to the Church: And if any shall attempt the contrarie, let him know that there is no place for repentance left vnto him. Yet we find, that *Vrsicinus* Bishop of Cahors at that verie time was excommunicated in the Synod of Mascon, which was there called by the commaundement of king *Goutran*, for entertaining *Gombalt*, who then stood out in rebellion against him: and that vpon his humble confession, and penitent acknowledgement of his fault, they enjoyned him, nor to cut either his haire or his beard, neither yet to drinke wine, nor to eat flesh, nor to celebrate the office, neither yet to minister the Communion, during the space of three yeares. An euident token, that these Bishops assembled in Synod, held still in their owne hands an absolute authoritie ouer their delinquent brethren. And no maruell if these Bishops which dwelt so farre off made so light of the Popes commaunds, seeing that euen vnder his nose the Archbishops of Aquileia, Rauenna, and Milan, held their owne against him; especially he of Rauenna, which citie the Emperour *Honorius* and his successors had made the seat of the Empire, from thence to looke a little neerer, and to see what was doing in the East: and where, at that time, *Iustinus* the second had commaunded *Longinus* his Exarcke, or Vicar generall of the Empire in Italie, to reside, with power to commaund ouer all Dukes and other officers of those Prouinces: who vpon the first entrance of the Lombards into Italie, planted strong garrisons in euery citie of defence, especially in Rome and Rauenna. Whence it ensued, that the Pope could doe nothing in temporal matters, by reason of the presence of the Exarck, who did all in all: and in spirituall affaires he was faine to keepe himselfe within his owne bounds, because he saw that his spirituall authoritie, which as a shadow followeth euer the bodie of the temporall power, grew towards the wane, and minished as that other of Rauenna increased.

Synod. Paris. ca. 8. to. 2. Concil. Satisfandum 25. q. 1.

Greg. Turon. l. 8. c. 20.

Signon. de Regno Italie li. 1.

Neither was that his power at all acknowledged at Aquileia and Milan, where the Archbishops pretended, That they held not of the See of Rome: not at Aquileia, because as Rome gloried in *Saint Peter*, so did she in the Euangelist *Saint Andrew*, as first founder of her Church, which had since that time become ennobled with sundrie holie Bishops and Martyrs: Not at Milan, because her Church was first founded by *Barnabas* the Apostle, and after that honoured by the Bishopricks of *Saint Ambrose*, and had either of them a multitude of Suffragane Bishops vnder them: and peraduenture they thought that tradition of *Saint Peters* chaire not to be all of the truest, and easier to be said than proved. And this is that which *Signonius* reporteth, though a writer of their owne: and which *Guicciardine* also deliuereth in these words, In this time (saith he, meaning of the Exarck) the Bishops of Rome had nothing to doe in matters temporal and because the beautie of their ancient manners and pietie was now decayed, men had them not in such admiration and reuerence as before; but they liued vnder the commaund and subiection of the Empe-

Guicciard. Hist. li. 4.

translator rendreth the word *ἡγούμενοι*, by *Principes* suere, and so are they vsually rearm-
 A as well the one as the other. There is a booke intituled, *The Explanation of the*
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 and the Latine Interpreter rendreth it, *Huius Concilio præsuerunt*, i. *They were chiefe*
in this Council; naming alwayes the Pope for companie among the rest, and that
 most commonly when himselfe was not there in person, and sometimes no man
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 C geth out of that Epistle which *Baronius* alledgeth, That *Eutychius* Bishop of Con-
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of these poynts together, Presidente nobis vestra beatitudine, that is, *Vnder your*
blest PRESIDENCIE. But this is to grate too farre vpon the plaine speaking of these
 letters, contrarie to all course of historie. And it is not improbable (which a learn-
 ed man hath obserued) that this place is corrupted, and *Presidente* written in stead
 of *Residente*, that is, *While you are here abiding with vs*; as we find this word vsed
 vpon like occasion in many other Councils: *Residentibus Prisco Euanthio, Præexta-*
 D *to, &c.* that is, *Assisting in the Council*: For at the first fitting of this Synod *Vigilius*
 was in the citie; and if we should read *Presidente*, yet there is a large difference be-
 tweene *Presencie*, which importeth onely a prioritie of place, and *Presidencia*,
 which implieth a superioritie. But more than this, a great part of that acti-
 on is spent only in requesting him to be present at the Synod; and in the end they
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to the Emperour and also to the Churches; as one which nought regarded the curse pro-
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And thus we see that the calling of the generall Councils was not as yet deuolued,
 nor did belong to the Bishop of Rome, no not so much as the calling of
 Nationall Synods: seeing that wee find the second Council of Orleans, which

was

A was held about this time, speaking in this manner: *We, say the Fathers, being now*
to deliberat concerning the obseruation of the Catholike law, by the commaundment of
the most glorious King, &c. and that other of Auvergne, That they were there as-
 sembled by the consent of our most renowned Lord the King *Theodebert*: and so of o-
 thers. And which is more, *Iustinian* himselfe, whose fauour toward them they do
 so much magnifie and extoll, made no difficultie to create a Pope by his owne au-
 thoritie: which appeareth in that which *Anastasius* reporteth, and *Baronius* can-
 not denie it, That he put the citizens of Rome to their choise, Whether they
 would receiue *Vigilius* againe, or take *Pelagius* his Archdeacon to be their Bishop.
 Neither was this a matter of fact onely, but a lawfull right: For *Onuphrius*, a man
 of their owne, saith, and groundeth his saying vpon the authoritie of *Vigilius*, That
 when the *Gothes* were turned out of *Italie* by *Narfes*, and both *Italie* and *Rome* were now
 annexed to the Easterne Empire, vnder the Emperour *Iustinian*, by the authoritie of *Vigi-*
 B *lius*, there was brought in a new fashion to be obserued in the creation of Popes, which was,
 That so soone as the Pope was deceased, the Clergie, Senat, and People, should presently fall
 to the choise of another, after the custome of their forefathers. But the Pope so clec-
 ted by them, might not be consecrated by the Bishops, vntill his election were first confirmed by
 the Emperour of Constantinople, and his pleasur hereyn signified by his letters patentes for
 the authorising him in the execution of his Pontificall iurisdiction: for which licence the
 Pope clec- C t was to send the Emperour a certaine summe of money: (How farre is this from
 that pretended donation?) which done, he was then consecrated, and took vpon him the
 administration of that See. whereas before that time he was euer elected and consecrated
 all in a day. And it is certaine, that either *Iustinian* himselfe, or *Vigilius* by his autho-
 ritie, brought in this fashion; to the end that the Emperour might stand alwayes assured
 of the Popes inclination towards him, because his authoritie was growne great in *Italie*,
 since the time that the Emperours seised themselues in Greece: and the feare was, least that
 if a Pope should happen to be chosen either of a factious and turbulent disposition, or perad-
 uenture ill affected to the Emperour, he might by his authoritie draw *Italie* from his allea-
 geance, in fauour of the *Gothes*; a thing once before attempted by *Syluerius*, as least the Em-
 perour was so perswaded. And this custome, as he saith, and citeth many authors for
 D it, dured till the dayes of *Benedict* the second.

19. PROGRESSION.

*That Pelagius the first caused the first generall Council of Constantinople to be
 receiued in Italie.*

AFTER the death of *Vigilius*, who deceased in Sicilie as he returned from Con-
 stantinople, *Pelagius* the first, who succeeded him in that See, neuer consul-
 ting vpon the matter, but onely seeking to gratifie the Emperour who had named
 him to the placè, went about to make the Bishops of *Italie* to receiue the first ge-
 E nerall Council held at Constantinople, whereas there were verie few Bishops of
 the West, and not one Metropolitan of *Italie* which was present at it.

OPPOSITION.

The Bishops of *Italie* fearing some attempt against the Council of Chalce-
 don, and purposing to be better informed of the matter, refuse to admit of that
 other of Constantinople at that present, especially those of *Liguria, Venetia, and*
Istria, and among them *Macedonius* Bishop of *Aquileia, Honoratus* of *Milan*, and
Maximinian of *Rauenna*; all which presently assembled in Synod at *Aquileia*, to deli-

*Sigon. de Imper.
 Occident. l.ao.*

*Explanatio
 Sanctor. & ve-
 nerabil. Concili-
 orum &c. An.
 1553.*

*Zonar. l. 10. 3.
 pa. 30.*

*Iuni. Controuers.
 4. pa. 186.*

*Concil. Matisco.
 2. & passim.*

*ἡγούμενοι & πρῶτοι
 ὄντες.*

*Concil. Constant.
 3. art. 5.*

*Onuphr. in Pe-
 lag. l. 10. 2.*

*In Comitij. Pon-
 tificabilibus.*

More maiorum.

deliberat of the admittance or refusall of that Councell which *Pelagius* sought to thrust vpon them: at which time *Macedonius* Archbishop of Aquileia fell sicke and died, and *Honoratus* Archbishop of Milan, consecrated *Paulinus* in his roome: and all with one consent reiected the Councell, vnder colour of certaine chapters therein contained, which pleased them not, and farther drew their neckes from vnder the yoke of the Roman Church. *Pelagius* then thought it high time to run to *Narses*, whom he requested by his letters, to send the chiefe of those Bishops prisoners to Constantinople, and to repress the rest by rigour of law, and his own authoritie. Where we may obserue, that he alledgeth not his owne interest, in that *Paulinus* was ordained Archbishop of Aquileia, without receiving the Pall from him, but onely the interest of the Emperour: Seeing, saith he, *that euen then when Totilas possessed and held all this country in his subiection, he would neuer suffer a Bishop of Milan to be consecrated, vnlesse he had first acquainted the Prince with his election, and obtained leaue in writing from him:* That therefore *Narses* should make no scruple to vse his authoritie vpon these fellowes, because such persons were by order of the Canons to be excommunicated; to be ordered by rigour if reason could not rule them. *Narses* hereupon grew so violent, that he drew an excommunication from the Bishops vpon his owne head. *Pelagius* egged him on still by his letters, which we find recorded in the Councils, and reported by *Sigonius* and *Baronius*; and importuned him againe to send *Honoratus* and *Paulinus* prisoners to Constantinople: vntill at length *Narses* apprehended some of them, made others to flie the country; among the rest *Vitalis* Bishop of Altin fled to Meuce in Germanie. And hence it is that some writers hold opinion, That this *Pelagius* was the first which decreed, to pray in aid of the secular power, against such as stood condemned for schisme or heretic.

Neither was he any thing better respected or obeyed in Tuscanie, which yet lieth euen at Rome gates; witnesse his owne letters which he wrot vnto *Gaudentius*, *Maximilian*, *Gerontius*, *Iustus*, *Terentius*, *Vitalis*, and *Lawrence*, his beloued brethren (as he tearmeth them) throughout Tuscanie: where he complaineth, That they had separated themselues from him, and consequently from the communion of all the world, in not mentioning his name in the ordinarie service of the Church. All which Bishops certainly tooke not the See of Rome, much lesse euerie one that should come to sit thereon, as infallible in points of faith; seeing that *Pelagius* himselfe was faine, for his owne discharge, to send vnto them the confession of his faith: as it appeareth by that Epistle. As for those other Bishops of Venetia and Istria, they proceeded so farre, as to constitute and ordaine the Bishop of Aquileia Ouerseer of their Church, by the name of Patriarch; a knot which the Popes were neuer afterward able to vndoe: and *Baronius* himselfe giueth that Patriarchship no other beginning than this.

As for France, he was as little obeyed there as in any place whatsoeuer: For the second Councell of Tours saith, That they were there assembled by the sufferance and permission of the most renowned king *Cheribert*: and the fift of Orleans, That they were assembled by *Childebert*, to learne from the mouth of these Fathers what was hoily. And the like is to be seene in the second Councell of Paris, where *Pelagius* writing vnto *Cheribert* then king, what paine, saith he, ought wee to take to free our selues from scandall and suspicion, by presenting to you the obedience and dutie of our confession: that is, to giue them an account of their true beliefe and Orthodox profession: adding a reason farre different from the learning of these times, For that, saith he, the holie Scriptures doe commaund, that we also be subiect to higher powers. Which

An. 556.

Baron. vol. 7. an. 556. art. 31.

Baron. vol. 7. an. 570. art. 11.

Iuxta a comniensiam.

Pela. in Epist. ad Childebert. in 2. tom. Concilio.

A Which Epistle is also taken into the Decret. And to conclude, the first Councell of Paris decreed, That so often as Bishopricks fell void, prouision should be made by the joynt election of Clergie and peoples; and that the Metropolitan, assisted by the Bishops of his owne Prouince, or of some Prouince next adioyning, should consecrate and ordaine him, according to the ancient Canons, without any reference at all to Rome: though we find, that euen at this verie time *John* the third, successor to *Pelagius*, pursued the chase of his predecessors, writing not onely to the Bishops, but to all in generall in France and Germanie, in manner following: *We will and commaund, that you and euerie of you, all Bishops also and Preests whatsoeuer, to obserue all the Decretals and ordinances of our predecessors, in matters belonging to the Church: And if any shall attempt the contrarie, let him know that there is no place for repentance lesse vnto him.* Yet we find, that *Vrsicus* Bishop of Cahors at that verie time was excommunicated in the Synod of Mascon, which was there called by the commaundement of king *Gontran*, for entertaining *Gombalt*, who then stood out in rebellion against him: and that vpon his humble confession, and penitent acknowledgement of his fault, they enjoyned him, not to cut either his haire or his beard, neither yet to drinke wine, nor to eat flesh, nor to celebrate the office, neither yet to minister the Communion, during the space of three yeares. An euident token, that these Bishops assembled in Synod, held still in their owne hands an absolute authoritie ouer their delinquent brethren. And no maruell if these Bishops which dwelt so farre off made so light of the Popes commands, seeing that euen vnder his nose the Archbishops of Aquileia, Rauenna, and Milan, held their owne against him; especially he of Rauenna, which citie the Emperour *Honorius* and his successors had made the seat of the Empire, from thence to looke a little neerer, and to see what was doing in the East: and where, at that time, *Iustinus* the second had commaunded *Longinus* his Exarcke, or Vicar generall of the Empire in Italie, to reside, with power to commaund ouer all Dukes and other officers of those Prouinces: who vpon the first entrance of the Lombards into Italie, planted strong garrisons in euerie citie of defence, especially in Rome and Rauenna. Whence it ensued, that the Pope could doe nothing in temporal matters, by reason of the presence of the Exarck, who did all in all: and in spiriuall affaires he was faine to keepe himselfe within his owne bounds, because he saw that his spiriuall authoritie, which as a shadow followeth euer the bodie of the temporall power, grew towards the wane, and minished as that other of Rauenna encreased.

Neither was that his power at all acknowledged at Aquileia and Milan, where the Archbishops pretended, That they held not of the See of Rome: not at Aquileia, because as Rome gloried in *Saint Peter*, so did she in the Euangelist *Saint Mark*, as first founder of her Church, which had since that time beene ennobled with so many holie Bishops and Martyrs: Not at Milan, because her Church was first founded by *Barnabas* the Apostle, and after that honoured by the Bishoprick of *Saint Ambrose*, and had either of them a multitude of Suffragane Bishops vnder them: and peradventure they thought that tradition of *Saint Peters* chaire not to be all of the trust, and easier to be said than proued. And this is that which *Sigonius* reporteth, though a writer of their owne: and which *Guicciardine* also deliuereth in these words, *In this time* (saith he, meaning of the Exarck) *the Bishops of Rome had nothing to doe in matters temporal, and because the beautie of their ancient manners and pietie was now decayed, men had them not in such admiration and reuerence as before; but they liued vnder the commaund and subiection of the Empe.*

Synod. Paris. ca. 8. no. 2. Concil. Satisfandum 25. q. 1.

Greg. Turon. 1. 8. c. 20.

Sigon. de Regno Italie li. 2.

Guicciard. Hist. li. 4.

Emperours and Exarchs, without whose leave and licence they might not accept, or presume to execute the office of the Bishopricke, though chosen by the Clergie and people of the Citie: and which is more, the Bishops of Constantinople and of Rauenna, because the Seat of Religion vsually followeth the Seat of the Empire, began now to contest, and to quarrell him upon the point of Primacie. And of this we shall find examples in that which followeth.

20. PROGRESSION.

That Iohn Bishop of Constantinople assumed to himselfe the name of Vniuersall Bishop.

An. 580.

Jeninator.

Plat. in P. l. 2.

THE two generall Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon had, as we haue already declared, in all points of prerogative equalled the two Bishops of Rome and of Constantinople, sauing alwaies the priority of place to him of Rome. This much offended the Bishop of Rome, who neuer looked with a good eye vpon an equall; neither could the other brooke the dealings of him of Rome, as loth to acknowledge a superior. Wherefore when the Bishop of Rome carried himselfe in the nature of an Vniuersall Bishop as farre as men would suffer him, Iohn the fourth, surnamed the Faster, Bishop of Constantinople, thought to preuent him, by assuming to himselfe the title of Vniuersall Bishop, about the yeare 580: being the more emboldened thereunto, because he saw the seat of the Empire established at Constantinople, the seat of the Exarchat or Lieutenantship of Italie planted at Rauenna, the Citie of Rome besieged by the Lombards, and consequently the Bishop of that Citie brought to a low ebbe; insomuch that Pelagius the second, who was elected during the siege, after the death of Benedict the first, could not send to the Emperor for his approbation: and when the siege afterward broke vp by reason of the wet, Gregorie, who was at that time but a simple Deacon, was faine to take a journey to Constantinople, to pacifie the Emperor: because (saith Platina) his election made by the Clergie, was of no validitie and force, without the good liking of the Emperour first had and obtained thereunto. And this attempt of the Bishop of Constantinople we haue thought fit to reckon among the proceedings of the Papall Tyrannie, because the succeeding Popes vsed this vsurpation of the other, and made it serue to their owne aduantage, and furtherance of their long intended Tyrannie.

OPPOSITION.

2. To. Concil. in decret. Pelag. 2.

This Pelagius therefore, so soone as the siege was broken vp, took heart, and wrote his letters, directed To all the Bishops who by the vniuersall calling of Iohn the Patriarch (for so he speaketh of him) were assembled in Synod at Constantinople: wherein hauing flourish'd a while with his *Tues Petrus*, at length he telleth them, That they ought not to assemble themselues without the authoritie of this See: That their present assemblie, without him, was no Council, but a verie Conuenticle: That therefore they should presently breake vp that meeting, vlesse they would be excommunicated by the See Apostolike: to conclude, That they ought not to acknowledge Iohn as Vniuersall Bishop, vlesse they purposed to depart away from the Communion of all other Bishops. And let vs Patriarch (saith he) use so prophane a title: for if the chiefe Patriarch (meaning himselfe) should be called Vniuersall, the name of a Patriarch should thereby be taken from all others. But God forbid that it should euer fall into the heart of a Christian to assume anie thing vnto himselfe, whereby

- A whereby the honour of his brethren may be debased. For this cause I in my Epistles neuer call anie by that name, for feare lest by giuing him more than is his due, I might seeme to take away euery thing which of right belongeth to him. Which clause is word for word inserted by Gratian into his Decrees, saue only, that in stead of *Summus Patriarcha*, that is, *Chiefe Patriarch*, as it is in the Epistle, he hath *Vnus*. And yet the summarie of that verie chapter, euen in the late edition of Gregorie the thirteenth, is this, That the Bishop of Rome himselfe may not be called Vniuersall. But Pelagius goeth on, and giueth the reason of that his saying: For (saith he) the diuell our aduersarie, goeth about like a roaring Lion, exercising his rage vpon the humble and meeke hearted, and seeking to deuoure not now the Sheepecoats, but the verie principall members of the Church &c. And, Consider my brethren what is like to ensue &c. For he commeth neere vnto him of whom it is written, This is he which is King ouer all the children of pride: which words I speake with griefe of mind, seeing our brother and fellow Bishop Iohn, in despite of the commaundement of our Saviour, the precepts of the Apostles, and Canons of the Church, by this haughtie name, to make himselfe his forerunner; that is, of Antichrist: alluding manifestly to that place of the Apostle in his Epistle to the Thessalonians, where he calleth him *ἀντιχριστος*, that is to say, *Lisfed vp*, or which listeth himselfe vp above all that is called God, or Deitie. And farther he addeth a second reason, which our best disguisers cannot put off, which is, That hereby Iohn went about to attribute to himselfe all those things which belong properly to the Head himselfe, that is Christ, and by the vsurpation of this pompous title to bring vnder his subiection all the members of Christ: which, as he saith, proceeded from the Tempter, who tempted our first father by casting vnto him the like bait of pride. And now tell me, whether all that which the Bishops of Rome haue since that time attempted in like manner, can proceed from anie other spirit. But he goeth on, willing them to take heed lest the payson of this word proue fatal in the end to the poore members of Christ: for that if this title be once graunted to him, there are no longer anie Patriarchs left in the Church: and so it might come to passe, that if Iohn himselfe should happen to die in this his error, there should not be left a Bishop in the Church, persisting in state of truth &c. That they must beware that this temptation of Sathan preuaile not ouer them: to conclude, that they neither giue nor take this title of Vniuersall Bishop. And yet euer by the way he putteth them in mind of the Canons of Nice, in fauour of the Primacie of his owne See, to which all matters of importance (saith he) ought to be referred: and yet, as we haue already declared, no such matter. And Gregorie, at that time his Deacon, and afterwards his successor in the Popedom, in his Epistle which he wrote to Iohn vpon this verie argument, Thou (saith he) which acknowledgest thy selfe vniuersall to haue bene made a Bishop, dost thou in disdain of thy brethren make thy selfe sole Bishop in the Church? Intimating thereby, that there is no difference whether we call him *Sole*, or else *Vniuersall Bishop*. And concerning the Council held at Constantinople in the case of Gregorie Bishop of Antioch, Pelagius (saith he) disannulled the Acts of that Synod, because of this execrable name of pride, and forbad the Archdeacon, which according to the custome he sent *Ad vestigia Dominorum*, i. to the feet of the Lords, i. the Emperours (let the Reader obserue these words) to celebrate the sollemne seruice of Masses with thee. And in like manner wrote he also to the Bishop of Thessalonica. And this is that which passed in those daies betwene the two Bishops of Rome and of Constantinople. Where we obserue, that Pelagius absolutely condemneth both the name and office of an Vniuersall Bishop, which none offereth to vsurpe and take vnto himselfe, but onely he which is the forerunner of Antichrist;

D. 99. c. Nullus

4.

Vniuersa & omnia que soli vni capiti coherent videlicet Christo.

Gregor. li. 4. ep. 39. & 47. ep. 69.

Propter nefandum elationis vocabulum.

christ; as being an honour due to Christ, to whom onely and properly it doth appertaine.

An. 580.

Antiquit. de
Fauchet, to. 1.
fol. 212. & 218.Gregor. Turon.
l. 5. c. 18.
Aimon. Mo-
nach. l. 3. c. 26,
67, 28.Gregor. Turon.
l. 5. c. 30.Baron. vol. 7.
an. 570. art. 23.
c. 24.
An. 589.

Ex imperio.

Ex iussu.

Moreouer we may obserue, that about this time, when *Chilperic* King of France had assembled a Synod of Bishops at Paris, to judge of the cause of *Pretextatus*, Bishop of Rouen (whom he had formerly exiled, vntill the next Synod which should be called) he declared openly vnto them, that he had cause ynought to condemne him for the enormitie of his crimes, that yet he brought him forth, there to be heard and judged by them, that he might not seeme to doe anie thing contrarie to the Canons. And then *Gregorie* Bishop of Cahors (though fauouring the person of *Pretextatus*) stood vp and said, *If anie of vs offend, it is in thy power, O King, to punish vs.* Whereupon, notwithstanding the earnest suit that was made for him, they proceeded against him, vpon his confession condemned him, and cast him into banishment. So likewise King *Gontran* commaunded a Synod to be called at Chaalons, vpon the riuer of Saosne (or as *Gregorie* of Tours reporteth, at Lions) against *Salomin* Bishop of Ambrum, and *Sagittarius* of Gap; where there were manie crimes of high nature layed vnto their charge, for which they were degraded and deposed from their charges: in which Synod *Nicetius* Bishop of Lions presided, whom *Gregorie* of Tours calleth by the name of a Patriarch. It fell out after a time, that these complained of iniustice and wrong done vnto them, and thereupon became petitioners to the King, that the Bishop of Rome might review their cause; which he graunted: and to that effect, at the instance of their friends in Court, wrot vnto him; yet not as of a matter of right belonging to his iurisdiction, but as *Constantine* long before wrote vnto *Miltiades* Bishop of Rome, and others, in the case of the Donatists. The words of *Gregorie* of Tours are these, *They knowing that the King was fauorably inclined towards them, asked leaue to goe to the Pope of the Citie of Rome, which by his letters he permitted them to doe.* Now vpon this example *Baronius* inferreth, that it was belonging to the Popes ordinarie iurisdiction to appeale from the Synods in France to Rome: but had it beene so, they would no doubt, immediatly vpon sentence giuen, haue put in their Appeale to Rome, and not haue gone by way of request vnto the Prince. And as for authoritie of calling Nationall Councils, we find another Synod called about the same time at Valentia, in the 24 yeare of the reigne of *Gontran*, wherein the Fathers speake in this manner, *we (say they) here assembled in the Citie of Valentia, by the commaundement of the glorious and renowned King Gontran:* And the Bishops of those other Synods of Maicon and Chaalons speake in like manner, saying, *That they were assembled by the commaundement of Prince Gontran.* And *Gregorie* of Tours speake of them after the same fashion: And in the third Synod of Toledo, when as (say they) the renowned King *Reccared* had commaunded all the *Pontifes* or Bishops to assemble themselves &c. And *Reccared* himselfe in his letter to them, *we (sayth he) haue commaunded you to assemble in this Synod.* But because this Councell is famous, by reason of the conuersion both of the King and also of the people of the Gothes, which was there wrought, *Baronius* challengeth this honour as due vnto *Pelagius* the second: For this Generall Councell (sayth he) was not held without the primitie, consent, and authoritie of *Pelagius*. And farther he addeth, That *Leander* Bishop of Seuille was there in qualitie of Legat from the Pope. But when as the Fathers of that Councell, and when *Leander* himselfe sayth, *The King hath commaunded vs, what hath he to replie?* Seeing also, that we find no mention made of *Leander* in anie such qualitie, nor yet of the Pope himselfe: and seeing that *Leander* himselfe in that Oration which

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he made, with thanksgiuing vnto God, for the conuersion of the King and of his nation, carrieth himselfe in no such qualitie: and that the king himselfe was the first which signed the Councell: and then follow the Metropolitans of Merida in Portugall, and of Toledo, namely, *Mausonius* and *Euphymius*; and *Leander* in the third place, with the addition onely of *Metropolitan of the Province of Betica*. And I would but know of *Baronius*, whether this be a meet place for a Popes Legat to stand in or no; moreouer, in some copies there is no mention at all made of his subscription; and lastly *Isidore* neither in his Chronicle, nor yet in the life of *Leander*, speaketh aught of his Legatship: so that a man may well say, that *Baronius* here speaketh more like a dreamer than an Annalist. The like is of that Councell, which the same *Reccared* caused to be held at Narbone, a Citie at that time of his dominions; which Councell *Baronius* produceth for himselfe: and yet there the Fathers say that they were assembled *per ordinationem*, by the ordinance of the most renowned *Reccared*. Neither may we forget a certaine Canon which was made in that Councell, namely, *That no Clergie man might weare Scarlet, it being a colour more properly belonging to worldlie pompe and ostentation, than to anie dignitie of Religion, whose inward deuotion ought to shew it selfe by the outward habit of the bodie, and because the Scarlet Robe belongeth rather to lay men which are in authoritie, than to professors of Religion.* And there also is a certaine punishment inflicted vpon the transgressors of this Canon. *Baronius* to iustifie the vse of Scarlet in his Clergie, alledgeth the example of the High Priests of the Iewes, which went sometimes clothed with Scarlet, as if he meant to bring vs backe againe to Iudaisme. But to returne to our former matter; the quarrell of the Bishops of Istria and Venetia, who would acknowledge no subjection to the Bishop of Rome, continued as before: and it appeareth out of the Epistles of *Pelagius* the second, though we haue not theirs, that they questioned and debated his Title, seeing that he in his Epistles complaineth, that they had sent him an answer *in nature of a definitiue sentence*: and seeing also that he paineth himselfe so much in telling them, That *Leo* neuer ratified the Councell of Chalcedon, but onely for points of faith, and that he retracted and disannulled all the rest; meaning especially that Canon wherein Bishops, as well himselfe as others, are taught to know their places. But all his eloquence would not serue him: whereupon he was faine to practise with *Smaragdus* the Exarch to force them to obedience. *Smaragdus* (sayth *Paulus Diaconus*) coming from *Rauenna* to *Grado*, drew *Seuerus* with his owne hand out of the Temple, and carried him by force to *Rauenna*, with three other Bishops of Istria, *Iohn Parenicius*, *Semerus*, and *Vindemius*, whom he constrained through feare of banishment and other violence to communicate with *Iohn* Bishop of *Rauenna*. But *Paulus Diaconus* addeth farther, *That when at the yeres end, they were returned from Rauenna to Grado, hauing I warrant you, first giuen full contentment to the Pope, the people refused to communicate with them, and the other Bishops would not receiue them.*

Baron. vol. 8.
an. 598. art. 30.
extra locum.Pelag. ep. 1. ad
Episcopos Istria.Paul. Diacon. l. 3.
de gestis Lon-
gobard. c. 27.

21. PROGRESSION.

That Iohn the fourth, Bishop of Constantinople, made meanes to be called the Vniuersall Bishop.

After *Pelagius* the second succeeded *Gregorie*, surnamed the Great, about the yeare 590, at which time *Iohn* the fourth, Bishop of Constantinople, stood stiffely in the maintenance of his vsurped title: God in his wonderfull providence hauing so ordained, that this question should be now argued and debated

An. 590.

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to the full, to the end that the Popes of ensuing ages might be condemned out of the mouth of their predecessors, and especially of this *Gregorie*, so eminent and renowned a man among them. Now this *John* was borne out by the Emperour *Maurice*, who made Constantinople the ordinarie place of his abiding, and fought by this meanes to win the greater credit and authoritie to that Citie, and therefore wrot his letters to *Gregorie*, commaunding him to maintaine peace, and to joyne in Communion with *John*: but *Gregorie*, vnder a colour of humilitie, fought to enlarge the bounds of his owne jurisdiction the most that possibly he could, as we shall see hereafter.

OPPOSITION.

Gregor. li. 4. p. 54.

επιστολῶν 207

Epist. 32.

Confacerdos meus Iohannes.

Epist. 36.

Gregorie much offended with those letters, wrote presently both to the Emperour *Maurice* himselfe, and to *Constantia* the Empreffe: To the Empreffe, that *Maurice* indeed had done like a godlic and religious Prince, in commaunding the obseruance of such Christian duties to men of the Church, *But farre be it* (saith he) *that your time should be thus defiled by the exaltation of one man*: alluding manifestly to him which is said to be exalted or lifted vp, in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, cap. 2. *neither may it euer be said, that you gave way to this crooked name of Vniuersall.* And againe, *it is an insufferable thing, that he should seeke to be called the Sole Bishop.* By which it appeareth, that to be called Vniuersall Bishop and Sole Bishop was all one in his construction. And he addeth farther, *By this arrogancie and pride* (saith he) *what else is portended, but that the time of Antichrist is now at hand: in that he imitateth him (Lucifer) who making light of that happinesse which he possessed in common with the whole Armie of the Angels, would needs aspire to a singularitie above all the rest*: saying, as it is in the 14 chapter of *Esay*, *I will exalt my Throne above the starres of heauen &c. and will be like to the Almighty.* And to the Emperour he wrote much after the same manner, *All those* (saith he) *which haue read the Gospell know well what the Lord said vnto Peter &c. The Care and Primacie of the whole Church is committed vnto him, yet is he not called the Vniuersall Apostle, and yet behold my fellow Priest Iohn seeketh to be called the Vniuersall Bishop: I am now forced to crie out, O the times, and O the manners of men, Europe is now exposed for a prey to the Barbarians, and yet the Priests, who should lie along in the dust vpon the pavement, weeping and rolling themselues in ashes, seeke after names of vanity, and boast themselues of their newfound prophane titles.* By which words he plainly condemneth this title of Vniuersall, as well in all others as in *John*, and thereupon in opposition to him, he tooke vnto himselfe first of all the Appellation of *the Seruant of Seruants*: which title his successors after him haue vsed vntill this day. But *Gregorie* proceeded yet farther, and joyned to him *Entolius* Bishop of Alexandria, and *Anastasius* of Antioch, as in a common cause, requiring them to helpe stop this breach against the torrent of this his pride and elevation. And he would faine haue persuaded them, that the Councell of Chalcedon did offer that title to the Bishop of Rome, (which yet we haue formerly shewed out of the whole proceedings of that Councell to be notoriously false) but that none of his predecessors would accept of so prophane a title. *And God forbid* (saith he) *that this should euer enter into the heart of a Christian, requesting them neuer hereafter to call anie man by that name in their Epistles, and repeate that saying of Pelagius, That he of whom it is written, This is he which is King ouer all the children of pride is neere at hand.* And that *John* by thus exalting himselfe, maketh himselfe his forerunner, and asureth to himselfe that which belongeth onely to the Lord *Iesus*. And vsing no lesse libertie of stile, he wrot vnto *John* himselfe, *when thou wert called*

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A called (saith he) to the office of a Bishop, thou saidst, that thou wert not worthy to be called a Bishop, and now thou wouldst haue none a Bishop but thy selfe. &c. What wilt thou answer vnto Christ, who is the true Head of the Vniuersall Church, in that day of iudgement, seeing that by this name of Vniuersall thou seekest to embrall all the members of his Bodie vnto thy selfe? whom doest thou imitate herein, saue onely him, who in contemps of those Legions of Angels which were his fellowes, sought to mount aloft to the top of singularitie, where he might be subiect to none, and all others subiect vnto him: that is to say, Lucifer: And he doubteth not to applie vnto him that which is said in the 14 of *Esay*. Verily (saith he) the Apostle Peter was the principall member of the Vniuersall Church: as for Paule, Andrew, Iohn, and the rest, what were they but onely the chiefe of their particular assemblies, and yet all they members of the Church vnder one Head &c. yet would none of those presume to call himselfe Vniuersall, neither doth anie other assume that name vnto himselfe, who is truly holie &c. and consequently, neither S. Peter himselfe, nor the Bishop of Rome, who claimeth from him. But heare what followeth, *My little children* (saith he) *this is the later time, which Christ himselfe foretold: the pestilence and the sword now deuoure the earth &c. all prophesies are now fulfilled, the King of Pride is at the gates, and which I dread to speake, an armie of Priests or Bishops standeth readie to receiue him: for they who were appointed to chalke out the way of meekenesse and of humilitie, are now in pay vnder that necke of Pride, which listeth it selfe vp: meaning by the King of Pride Antichrist, who relieth vpon the strength of his gard, which are the Clergie, of whose elevation S. Paule had spoken in the second to the Thessalonians, cap. 2. and Gregorie in this and sundrie other places speaketh after him, and by warrant from him. And we must here note, that he charged his Deacon *Sabinian* not to communicate with *John*, if he renounced not this pretended title of Vniuersall Bishop. And when *Cyriacus*, who succeeded vnto *John*, persisted in the waies of his predecessor, he wrote againe to *Anastasius* Bishop of Antioch in this manner: *I haue receiued* (saith he) *his Synodall Epistle, wherein he requireth vs not to trouble the peace of the Church, and I haue likewise aduertised him of that superstitious and haughtie name of Vniuersall Bishop, that he could haue no peace with vs, vnlesse he did reforme the haughtinesse of this word &c. otherwise* (saith he) *we corrupt the faith of the Vniuersall Church &c. and not to speake of the wrong which he doth vnto vs, if there be one called Vniuersall Bishop, then must the Vniuersall Church goe to the ground, if he which is Vniuersall happen to fall: but neuer may such foolerie befall vs, neuer may this weaknesse come vnto my cares.* But to *Cyriacus* himselfe he wrot, requesting him, at his first entrie to abolish that word of pride, by which there was so great scandale giuen in the Church: for whosoever (saith he) is desirous of honour contrarie to the honour of God, shall neuer be accounted honourable by me; teaming this title of Vniuersalitie a thing contrarie to God and to his honour: *And because Antichrist, that enemy of the Almighty, is now at hand, my earnest desire* (saith he) *is, that he may find nothing of his name, or any waies appertaining to him, either in the manners, or in the names of the Priests.* And when the Emperour *Maurice* commaunded, that for a friuolous name there should no such scandale arise betweene them, *Consider* (saith he) *vnto the Emperour, that when Antichrist shall call himselfe God, the matter it selfe is but small, and frimolous, yet most pernicious: if you looke to the qualitie of the word, it consisteth only of two syllables, but if you regard the weight of iniquitie which dependeth thereon, you shall see an vniuersall enemy. wherefore I speake it boldly, that whosoever calleth himselfe, or desireth to be called by others, the Vniuersall Priest or Bishop, is in his elation of mind the forerunner of Antichrist, because that in like pride he preferreth himselfe before others: like, I say, for that as that wicked one would seeme as God above all men, so will this man exalt himselfe above all Bishops.**

Gregor. li. 4. p. 28.

Sacerdotum;

Cernici militant elationis.

Cr. li. 6. Epist. 24.

Elevationem.

Epist. 28.

Epist. 30.

And in like manner writeth he to *Eulogius* Bishop of Alexandria. And that no man may say, That *Gregorie* went to take away that from another, which he yet reserved as due vnto himselfe, in his Epistle to the same *Eulogius*, he thus writeth: *You haue bene carefull*, saith he, *to aduertise me, That you for beare now to write vnto any, by those proud names which spring meerely from the root of vanitie; and yet speaking to me, you say, Sicut iustus, i. As you commaunded. Let me, I pray you, beare no more of this word Commaund: for I know well ynough both what I am, and what you are. In degree you are my Brethren, and in maners you are my Fathers. Wherefore I commaunded you nothing, onely I aduised you what I thought fittest to be done. And yet I do not find that you haue perfectly obserued that which I desired to leaue deepest grauen in your best remembrance; for I told you, That you should not write in any such manner either to me, or to any other, and yet in the verie Preface of your Epistle you call me by that name of pride and vanitie, Vniuersall Pope; which I would intreat you to forbear hereafter, seeing that your selues lose whatsoeuer you giue vnduely to another. For my owne part, I seeke to encrease in vertue, and not in vanitie of Titles. That addeth nothing to my honour, which I see taken from my brethren; my honour is the honour of the Vniuersall Church, and the sound vigour of my brethren. Then am I truly honoured, when my brethren haue euerie man his due: For if you call me Vniuersall Pope, you denie your selues to bee that which indeed you are, in that you call me Vniuersall: but God forbid, let vs rather put farre from vs these words, which pusse vs up to pride and vanitie, and woundeth charitie to the death.* All which part of his Epistle is inserted in the Decret; which *Gregorie* the thirteenth, in his Reformation of the Canon Law, knew not how to redresse, but onely by giuing *S. Gregorie* the flat lye.

Now we may not for all this thinke that *Gregorie* would lose any thing of his owne, or was carelesse to set foot and to encroach vpon another mans; for it appeareth by his Epistles, that he spread his wings as farre, and farther than his neast would giue him leaue, taking all occasions to gaine credit, and to be dealing not onely in Italie, but also in other more remote Prouinces of the West; making himselfe sometimes arbitrator betweene parties, and sometimes Iudge of controuersies betweene Church and Church, and estfoones a sanctuarie and refuge for those who had bene censured and cast out by their own Metropolitans; whereof we haue but too many examples in his Epistles. And if we will ground our opinion vpon certaine Epistles which goe commonly vnder his name, he was the first which brought in the Pall of the Archbishops, which was a certaine Mantle or Cloake, which he sent vnto them in honour, thereby to oblige them to the subiection of his See, namely to *Virgilius* Bishop of Arles, and by vertue thereof conferred vpon him his Vicarship ouer the Churches of king *Childebert*, with power to watch ouer their doctrine and behauiours. But it hath bene right well obserued, that those Epistles are of another growth, because the whole course of the Historie of *Gregorie* of Tours, who liued in the same time with *Gregorie* the Great, sufficiently teacheth vs, That the authoritie of our Prelats and Archbishops depended not of the Popes, neither did they euer heare talke of that Pall: which is more than probable, because that in so many changes of Bishops and Metropolitans, as we read of, we find no mention at all made thereof. Wherefore those words, *Quod iuxta antiquum morem Pallij vsus, ac vices Apostolica sedis post ulasti: And, Cum priscam consuetudinem Eraternitas vestra repetat*, by which they say, That *Virgilius* requested of *Gregorie* the vse of the Pall, and the Vicarship of the Roman See, according to the ancient custome, were ill deuised. And how vnlikely a thing is it, that *Childebert* should intreat the Pope to commit the oversight and

Distin. 99.
c. Exce. in presb.
110. 5.

Greg. 14. Epist.
51. & 52.

Idem ad Inter-
rog. Augustin.
62. 9.

A and charge of the Churches of his kingdome to the Bishop of Arles, who was at that time subiect to king *Gontran*, with whom hee might in time vpon occasion haue open warre? Adde we hereunto, That notwithstanding this pretended Pall, *Gregorie* expressly forbad *Augustine* his Legat, to exercise any jurisdiction ouer the Churches of France: *we*, saith he, *giue you no authoritie in the Churches of France, &c. Thou mayest not presume to iudge them by thine authoritie, but onely by warning and speaking them faire, and by making thy vertues to shine before them: To doe otherwise than this, were to thrust thy sickle into another mans corne. Wherefore what euer is to be done by authoritie leaue vnto the Bishop of Arles, whose jurisdiction reacheth as far as to Lions.* The like may be said of that Pall, which, they say, was sent to *Siagrius* Bishop of Authun: and many such forgeries may we find in those Epistles, as we may ghesse by the priuledge there granted to *S. Medard* Bishop of Soissons, bearing date the yeare 593, *Indictione 2*; whereunto *Theodoric* his hand is set, as if he had bene then reigning in Soissons; who yet was neuer there, and was scarce of age to speake, at what time that priuledge beareth date: neither did the Popes of that time date after the manner which is there expressed. But this I say, that *Gregorie* had that name of Vniuersall Bishop in such abhominacion, that as he condemned it in another, so he would neuer accept thereof in himselfe, being verily perswaded, that whensoeuer it came to be accepted, the morrow after Antichrist should set foot into the Church.

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Baron. vol. 8. an.
595. an. 27.

1b. art. 32, 33, 34

1b. art. 81. an.
193.

Epist. 30.

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Baron. vol. 8. an.
595. art. 27.

1b. art. 32. 33. 34

1b. art. 81. an.
593.

pronounceth, That *Sedes Roma speculationem suam toti orbi indicit*: i. The See of Rome A
 enioyneth her speculation to all the world, and sendeth out her new constitutions vnto all.
 Perfect good Latine, no doubt: but he goeth on, *If any King, Bishop, or Judge, vi-*
olate or infringe the Decrees of our Apostolike authoritie, and of this our commaundment,
of what degree or estate soeuer he be, let him be deprived of his honour, and cut off from
the communion of Christ: that is, saith *Baronius*, Kings from their kingdoms, for
 violating the priuiledge of one poore hospitall: And so did *Gregorie* the seuenth
 cried downe this Epistle, he will now so much enhance the price of this base
 coyne? Thirdly, saith he, when *Pelagius*, predecessor vnto *Gregorie*, saith in his
 first Epistle, That no Patriarch may presume to use this prophane name, his meaning B
 was, that none of the foure Patriarches of the East should vse it, to the exclusion
 of him of Rome; that is in effect, to take it from them, and to appropriat it to
 himselfe. And for prooffe he alledgeth a certaine Epistle of *Gregorie* to *Natalis*,
 where indeed he speaketh of foure Patriarches, but not a word to this purpose.
 But not to goe farther, a man that readeth the text it selfe, had need to blush for
 him which cannot blush for himselfe; for these words follow immediatly vpon
 the former, *If, saith he, the Soueraigne and chiefe Patriarch* (such as hee supposeth
 himselfe to be in all that Epistle) *be called Vniuersall, then is the name of Patriarch ta-*
ken from all others: but sarre be this from the thoughts of a Christian. Which then of C
 these two did he? Did he giue the Title of Soueraigne Patriarch to any one of
 the Patriarches of the East? or did he denie himselfe to be a Christian? or when
 he forbiddeth them to giue this Title of *Vniuersall* to any man, doth he exclude
 himselfe out of the number of men? Fourthly he saith, That this verie *John* of
 Constantinople, who chalenged this Title, yet still acknowledged *Gregorie* as
 Head or Chiefe about him; as appeareth, saith he, in the case of *John* of Chalcedon,
 which stood condemned of Heresie, and yet *John* of Constantinople suffere
 him to carrie his cause by Appeale to Rome: and for prooffe hereof alledgeth
 the Epistles of *Gregorie* to *John* of Constantinople, and vnto *Narses*. It is true,
 that in the former of those Epistles he complaineth, That whereas hee hauing
 written to him concerning certaine wrongs done to *John* of Chalcedon, and to
 other Monkes of *Isauria*, he made him answer, That he knew of no such matter.
 Whereupon he stormed, and wrot to him againe, That if he had made him a more
 direct answer, he would haue sent them backe to him againe without more adoe,
 and would neuer haue spoken of that which of rights belongeth to him by the Canons:
 which also he repeated vnto *Narses*. Now no man euer doubted of their protec-
 tions. But what is all this to an Appeale to Rome, seeing that there is not so much
 as the name either of an Appellant or of an Appeale to be found in all those Epi-
 stles? And as for those 15, 16, 17 Epistles of *Gregorie*, which he citeth out of his
 fift booke, they proue nothing but this, That *John* vpon the wrong which was done
 vnto him, had recourse to *Gregorie*, who made his cause to be reviewed in a Syn-
 od; and his confession being there found Orthodox, *Gregorie* requested the Pa-
 triarch of Constantinople to receiue him againe with fauour, as one which had
 bene abused and wronged by such as he had put in trust with the examination of
 his cause; and intreated the Emperour to assist him therein: all which faoureth
 not of the nature of an Appeale, but onely of that ancient recourse which the
 oppressed vsed to make to the chiefe Sees; and which the Bishop of Rome vsed
 commonly to draw to a consequence of Soueraignie and Dominion. The like
 is to be said of the case of *Adrian* Bishop of Thebes, whose processe, as hee saith,
 Gre-

Greg. 7. li. 8.
Epist. 21. & li.
4. Epist. 2. & 23.

Epist. 37. li. 2.

Pela. 2. Epist. 1.
ad vniuers.
Epist.

Baron. vol. 8. an.
565. art. 34.

Greg. Epist. 52.
& 64. li. 2.

Confugit

Pallium pro
Commodo.

Baron. vol. 8. an.
590. art. 23. An.
& sequent.

Greg. li. 2. Epist.
62. & 65.

Meas Sacri-
dotes.

A *Gregorie* read ouer: for the Appeale there spoken of, vpon the accusation which
 was mixt, and partly Ciuile partly Ecclesiasticall, belonged properly to the Ci-
 uile Court, in the point for which the Emperour in the first instance commit-
 ted it to *John* Bishop of Iustineana Prima, and secondarily to the Ecclesiasticall
 Court, in that which concerned his deposition. And *Gregorie* there speaketh in
 verie proper termes, when he saith, That *Adrian* being wronged by his brethren and
 fellow Bishops, as by his enemies, fled to the cite of Rome. And againe, He is, saith he,
 come to Rome, to complaine with teares. And in like sort doth *Baronius* abuse the
 other examples which he alledgeth. Fiftly he saith, That *Gregorie* dealt about his
 Palls, amongst the Archbishops of the East also: making vs beleue, that this cus-
 tome is as ancient as Christianitie is old: And where soeuer the Bishop of Rome
 writing to any Bishop, saith vnto him, *Vices tibi meas committo*, i. I make you my Vi-
 car, he inferreth presently, That he sent him the Mantle or Pall withall: which he
 bringeth in, as if it had now suddenly sprung out of the ground; it being a thing
 which former ages neuer heard of. But set vs see vpon what credit, though wee
 now come to enter into an age which was wholly set vpon new fangles and deu-
 ses. For prooffe hereof therefore hee citeth the 55 Epistle of *Gregorie*, lib. 4.
 whence he collecteth, That he bestowed this Mantle or Pall vpon *John* Bishop of
 Corinth: whereas yet his words are onely these, *You know*, saith he, *that before*
this Pall was giuen for money, but we haue taken a strict order in a Synod, that neither
this, or any other order, shall hereafter be disposed of either by money or by fauour. And
 I see no reason, but that by the same argument he might haue said, That hee sent
 him his Orders also. True it is, that the two Bishops of Rome and of Constanti-
 nople pulled who could pull hardest, to get all iurisdiction into their hands, as
 if the Church had bene a prey betweene them two: and this was the cause that
Gregories letters flew so thicke as they did into Greece. And so much bee said of
 the power which he chalenged ouer the Church.

As for the Emperour *Maurice*, *Baronius* taketh pepper in nose against him; a
 man otherwise well reported of, and much commended by Historians. His grie-
 uance is onely this, That according to the law of his predecessors, he tooke vpon
 him to confirme *Gregorie* in his Popedom; and is scarce friends with *Gregorie*
 himselfe for suffering it. In the end he saith, That the Emperour was a Tyrant, and
Gregorie forced to doe what he did: and that it was of this *Maurice* that he meant,
 when vpon the fift Penitentiall Psalme he vsed these words, *That he is no King who*
maketh the Church a Chamber-maid, whom God appointed to be free and Mistresse of the
house: if so, then was *Gregorie* a notorious hypocrite; neither is there any tru-
 sting of him, seeing that he said one thing and meant another, in all the dealings
 which he had with *Maurice*. For doe but read the Epistle which he wrot vnto
Maurice, concerning that law which he had made to this effect, That no souldier
 vntill he were dismissed, no accomptant without his discharge first had and obtain-
 ed, should take the Frocke vpon him, and enter into religion: and then tell me
 whether it be possible for a man to vse greater submission than he there vseth? He
 is answerable, saith he, for it before Almighty God, who soeuer is either in word or deed
 found faultie against his gracious Lords: And so were I your most unworthie seruant, if
 in this case I should hold my peace, &c. Thou wert my good Lord before such time as thou
 wert Lord of all, &c. And when I thus presume to speake vnto my Lords, what am I but
 dust, and a verie worme of the earth, &c. Power is giuen from heauen vnto my Lords
 ouer all men, &c. and Christ shall one day speake vnto thee, saying, To thee haue I commit-
 ted my Priests, or Bishops, &c. And in the end, I haue, saith hee, now in euerie point
 fulfil-

Confugit

Pallium pro
Commodo.

Baron. vol. 8. an.
590. art. 23. An.
& sequent.

Greg. li. 2. Epist.
62. & 65.

Meas Sacri-
dotes.

fulfilled my duetic, seeing that I have yeilded my obedience to the Emperour, and have not kept silence in that which was of my knowledge. Who can read this, and thinke him a Pope which wrot it? And in like manner speaketh he to *Theodore* the Emperours Physician, *My tongue, saith he, is unable to expresse the good which I have receiued of the Almighty, and of my Lord the Emperour; and what shall I giue againe for all this good, but onely this, Vestigia pure amare, i. To loue the ground he goeth on: in the same sence, in which he elsewhere often saith, ad Dominorum vestigia transmissi, i. I have sent it to the feet of my Lords.* And at the foot of that Epistle he saith, *God hath not giuen him power to rule ouer souldiers onely, but also ouer Bishops: where hee vseth the word Sacerdotibus, meaning thereby, All men of the Church.* And shall then *Baronius* his plea be admitted, when he saith, That *Gregorie* spake as one which liued vnder a *Neyo*, or a *Dioclesian*? especially, when he maketh such open protestation, That he speaketh the truth wholly, without all reseruatiō: and thereupon is so bold in the same Epistle, as to say vnto him, *What wilt thou answer before the iudgement seat of God, when he shall say vnto thee at that day, Of Notarie I made thee. Captaine of the gard; of the Captaine of the gard, Caesar, of Caesar, Emperour?* Was it feare, or duetic, which drew these words from him? But if you will take a true view of the iudgement which this man had of the Emperour, then read the Epistle which he wrot without all pascion to *Anastasius* Bishop of Antioch: *Whereas, saith he, men which are Orthodox in the faith are daily preferred to holie Orders, wee haue great cause to render all thanks therefore to the Almighty, and daily to pray for the life of our most religious and Christian Lord the Emperour, and of his gracious consort, and of his courteous progenie, in whose times the mouthes of the Heretikes are stopped: for though their hearts boyle with peruerse and forward thoughts, yet vnder a Catholike Emperour they dare not to vsset their mischieuous imaginations.* And in like maner writeth he to *Sycius* Bishop of Ierusalem, and to sundrie others. But the conclusion of all was this, That the law of *Maurice* stood still in force, and *Gregorie* himselfe was faine to publish it, by his letter directed to the Metropolitan and to the Bishops of the chiefe Sees; in whiche he calleth him *Most religious and most clement Emperour.* But yet *Baronius*, like a man that would faile with euerie wind, telleth vs, That *Gregorie* corrected this law before the publication therof; and that thereby he declared that his Apostolike power was aboue the Emperours law. But who so shall take the paines to read this Epistle all along, shall find that hee doth nothing therein, but onely declare the intention of the Emperour, to put it in execution, and to iustifie this law, rather than to reprove it.

22. PROGRESSION.

Of the murder of the Emperour Maurice, by Phocas. What flatterie Gregorie vsed vnto Phocas: and that Boniface the third of Rome got to be called Vniuersall Bishop.

WE haue already seene the controuersie which was betweene *Gregorie* of Rome, and *Iohn* of Constantinople, it remaineth that wee now come to the issue therof. The Emperour *Maurice*, vnto whom Saint *Gregorie* had written so many letters, came to fall into dislike and hatred of souldiers, and one *Phocas* a Centurian made himselfe captaine of the mutiners, and was afterwards for his paines by them proclaimed Emperour. *Maurice* seeing that, fled away with his wife and children; and presently was *Phocas* crowned by the Patriarch, and forth-

Zmor. li. 3. pa.
64. 65. & se-
quent.

A with he pursued after *Maurice*; and when he had ouertaken him, slew his wife and children before his eyes, not sparing the little one which hung at the breast, and afterward caused his throat to be cut likewise. *Maurice* had sent away his sonne *Theodosius*, to referre himselfe to better fortunes with *Cosroe* king of Persia; but he was also taken, brought backe, and murdered: so was the Empreffe *Constantina* also, with her three daughters. And the Historians know not well which of the two they should most condemne in him, his Treason, or his Crueltie. *Phocas* therefore was no sooner chosen Emperour, but *Gregorie* presently wrot vnto him, and that with abominable adulation and flatterie: He beginneth his Epistle with *Gloria Deo in excelsis*, which is the song of the Angels at the Natiuity of our Sauior: *Glorie be to God on high, saith he, which changeth the times, and translateth kingdomes; who some times in his iustice sendeth Princes to afflict his people, and other times in his mercie those which shall lift them vp againe: For which cause wee reioyce that thou art come vnto the Empire. Let the heauens reioyce, and let the earth leape for ioy, and let all the people be glad thereof, &c.* And to *Leontia* the Empreffe he writeth in this manner: *What tongue can speake, what heart can conceiue the thanks which we owe to God for the happinesse of your Empire. Let the Angels giue glorie vnto God, euen the Creator, which is in heauen aboue; and let all men giue thanks here in earth beneath, &c.* But the conclusion of this Epistle is this, That they would take the Church of Rome into their protection, and alwayes continue mindfull of *Tues Petrus*; assuring them, that for their paines Saint *Peter* would not be vnmindfull of them, nor faile to vndertake the protection of their Empire: All tending, no doubt, to the establishing of his owne authoritie. But he happening to dye shortly after, and *Sabinian*, his successor, suruiuing but a little time; *Boniface* 3, in the yeare 605 (who also liued not aboue eight monethes and some odde daies) to effect that which his predecessors had proiected, tooke his aduantage, seeing the Emperour *Phocas* on the one side displeas'd with *Cyriacus* Patriarch of Constantinople, because hee would not approue of such his murders; and on the other, jealous least the hatred of his dealings might haply cause Italie to reuolt from vnder him; and thereupon he asked, and by the profers which he made of his good seruice, obtained of him, That the Church of Rome should thence forward bee the *Head of all other Churches*; and the Bishop of Rome should be called the *Soueraigne and Vniuersall Bishop*. And thereupon he published that Imperious ordinance in a Synod at Rome, consisting of 62 Bishops; and from that time forward vsed euer in his Mandats these words, *Volumus & iubemus, i. We will and commaund*, and that in the Prouisions of Bishops, whom though they were elected by consent of Clergie and people, yet would he not suffer to be either called or accounted as Bishops, but by vertue of his letters patents, with that clause of *Volumus & iubemus* in them: and so saith *Platina* in plaine termes. Which pretensions of his, though sometimes they found some crossings, yet were they the beginning of that schisme betweene the Greeke Church and the Latine, a schisme which continueth euen vnto these our dayes.

OPPOSITION.

Suppose we now that *Gregorie* himselfe had risen againe from the dead, and seene his successor vsing that Title, which hee before hand had so formally condemned in his Epistles, how could he haue saued him from this so necessarie a conclusion, drawne from the propositions of his owne words, and so oftentimes by him repeated, Whosoever will be called Vniuersall Bishop, is the forerunner

Paul. Aquila. li. 17.

Greg. Epist. 36. li. 11.

Epist. 44.

An. 605.

Platina in Bonifacio.

of Antichrist, *Boniface* the third willeth and requireth, and ordaineth himselfe to be so called; therefore it followeth, that he was the forerunner of Antichrist, if not Antichrist himselfe. *Bellarmino* here findeth out two creepeholes: The one is concerning the fact, where he sayth, That *Phocas* did not ordaine this by way of a new Institution, but onely of declaration of a thing ever before acknowledged in the Church. But let him read the Historie it selfe: *Paulus Diaconus* (who liued not farre off from these times) speaketh after another manner: *Phocas* (sayth he) at the (suit of Pope *Boniface* ordained, That the See of the *Romane Apostolike Church* should be the Head of all other Churches, because the Church of *Constantinople* wrote her selfe, The first of all other Churches: And so testifie all the Historians which came after him, namely, *Freculphus*, *Rhegino*, *Anastafius*, *Hermannus*, *Contractus*, *Marianus Scotus*, *Sabellicus*, *Blondus*, *Pomponius Letus*, *Platina*, the Chronologicall Compilation, *Otho Frisingensis*, and others: All which affirme, That *Boniface* requested and obtained of *Phocas*, that the Church of *Rome* should be called the Head of all other Churches; and that, as some doe adde, By his authoritie. As for *Sigonius*, he denieth not, but that *Boniface* sent an embassadour to *Phocas*, by whose negotiation he purchased a Decree, That the Church of *Rome* should be the first of all other Churches: Where also he addeth, According as it was decreed by the auncient Canons. Now if *Sigonius* meane onely for the Presentie, we denie not; but if of superioritie and iurisdiction, there we differ, and we haue alreadye proued the contrarie. *Bellarmino* for his purpose objecteth an Epistle of *Saint Gregorie* to the Bishop of *Syracusa*, where it is said, who doubteth but that the Church of *Constantinople* is subiect to this *Apostolike See*, as our most religious Emperour, and our brother *Eusebius*, Bishop of that Citie, daily doe acknowledge. And this Epistle (saith *Bellarmino*) was written five yeares before *Phocas* his reigne began. But how should *Gregorie* father this Epistle, seeing that he himselfe so often complaineth, that *Maurice* did beare the other out in his vnjust demands? Or where will he find an *Eusebius*, who was Bishop of *Constantinople* at that time? Or where will he place him when he hath found him, seeing that *Onuphrius* himselfe nameth for Bishops in all this time onely *John*, surnamed the Faster, *Cyriacus*, and *Thomas Sacellarius*? And *Gregorie*, who runneth them ouer so often as he doth, had he euer lost either his wits or his memorie, when he should haue thought and spoken of *Eusebius*? Who seeth not therefore, that this is an Epistle written long after, and hammered vpon the same anuill, on which manie others are? *Bellarmino* argueth yet farther and saith, That long before that time, *Iustinian* called the Church of *Rome* The Head of all the Churches: True; but still in that sence, in which he calleth also that other of *Constantinople* by the same name, saying, that she is The Head of all other Churches: Neither of these sayings being true in strict construction, but onely in a large signification, and as they were Patriarchall Sees; and consequently, Head and Chiefe of those Churches which were vnder them. The other creepehole of *Bellarmino* is this, That *Gregorie* indeed condemneth this title of *Vniuersall*, as *Iohn* meant it; that is, that by vertue thereof all other Bishops should be nothing but his Vicars: Whence it followeth (say we) that he pronounced Anathema against the Councell of *Trent*, which so manie yeares after made all Bishops nothing but his Commissaries or Officials. But not (saith he) if this word *Vniuersall* be vnderstood onely to signifie a general care of the Church, by meanes whereof the other Bishops haue neuerthelesse a particular care euerie of them in his peculiar Church. But for answere hereunto, I would entreat the Reader onely

Bellar. de Rom. Pontif. l. 2. c. 17. Non instituentis, sed asserendo. Lib. 4. de Gest. Longobard. c. 37.

Otho Frisingens. l. 5. c. 8. Chron.

ipsum auctoritate.

Iustin. l. in ep. ad Iohan. 2.

Idem Co. de sacros. eccles. l. 2. c. 4.

onely to peruse the places themselues of *Gregorie*, and then say, whether they can admit of anie such interpretation. Well (saith *Bellarmino*) I am sure that the Pope was called *Vniuersall Bishop* before *Phocas* his time, and that therefore it cannot be said, that this title dependeth of his Constitution. And we say againe, That so were the other Patriarchs as well as he, being according to the fashion of those times appointed, as so manie fellow or joint Curators of the *Vniuersall Church*: but that *Phocas* was he who appropriated that title to the Bishop of *Rome*, neither can he deriue this title from anie higher: for so *Iustinian* called *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, sometimes *Oecumenicall*, and sometimes, which is all one, *Vniuersall Patriarch*: so doth he *Anthemius* and *Menna* in his Nouels. So likewise doth the Emperour *Leo* call *Stephen*: And the *Chalcedon Councell* it selfe in sundrie places calleth *Menna* by the name of *Oecumenicall Patriarch*. So *Adrian* the first, Bishop of *Rome*, in the second Councell of *Nice* calleth *Theodosius*, the *Generall Patriarch*. Lastly, so are the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* often called, being indeed all and euerie of them an *Vniuersall Bishop*, in as much as the whole charge of the *Vniuersall Church* was jointly committed vnto them, and a particular, in regard of the feuerall Churches committed to their tutions. Wherefore as it hath bene alreadye said, the appropriating of this title to the Bishop of *Rome* was from *Phocas*: and from thence came that separation and rent betwene the Churches of the East and West, which dureth vnto this day, and serueth for a remarkable period in the Church, for that *S. Gregorie* so often doth inculcate it in his writings, That this was the time when *Antichrist* began to set foot into the world. And it is farther to be observed, that in this meane while sundrie abuses crept into the Church; as prayer for the dead, vnto the publike Liturgie or Service of the Church, brought in by the Decree of *pelagius*; the inuocation of Saints inserted in the common Letanies by *Gregorie*; and by him the whole Bodie of the Liturgie altered, by borrowing part from the *Hethenish*, and part from the *Iewish* ceremonies; and the language it selfe, by reason of that medley of the *Northerne* nations, came by little and little to be cleane altered, so that no man now vnderstood what was said or done in the Seruices of the Church: all which we haue elsewhere declared more at large.

But now come we to *Baronius*, to see what he saith to all this: First therefore he extenuateth that wicked parricide and those other Butcheries of *Phocas*, that more to defame the Emperour *Maurice*. But what may not be said of a Prince in so tickle a State as he liued in, or what on the contrary can be added to those praises and commendations which Historians haue given of him? Or who can but tremble when he readeth what *S. Gregorie* in cold blood writeth, that neither *Phocas* (saith he) and *Leontia* his wife were crowned in the *Palace* called *Sennadianas*, and the Emperour *Maurice* murdered with all his children, *Placidius*, *Theodosius*, who was alreadye crowned, and *Theodosius*, *Tiberius*, *Paulus*, and *Isidorus*, also *Peter*, who was brother vnto *Maurice*, with other great personages, who did close vnto him, as *Constantine* a chiefe Senator, and *Placidius*, and *George*, who was *Baron* vnto him: and all this done in pure treason as could be deuised. Secondly he telleth vs, that *Phocas* was a good Catholicke: for (saith he) in his owne libel he saith he sent his confession to *Gregorie* out of hand. But if that be not, this is certaine, that he sent his owne and his wiues Images vnto him, which he caused presently to be created within the *Palace*, in the Oratorie of *S. Cisaricus* the Martyr: And what is this the way to expiate so horrible a murder? Or can he, which was so much offended with *Gregorie* his humble and lowly behavior towards *Maurice*, be well pleased with

Iustin. Co. de Summa Trinit. l. 7. Co. de episcop. audientia. L. Certissime. Nouel. 3. 5. 7. Idem Nouel. 2. Concil. Chalced. c. 1. passim. Concil. Nice. 2. c. 11. 2.

Gregor. epist. 7. indi. 6.

Baron. vol. 8. an. 603. art. 3.

with this toward *Phocas*; vnder colour that he complained, that at his coming he found no *Apocrisarius*, for so they called him, or *Responsalis*, that is, no Deputie or Solicitor for the Romane Church Lieger and resident at Constantinople? Which were those, as *Hincmar* describeth them; who after the translation of the Imperiall Seat to Constantinople, solicited the Church causes at the Emperours Court, as well for the Church of Rome, as for the other Prime Sees. And therefore in this the Popes could not challenge it as due from the Emperours, neither had they in this anie prerogative about other Bishops. But *Gregorie* goeth on, *What thanks (saith he) owe we to God, that we are now come to sit vnder the pleasant shade of your gracious Empire, and are brought from the day of sorrow and sadnesse into this time of libertie and gladnesse? Poore Heathenish creature as thou wert Papinian, O how shalt thou one day rise in judgement against this holie man? But read a little farther, Those (saith he) who heretofore feared to goe vnto the Court, now run with ioy vnto thy feet: meaning to reside there in qualitie of Deputie or Solicitor for him. And seeing that *Gregorie* here useth the same terme of submission vnto *Phocas*, which before he vsed to *Maurice*, will *Baronius* say (as he did in hatred of *Maurice*) that it was feare, or that it was respect and reuerence which made him so to speake? And yet this *Phocas*, for whom this Saint summoneth the holie Angels to reioice, what was he but a drunkard, a whoremaster, bloudie, cruell, violent, brutish, and hereticall, and so was his wife also, as *Cedrenus* reporteth of them: and which is more, he was the man vnder whom the Romane Empire suffered more calamities than euer it had done before, *The Aire grew pestilent, the Earth became barren, the Sea was frozen with yce, with a generall mortalitie of men, beasts, and fishes.* When as therefore all Elements mourned, and all creatures groaned vnder the burthen of such a monster, was it well done of *Gregorie* to reioice alone? Thirdly, *Baronius* deduceth this Decree of *Phocas*, made in fauour of the See of Rome, in this manner: *Gregorie* (saith he) had done what he could to obtaine this Decree of *Maurice*, but could not preuaile: afterward vpon summons from *Phocas* he sent *Boniface* to reside in qualitie of Solicitor neere vnto the Emperours person. This *Boniface* continued there vntill the death of *Gregorie*, and became verie gracious with the Emperour: so that when *Sabinian* happened also shortly after to die, he thought good to put him in his place. Now this *Boniface* made good vse of the hatred which *Phocas* bare vnto *Cyriacus*, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and made it serue for his owne advancement to the title of Vniuersall Bishop. But what was the ground of this hatred; *Theophanus* and *Cedrenus* (whom *Baronius* himselfe alledgeth) tell vs, that one *Scholasticus* an Eunuch, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of *Phocas*, hauing saved the old Emperesse *Constantina* and her three daughters, and hid them secretly in the Church, at the length *Phocas* hauing notice thereof, sent some of his gard to make them away: *Cyriacus* withstood them, and before he would deliuer them, tookewin oath of the Tyrant (so speake they) that he should doe no violence to their persons: who indeed for the present thrust them into a Monasterie; but at the end of one yeare caused them all foure to be murdered. Now what was this in *Boniface*, but onely to abuse *Phocas* his tyrannicall passions, to the quenching of that greedie thirst of his owne ambition? And what reason then haue they to be offended with vs, when we say, that the first founder of their Vniuersalitie was a Parricide, or rather a monster of all Parricides that euer were? For whereas he saith, That he gaue not this priuiledge to the Bishop of Rome, but onely decided the controuersie betweene him and the Bishop of Constantinople, when they contended for it; besides that we haue already shewed, that all Historians*

Gregor. lib. 11.
ep. 43.

Hincmar. Rebe-
men. ep. 3. c. 13.

Ad vstra ve-
stigia.

Cedren. in
chron.

Arians say the contrarie, where can he shew either Councell, or other judicial meeting, where both parties came to hearing? Or what was there in all that businesse to be scene, but onely a practise of *Boniface*, and an absolute command of *Phocas*?

But let vs now see a little farther, what *Baronius* alledgeth for the Popes authoritie about this time. First he produceth a certaine priuiledge graunted by *Gregorie* to the Hospitall of Authun, wherein he deposeth euerie King or Prince which shall offer to infringe that priuiledge: A priuiledge, no doubt, taken out of the same budget that that other of Saint *Medard* was: For how could he who was so crouching to Kings and Princes all his life time, be so audacious to depose them after his death? Secondly he pretendeth, that *Queene Brunehaut* requested leaue of him to call a Synod in Fraunce: But we haue already shewed, that our Kings of Fraunce knew well ynough how to call Synods of their owne authoritie: and the place it selfe (which he alledgeth out of S. *Gregorie*) saith onely thus, That she requested him to send some one in his behalfe into Fraunce, who in the Synod which should there be held might correct all which should be done contrarie to the Canons: and himselfe sticketh not to tell vs, that she did this onely to claw poll with him, because the French had at that time occasion to vse his fauour toward the Emperour; which maketh him to say as he doth, *Vtinam serio & non per imaginem &c.* Moreouer, *Baronius* produceth a certaine Appeale made by *Ianuarium* Bishop of Malaga in Spaine, and saith, that *Gregorie* thereupon sent one *Iohn* to haue the hearing of the cause vpon the place it selfe: Where by the way we must obserue, that the question was not concerning anie sentence giuen against *Ianuarium*, but onely of an outrage committed vpon his person by one *Comitiolus*, a Lord of great authoritie in that countrey; and that therefore this was no Appeale, but onely a Refuge. But he had forgotten to tell vs, how in his Instructions *Gregorie* commaunded *Iohn* to haue alwaies before his eyes the lawes of *Iustinian*, to gouerne themselves thereby, for these are his words, *Concerning the person of the Bishop Ianuarium, you must remember that this was done contrarie to the Law, that he pulled him by violence out of his Church: Which fact he saith ought to haue been punished as treason, by the Constitution of Arcadius and Honorius, alledging the Law it selfe all at large, with manie others, by which the cognizance of such causes is committed to the Ciuile magistrat. And now what maketh all this for that absolute authoritie of the Pope? Moreouer, the Councell of Toledo, which was held vnder King *Gondemar* in the time of Pope *Boniface* the third, and that after that Decree of *Phocas*, declareth that of Toledo to be the first See, not so much by vertue of anie new graunt, as by the Synodall Decree of the ancient Fathers, commanding all Bishops to vaile bonnet vnto him, vnder paine of Anathema. Which Decree of the Synod was also confirmed by the King *Gondemar*. As for the Pope, in all that long Epistle we find no one word spoken of him, and yet *Baronius* is not ashamed so auerre, That the Church of Toledo had this priuiledge from Rome, when as yet the Pope was not absolute Monarch in Italyt it selfe: for the Bishops of Istria and Venetia, vnder their Patriarchs, stood out against them: so also did the Bishops of Lumbardie, as appeareth by that Epistle of *Gregorie* to *Constantinus* Bishop of Milan, whom a certaine Bishop of Bresse would not acknowledge, because it seemed that he as well as the Bishop of Rome derogated from the authoritie of the Chalcedon Councell. But vnder his successor *Sabinian* the matter went a little farther: For we may learne out of a certaine Councell held at Mantua (for which we are beholding to *Baronius* his Librarie) That when*

An. 603. art. 7.
Gregor. lib. 11.
ep. 10.

1b. ep. 9.

Falsa Synodo.

Baron. ibid.
an. 603. art. 18.

1b. ep. 54.

Council. Tolet. sub
Rege Gonde-
maro.

Baron. an. 610.
art. 14.

Brixia. ep. 37.
lib. 3.

Baron. an. 605.
art. 2. 3. 4.

as there was question about the choice of a new Patriarch of Aquileia, and *Agilulphus* the King of the Lumbards had caused one *Iohn* to be elected, the Exarch of Rauenna, to gratifie the Pope, set vp against him one *Candidian* at Grado: and so were there for a long time two Patriarchs; of which, he which sat at Aquileia would neuer acknowledge the Popes authoritie.

23. PROGRESSION.

Of the attempt of *Honorius* against the Bishops beyond the Po.

THE Lumbards at that time lying heauie vpon Italic on the one side, and the Exarchs of Rauenna for the Emperour on the other, caused the Popes to pull in their homes, and to make little vse or shew of their new title, purchased from *Phocas*; though in the meane time their ambitious humor, and desire of soueraignetic and power, neuer ceased to put forth vpon all occasions. *Honorius* therefore Bishop of Rome, about the yeare 623, tooke his aduantage vpon a lamentable and wretched accident. The Bishops of Istria, Venetia, and Lumbardie (as we haue already said) held no good correspondencie with the Bishop of Rome: and it came to passe that *Adelwaldus*, fifth King of Lumbards, fell somewhat distracted in mind; whether by force of a poyson which is said to haue bene giuen him by *Eusebius* the Emperours embassador, at his comming out of the Bath; or otherwise, it is a thing hard to say: but in this case he made away twelue of the most principall men of charge, in the kingdome, and grew dangerous to the rest: The Lumbards to prevent a mischiefe, called a Councell and deposed him, placing *Adoaldus* his brother in law in his roome: yet was the kingdome hereupon drawne into factions, some holding for the old King, some for the new: and among others, they beyond the Po held for the new election, as well clerkes as lay men. Which *Honorius* perceiuing, tooke presently part with the aduerser faction, and dealt with the Exarch to reestablish *Adelwaldus*; but about all, to apprehend those Bishops, and to send them safe to Rome, to answer there for their offences: to the end (saith he) that this their wickednesse may not escape unpunished. But the worst was, that the Exarch was too weake a partie, and not able to performe what he vnderooke; and thereupon those Bishops persisted in their former resolution, being now more incensed against him than before.

Sigonius de Reg. Ital. lib. 2.

OPPOSITION.

If that Decree of *Phocas*, made in fauour of *Boniface* the third, found such opposition at home, we may easily conceiue what light regard was had thereof in more remote Prouinces and Churches; especially in that point which *Boniface* so much enforced; That no prouision of a Bishop was good in law, without his authoritie: for the fourth and sixth Councils of Toledo, as also the first and second of Bracara, which were all held vnder *Honorius*, make open shew thereof, seeing that the Bishops assembled in these Councils openly professe, that they were assembled by the care and industrie of *Sisinnius* their King, who roused them up by his commandments to the due handling of matters concerning the discipline of the Church: as likewise speake the fifth and sixth, By the wholesome exhortations of King *Chintilla*: and the first of Bracara, By the commandment of King *Armirre*. Moreouer, we find the Chapter of the Greeke Synods translated by *Martin* Bishop of Bracara, as we find them in the second Tome of the Councils, authorized in that Synod:

Et in imperijs et in istis communibus.
Chintilla salutaribus hortamentis.

for

A for the Bishops are there prouided in full Synod by their Metropolitan, who yet did nothing without the aduice of the other Bishops. As for running to Rome for Bulls or Pals, not a word there to be found: if the Pope sent it to anie, it was his kindnesse, but no man was bound of necessitie to accept it: and if it happened vpon the accusation of anie Bishop that the Synod could not agree, they neuer sent to Rome for a resolution, but for a small definition (say they) of this dissention, this holie Synod hath thought fit that another Metropolitan of some bordering Prouince should be sent for, to confirme and ratifie that opinion which he should thinke most agreeable to the Canons. But here is to be noted, that not long after this ordinance of *Phocas*, made in fauour of the See of Rome, the Church might plainly see, in the person of this *Honorius* whom we now speake of, how dangerous a thing it was that she should depend of one man: Which *Gregorie* well foresaw when he said, That if there should be one *Uniuersall Bishop*, and he should happen to fall, the whole Church must needs vnto the ground. For the heresie of the Monothelites then rising in the Church, *Honorius* with the first fell into it, and was conuicted thereof by his owne hand writing, which he had sent to *Sergius* Bishop of Constantinople: neither was this a small heresie, or of anie meane consequence, for that not to acknowledge two wils in Christ, is consequently to denie two natures in him also. His letters were produced in the sixth Generall Councell, *Action. 12. & 13.* and were there by generall consent condemned to the fire: the summe of them was this, That neither Gospell nor Epistle, neither yet the Synods, did euer teach vs these two faculties or powers in Christ; That these were words inuented by some to fumble with children, but ought not to be drawne in consequence of doctrine in the Church; That in such matters euerie one might abound in his owne sense; and to conclude, That he was just of opinion with *Sergius*, that is to say, a pure Monothelite. Yet *Bellarmino*, *Onuphrius*, and others of that whet, seeke to iustifie him: but alas they cannot, vnlesse they will first condemne this Councell. If they say that the copies were corrupted by the Greekes, we answer, that we take them as we find them in the Latine: where we farther find, that the copies of his letter were compared with the Originall it selfe, taken out of the Librarie of Constantinople: and the sentence passed vpon that letter saith, That it swarued from the doctrines of the Apostles, and holie Synods, and that they contained hereticall positions, and as such are worthe of execration, That they execrated and accursed the authors of all such doctrines, and cast their names out of the Church, and for that cause they there pronounce Anathema against *Honorius*, as following in euerie point the drifts and purposes of *Sergius*, *Cyrus*, and other complices in this Heresie: all which is to be seene more at large in the Bodie of that Councell. But which is more, *Honorius* for this vnic Heresie was afterward againe excommunicated in the seventh Generall Councell and last *Action*, and in the eight by Pope *Adrian* the second himselfe, and by diuers others. And of this *Beda* and the Pontificall Booke for the Westerne Churches, and for those of the East *Pfellus*, and for these later times *Melchier Canus* (though our aduerarie) beareth record: and is all this so easily puffed off, by saying, That the Greekes perhaps did corrupt the copies? or that I know not who hath thrust these words into *Beda*? Had Pope *Agatho* known the contrarie, or had the least doubt thereof, what conscience had he had to hold his peace? Is it ynough to say, that he did it to auoid farther brable? Or should not the zeale of his See rather haue moued him to speake? For whereas they tell vs a tale of one *Maximus*, out of the Popes Librarie, we answer, That such a domesticke witnesse ought not to be admitted without better

2. To. Concil. Act. 12. & 13. Concil. Uniuers. 6.

Synod. Nicen. 2. act. ult. & 3. Synod. Constant. 8. Uniuers. act. 7. & 3. & 6. Beda de sex etatis. Liber Pontific. in vita Leonis. Pfellus de septem Synodis.

M ij

cau

caution for his honestie: no more may *Nicholas* the first, who liued two whole ages after this time, and is a Pope produced for a Pope: neither yet *Emanuel Gallieca*, who liued no lesse than 500 years after. And, by the way, it is to be obserued, That the Legats of Pope *Agatho* assisted at the condemnation of *Honorius*, with 289 other Bishops; as also that at this verie time the fourth Councell of Toledo decreed, *That the Apocalyps should be read in time of Masse*, that is, of full seruice, betwene Easter and Whitsunday, with Anathema to him which should faile herein: as wel perceiuing, that the time now approached, when all men had need to arme themselves against that Antichrist, who is in that booke plainly foretold, and by many circumstances most graphically described: which gaue life to the Beast which was dead, that is, to the Roman Empire, in that downfall of the temporall Estate, as *S. Gregorie* himselfe had mentioned.

Here *Baronius* grindeth his teeth, contesting violently, That *Honorius* was not an Heretike; he turneth and windeth, new casteth and mouldeth the words, to saue him thereby from this imputation: For what likelihood, saith he, seeing that the Councils held vnder *Martin* at Rome, make no such mention; and seeing that Pope *Agatho* himselfe pronounceth so peremptorily, *That it was neuer knowne that the See of Rome did erre, &c.* But what, shall we hearken to those forced interpretations which *Baronius* maketh of his words, rather than to those which two generall Councils made of them, when all matters were either present to their view, or at least fresh in memorie vnto them? or because the Pope said, That they neuer erred, must we therefore needs beleue them, contrarie to the authoritie of generall Councils, and contrarie also to some of themselves? And when Pope *Agatho* by his Legats condemned him and his memorial after him in the sixt generall Councell, shall it be ynough for them to say, *That the Greekes added this parcell, and the two Sessions following*, and thus to put off whatsoeuer they are not able to defend? or may not we rather thinke, and say, That those other passed it ouer with silence, because they had not what to say in excuse thereof? Giue way to this, and what Councell can stand for good? In the end he telleth vs, That one *Theodorus* Bishop of Constantinople, being himselfe an Heretike, and one of those which should haue bene condemned in the same sentence giuen by the Synod, caused *Honorius* his name to be put into the scedule in stead of his owne. Base thist, for where doth he find *Theodorus* so much as named in all that Session? or must so many authorities, so many pregnant proofes, giue place to his bare coniecture? what printed aushor, what manuscript doth he alledge? But the truth is, this man desireth not to be releued but vpon almes: Reader, saith he, *if thou wilt accept of this, I shall be glad that I haue not lost my paines; if not, neuertheless Honorius shall be still a good Catholike.* And this is all the fruit of 50 pages, which he had spent vpon this argument.

Now after *Honorius* succeeded *Senerin* the first. At that time, saith *Blondus*, the manner was; *That the Pope elected was not crowned till the Exarch would come from Rauenna to confirme him: And Isaac, who was Exarch at that time, deferred his coming to Rome one whole year and a halfe: and so also saith Platina.* Here *Baronius* obserueth, That the decree of *Phocas* was obserued in certaine places: And we denie not, that this Mysterie had his proceedings; for one *Sergius* Archbishop of Cyprus, writing vnto Pope *Theodore*, inscribeth his letter, *To Theodorus the Vniuersall Pope: and so much the rather, because he was at variance with the Bishop of Constantinople.* So likewise a generall Synod of Afrike writing to Pope *Martin*, inscribeth their Epistle, *To the Soueraigne Pontife ouer all Bishops: though they might*

Concil. Tolet. 4.
Can. 16.

An. 633. &
680. art. 17.

Ib. art. 17.
an. 680.

Gratulabor mi-
hi tibi que.

Blond. li. 9.
De ca. 7.

Platina in Se-
nerino.

Summa omnium
Presulum Pen-
isici.

might peradventure meane it onely, as to the chiefe Patriarch, and consequently a Contutor in the gouernement of the Vniuersall Church, as wee haue said before. But *Victor* Bishop of Carthage, a man much renowned in that Synod, when vpon his election he sent his confession to *Theodorus*, kept the old stile, and wrot onely, *To the most blessed Lord, and our honourable holic brother, Pope Theodore*; beginning his Epistle with these words, *The good workes of your holic Fraternitie, &c.* and so all along: giuing him fairely to vnderstand, That all the Apostles were endowed with equall authoritie: and certifying him onely, That he was consecrated Bishop of Carthage, without euer asking confirmation at his hands; only he requesteth him to recommend him in his prayers vnto God, that he might wel discharge his office. After this came *Martin*, who taking occasion vpon the same and suspicion that was of the Patriarches of the East, that they were Monothelites, sent thither certaine Bishops, and made some of those which yet remained Orthodox in the East, his Vicars. This was a faire attempt; but the Emperour *Constans* hindered him in his walke: for the year following he sent and caused him to be apprehended in Rome, and to be brought prisoner to Constantinople, where he died a banished man, hauing bene accused for conspiring with the *Sarasens* against the Emperour, as appeareth by his letters written to *Theodorus*. This *Martin* was a man of a haucie mind, and a great vndertaker; yet could not he maintaine his pretended authoritie, no not in the West: For when a certaine Heretike had crept into the Bishopricke of Authun, the Bishop of Noion, who was then in Court, solicited the king, and obtained of him, saith *Saint Ouin*, That by his commaundement a Councell of Priests or Bishops should be called at Orleans: where the Heretike was condemned, and banished the realme of France, without expecting any higher authoritie. So likewise vnder Pope *Eugenius*, his next successor, there was a Councell held at Chalons, vpon the riuer of Saone; which, as appeareth in the verie front thereof, was assembled by the conuocation and ordinance of king *Clouis*, as also in the Synodall Epistle to *Theodore* Archbishop of Arles: wherein they presume to declare vnto him, by the authoritie of that Synod, That considering the time of his penance was not yet expired; he might not offer to meddle with his Bishopricke, nor with the good belonging thereunto: Ordaining farther, That vpon a vacancie no successor might be chosen but by the Clergie and people of that Prouince; that otherwise the election should be held as voyd and of none effect: where you shall find no exception or reseruatiion at all to the Pope of Rome: And in Spaine there were held at that time, the 7, 8, 9, and 10 Councils of Toledo, all which acknowledge their assembling to haue proceeded onely from their owne care, and from the authoritie of the Prince: namely, the seuenth, *By our deuotion*, say they, *and by the care of king Chindasuinda*: the eighth, *By the commaund of the king Reccesuinda*: and the tenth, *By his most holte desire*: without any mention of the Pope at all; though in those Synods the highest points of our religion were in question, as namely in the eight, whose Synodall Epistle hath yet onely this inscription, *The Decree of the Vniuersall Councell published in the name of the Prince.* And againe, *A law published in the same Councell, by the commaundement of the renowned Prince.* In all which, besides those high poynts of Christian religion, order was also taken against intrusions, extortions, and other abuses of Bishops, proceeding to the punishment of some, and finall deposition of others: infomuch that in the tenth Synod one *Pontamius* Bishop of Bracara, a thing neuer before heard of, accused himselfe, and was thereupon deposed by the Synod, and *Fructuosus* Bishop of Duna chosen in his place, with these words: *We doe here con-*

An. 649.

Martinus in E-
pist. ad Theo-
dor. 14.
Sanctus Ando-
nus in vita San-
cti Eligij.
Sacerdotalem
Concilium.

Execucatione
& ordinauione
Domini Clod-
uei Regis.
Synod. Epist. ad
Theodo. Arlat.

Ib. can. 10.

Sanctissimo
Voto.

Impriante Prin-
cipe glorioso.

fitne and appoint by a common election, Fructuosus to be Governour of the Church of Bracara, to take upon him, as Metropolitan, the care of all the Province of Gallece, and of all Congregations and Bishops of that countrey. And this was done by the Decree of the Fathers, annexed to his letters of Ordination; without binding him to take a journey to Vitalian at Rome for confirmation, who sat not in that pride which Popes now vse to sit in. For as Anastasius reporteth, when the Emperour Constans came to Rome, he with all his Clergie went to meet him six miles off, and there receiued they him with all tokens of submission and reuerence, though he was a sacrilegious and bloudie Emperour, and one which had confined Pope Martin the first to a certaine place in banishment, as Baronius reporteth.

Petrus sententia.

24. PROGRESSION.

Wherein the religion of this age principally consisted; and what was the purpose of the Popes, when they sent Preachers into forreine Countreies.

THE good Bishops of the Primitiue Church heeded onely the building and reedifying of the spirituall Temple of God, in gathering together liuing stones; but from hence forward shall you find the Histories stuffed onely with relations of materiall Edifices, Oratories, Images, Marbles, Incrustations, Overlayings with gold, and such like: which the worser sort of men were euer most spendfull in, thereby to shadow and obscure the memorie of their euill acts. And those princes which all histories leaue vnto vs stained with dishonor, recouer fame and good report of vertue, pietie, and religion, by either building or beautifying some Church or other after their example. And if any Bishops of Rome did send to make a conquest of some farre countrey, as Gregorie the Great into England, and after him Honorius, Vitalis, and others, it was not principally to preach the Gospell, but to broach their owne ceremonies, their Singings, their Seruice in Latine, Hourses, Organs, Altars, Tapers, Anelings, and such other nises; stirring vp Princes to inforce their subiects to the vse & practise of them, who would faine haue kept themselues to the first institution of the Church in the puritie of the Gospell. And the more to win vnto themselues credit in forreine parts, where euer they saw any ambitious spirit, thirsting after some preheminence ouer the rest of his brethren, presently their fashion was to send him their Pall, either as a bare token of honour, or as a liuerie of their Vicarship, and to vse meanes to draw all causes vnto them: yet found they not credit in all places alike, but as they carried it away cleere in some places, so in others they met with a balke, especially in those Churches which being well planted at the first, grew vp and prospered in puritie of doctrine.

Beda l. i. c. 20. 26. 29. Histor. Eccl. & l. 4. c. 1. 2. 16. 19. Galfri. Monument. l. 3. c. 4.

Malmesbude gest. Anglo. l. i. c. 50.

2. To. Concil. Epist. Vitalian. 234. Sigo. de Reg. Italic. l. 2. Lond. Deca. 2. li. 9. An. 680.

OPPOSITION.

Wherefore doe they what they could, yet the Churches of the East euer reiect that Decree of Phocas, neither would Paule Archbishop of Candia suffer Iohn Bishop of Lampeon, when he had bene condemned by his owne Synod, to appeale to Rome; as may appeare out of the letters of Vitalian, by which hee retracteth the sentence given in that Synod against him, absolue, and as much as in him lay, restoreth him to his See: and for execution of this his sentence, vsed his credit in the Emperours Court. So likewise at the gates of Rome it selfe, the Archbishop of Rauenna would not acknowledge him; where, after the decease

of

A of Bonus, Maurus being canonically elected and consecrated by his Suffragan Bishops, refused both the Pall and the consecration at the Popes hands, and himselfe also consecrated his owne Suffragans without him; and when the Pope excommunicated him, he excommunicated the Pope againe. And in this state continued the Church of Rauenna, vntill the time of Pope Dominus, which was in the yeare 680, all the time of Pope Martin the first, Eugenius the first, Vitalian, and Adeodate. Whereupon they called her Hereticall, and tearmed this her Heresie by the name of *Autocephalia*, meaning thereby, That she should be her owne Head. And we be sure, that had they knowne worse by her, worse they would haue spoken of her. And Anastasius saith plainly, That it was for the Primacie. As for the Pope himselfe, he stood all this while obliged to aske and to receiue confirmation of the Emperour, paying therefore a certaine summe of money, in regard of such demaines as he held; without which he could not be reputed as Bishop. But the sixt generall Councell held about this time at Constantinople, can best informe vs of the opinion which the Church then held concerning that constitution of Phocas, made in fauour of the Pope, and with what limitations they receiued it.

Causa primatus. Lib. Pontific. Vitalian. & Dommo.

25. PROGRESSION.

Pope Agatho his assertions concerning the Decrees of the See of Rome, and of the infallibilitie of S. Peters chaire.

AGATHO, a Sicilian borne, being made Pope, pronounced openly, That all Decrees made by the See Apostolike, ought to be receiued as if they had proceeded from S. Peters owne mouth. And bearing himselfe as Head of all the Churches, directed his letters, To all Bishops. Which Canon was taken by Iuo into his Decree, and afterward canonized by Gratian, and farther, lately authorized by Gregorie in his last Edition, notwithstanding that pretended reformation. And not without cause, if wee will be so mad as to belecue that which he doubteth not to say in his Epistle to Constantine Barbatius, That vnto that day the Church of Rome had neuer bene stained with any error, neither yet would be, by reason of that promise heretofore made by our Saviour vnto Saint Peter. But easily may he fall into the foulest error, who is most confident that he cannot erre. And the Emperour but of his honestie seemeth to applaud him, saying in answer to his letters, That hee admired all which he had said, as the verie voyce of S. Peter. But notwithstanding all this, wee must now see what the sixt generall Councell, which was holden vnder Constantine Barbatius, said, did, and ordained of this matter.

D. 19. c. sic omnes 2.

Iuo. 5. 4. pa. 122.

Concil. 6. vniuers. Sess. 4. Concil. 6. vniuers. Act. 18. in Exempla, in f. diuine. Dom. Constant. & c.

OPPOSITION.

First then we must vnderstand, that this sixt generall Councell assembled for the rooting out of the Heresie of the Monothelites, was assigned by the Emperour: so specially Zonaras, The Emperour, saith he; for the vnite of the Churches, assigned a Councell at Constantinople. And Gratian in his booke of Decrees, The Emperour, saith he, assembled it, and it was held by his care and providence; and hee assisted there in person. And the Pontificall booke saith, That Pope Agatho retracted the sacred commandement of the Princes, Constantine, Heraclius, and Tiberius, Emperours: who requested and exhorted him to send his deputies to Constantinople. And Pope Leo the second, in his confirmation of the Acts of this Synod, This Councell, saith he,

Zonar. 20. 3. in Const. A. C. Habeo librum, & Constant. Synod. Dist. 16. Lib. Pontific. Agatho. Concil. vniuers. 6. Actio. 18. Epist. Leo. ad Constant.

AA. 2. 4.

confamulos suos

Flexo mentis popule.

De familiari Clero.

AA. 17.

he, lately assembled by the Emperours command in the royall citie, &c. And *Agatho* A
 himselve in his answer to the Emperours letter, I offer, saith he my readie obedience
 to what is commaunded to me by your sacred Patent: which was, to seeke out persons
 fit to be sent vnto the Synod which the Emperour had called, among all the Bi-
 shops of his iurisdiction, and others; all which he there calleth by the name of
 his *Fellow seruants*: and that, as he saith, for the discharge of his duetie and seruice;
 causing them to make all the hast they could to the Emperours feet: as well from
 Rome, which he termeth the *seruile citie of the Emperour*, as of the places therea-
 bout. Speaking all along in that Epistle, of the most religious commaunds of their
 clemencies, and of the duetie which he owed vnto them. And to conclude, hee re-
 questeth them to accept of such as he had sent vnto the Synod, though small scho-
 lers, and little skilled in the Scriptures, not dissembling, that if he had occasion
 to vse a man which was well seene in knowledge of Diuinitie (so terrible was the
 desolation which the barbarous people had made among them) he must bee faine
 to send as farre as England for one. And a little after he falleth to such submissi-
 on, as to say, *That he intreated him upon the knee of his heart*. Such was the stile of
 this *Agatho* in those dayes: and such also was that of the Synod it selfe of Rome, in
 their answer to the Emperours letter. Moreouer, the Synodall Epistle it selfe,
 written to Pope *Agatho*, alledged by *Baronius*, declareth, That their assemblie was
 caused by the religious ordinance of the Emperour, endorsing it, *To Agatho Pope of the*
old Rome, and within calling him onely, *The Bishop of the first See of the Vniuersall* C
Church; not Vniuersall Bishop, or Bishop of the Vniuersall Church. And now
 tell me, how all this standeth with that pretended superioritie, or rather Monar-
 chie of the Church of Rome. Secondly, the Emperour sent vnto all the Patri-
 arches, and amongst the rest to him of Rome; willing them and euerie of them
 to assemble the Bishops of his Apostolike See and iurisdiction, in a Synod, and to
 make choise of some of the fittest among them, to deliuer in the Councell at
 Constantinople, what was done and agreed vpon in euerie one of their Synods:
 which also the Pope obserued to a haire, sending thither some to represent his
 owne person, and others in the name of the Synod of the Apostolike Roman See.
 In which Synod we find none subscribed but onely the Bishops of Italie. By all
 which it appeareth, that the Emperour called all the Patriarches indifferently, as
 so many fellow Tutors of the Church, against the Heresie then on foot, though
 one of them tooke place before another. This we may obserue out of the whole
 course of this Synod, especially out of the letters of the Emperour to *Domnus*
 and *Agatho* Bishops of Rome, as also to *George* Bishop of Constantinople, to
 whom he wrot to the same effect, with the like respect, honour, and Title, as to the
 other, saue onely that he called the one *Vniuersall Patriarch*, and the other *Vniuer-*
fall Pope. Likewise out of the *Synodical Suggestion* (for so is it called) which Pope
Agatho sent vnto the Emperours, where we find this superscription, *Agatho Bishop,*
Servant of the Servants of God, with all the Synods which are vnder the Councell of the E
See Apostolike: as also out of that Epistle which he wrot to the Emperours vpon the
 receipt of their Patent, where he repeateth againe the Mandat of the Emperour
 vnto him, for the sending of deputies to the Synod assigned, as well of the Synod
 which was held not far off from the Apostolike See, as of his own particular Cler-
 gie. And yet we find none subscribed but Italians; and *Agatho* himselve signeth
 in these tearmes, *With the generalitie of the Councell of all the Apostolike See*, that is,
 of all his iurisdiction. And in the subscription of the seuenteenth Action, the
 Legats of Pope *Agatho*, and of the Bishops of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Ierusa-*
lem,

A Iem, stile themselves *Lieutenants of the Apostolike See*, meaning euery one of his own
 Church. And *Abundantius* and *Iohn* both Bishops, subscribe in particular, by the
 name of *Legats of the whole Councell of the holie Apostolike See of Rome*. This Councell
 therefore represented his See, and his See was, according to his owne definition
 bounded within the precincts of Italie. And in like tearmes doth the Emperour *Con-*
stantine make answer to *Agatho* and to his Synod, in the 18 Action. Thirdly, in
 all the Actions of this Synod things are generally noted to haue bene done *Pre-*
sidente Constantino, &c. where also all the Nobilitie and Senators, who assisted, are
 euer named before the Popes Legats, who are there said sometimes to *Reside*, and
 sometimes to *Preside*, as in the sixt and seuenth Actions. And in the Emperours ab-
 sence those said Senators Presided in the Councell, gathered the voyces, and gaue
 direction concerning the Action then in hand, as may appear by those words
 which we find in the 12, 13, 15, 16, and 17 Actions, *Proposito venerando sessu pijsimi*
Imperatoris, &c. Ex persona ipsius, secundum iustionem eius, presidentibus & audientibus:
 Wherby we see, that the Pontificall went about to abuse the Reader through the
 likenesse of the word, when he saith in the life of Pope *Agatho*, *That his Legats*
were receiued Residente sub Regali cultu Imperatori, not daring to say *Presidente*: with
 like honestie as before, where he maketh the Bishop of Constantinople writing
 to *Vigilius*, in stead of *Residente nobiscum*, to say, *Presidente nobis vestra Beatitudine*,
 thereby to get an authoritie for the Presidencie of the Pope: the word *Residere*
 being frequently vsed in this sence, and to this purpose, as we may find more than
 once in one leafe of the life of Pope *Agatho*, *Residere precepti, vna cum nostris, &c.*
Residente Synodo cum eius pietate: Residente vna cum principe: and so throughout in
 this whole Councell. By which we may perceiue with what face *Bellarmino* af-
 firmeth, That *Agatho* his Legats presided; alledging for prooofe *Zonaras*: wheras
 yet he saith in expresse tearmes, *That the Legats of Agatho, and Gregorie of Constan-*
tinople, and Theophilus of Antioch, were chiefe Leaders in this Councell: where, as
 you see, he joyneth them all together. Fourthly, the Synod, contrarie to that
 which *Agatho* had formerly boasted of, concerning the infallibilitie of his See,
 condemned *Honorius*, one of his predecessors, of Heresie, and that in the face and
 D presence of his Legats, hauing first seene and compared the copies of his letters
 with the originall it selfe; and declared him to haue bene *Faustorem, concursorem,*
& confirmatorem, A fauorem, a concurrent, and an abettor of the Heresie and impietie of
the Monothelites, and consequently an instrument of *Satan*, to whom, with sundrie
 others, they deliuer him ouer, and damne the memorall of him for euer. Which
 sentence was first published in full Councell, and afterwards ratified by expresse
 letters sent from *Leo* the second, his successor: Which ouerthroweth that good-
 lie Canon of Pope *Agatho*, *Sicut omnes*, which saith, *That all the Decrees of the Bi-*
shops of Rome ought to be kept and obeyed, as the voyce of Saints Peter himselve. And as
 for the ranke and place of the Pope, they bring him backe againe to the ancient
 E Canons of the second Councell of Constantinople and of Chalcedon, ordain-
 ing, That the See of Constantinople should haue equal priuiledges with that of
Rome, and in all Church matters should be honoured as much as the other, as be-
 ing next in order after her. Neither is it ynough to replie, That this Councell
 made no Canons, and that therefore this is false: for it hath bene elsewhere suf-
 ficiently declared, and *Gratian* himselve affirmeth as much, That this Synod was
 assembled at two seuerall times, and that at the second assembling they enacted an
 hundred and three Canons, as *Onuphrins* himselve acknowledgeth; which were
 afterwards authorized by the second Councell of Nice, being the seuenth Vni-
 uersall

AE. 18.

Lib. Pontif. in Agatho.

in 210.

Action. 12. 13. 17. & 18.

Epist. Leo. in 6. Synod. vniuers. D. 19. c. Sicut omnes.

των ισαν απο λαβειν πρεσβευω. Concil. Constant. vniuers. in Trullo. Can. 6. C. Habeo librum & C. Placuit. D. 16. Concil. Nice. 2. vniuers. 7. Acti. on. 2. & 4.

uerfall Synod, *Act. 14.* in the presence of Pope *Adrian* his Legats, the said Canons being by the Fathers at their second meeting vnder *Iustinian* the second (after that he had quieted the troubles of the Empire) taken out of the Records of the first meeting. As for the temporall Estate, *Agatho* before acknowledged, That Rome was the *seruile Citie of the Emperour*: and as a great and high fauour obtained of him a Release or discharge of a certaine summe of money, which the Bishop of Rome was wont to pay into the Emperours coffers for his ordination: yet with condition still, That his election should neuer passe vnto ordination without the Emperours priuie and expresse commaund, as the auncient manner was. And this Law hath *Gratian* himselfe inserted in the Decrete. So that it is no great wonder, if their power reached not altogether so farre as their desire, in the ordination of others: which we haue heretofore obserued in the Councell of *Chaalons*, held here in France, and in the 7, 8, 9, and 10 Councells of *Toledo*; as also we may now obserue in the 12 of *Toledo*, which was held in the time of this *Agatho*, of whom we speake: where we find, that the Prince appointed those for Bishops which were elected by the Prouince; and if they happened to let the See lye void too long, the Archbishop of *Toledo* furnished the Church, yet so, that he that was elected within a certaine time, might present himselfe to the Metropolitan of the Prouince.

Yet *Baronius* will not be satisfied, but saith first, That they which were condemned in this Councell appealed to Rome; and secondly, that the Fathers of this Councell requested confirmation of *Agatho*: but how may we beleue him, seeing that no man, besides himselfe, euer spake of anie Appeale in this case? For the Epistle of the Emperour to *Agatho* speaketh in this manner, *They were thrust out of their Priesthood by the general voice of the Synod, and left to the approuement of the holie Pope*: meaning onely that he should iudge of their heartie repentance afterwards, according to their behauiours. And *Anastasius* maketh this cleere, when he sayth, *That they were banished to the Citie of Rome*. True (saith *Baronius*) but yet *Constantine* in his Epistle to *Leo* the second saith, *They haue petitioned to our Grace, that we would send them to your blessed presence; which we haue granted, and haue sent them vnto you, referring them and their cause vnto your iudgement*. I graunt: but how can this be taken for an Appeale, which proceedeth from the tolleration only, or rather from the Commission of the Emperour? Neither is his second assertion as touching confirmation built vpon anie better ground than is the former; he produceth a certaine new found Epistle, wherein (as he saith) it is thus written, *We haue clearely preached vnto you the cleare light of the Orthodox faith; which we entreat your brotherlie Holinesse to confirme by your honourable rescripts or answers*: Which words implice not anie suit for ratification, but onely a request for consent: For it is cleere, that the Fathers neuer dreamed that their sentence stood suspended for want of his confirmation: for (say they) *we haue driven them by Anathemas out of the Courts of the Lord &c.* And againe, *God moued and God crowned this assemblie*. And againe, *All of vs with one heart and tongue and hand haue pronounced this definitive sentence, void of error, certaine and infallible, by the assistance of the holie Spirit*. Is this spoken as if they either expected the Popes pleasure, or attended his leisure? But because they tell him, that he by his letters had somewhat holpen them in this businesse, therefore they inferre, That without him they did and could do nothing. By which reason we may as well say, when *Leo* sent the Acts of his Synod into Spaine, requesting them to receiue and put them in execution, that he requested confirmation of them, making them verier Popes than the Pope himselfe:

Lib. Pontifical.
in Agatho.

D. 63. c. Agath.
21.

Coneil. Tolet.
12. Ca. 6.

Baron. vol. 8. an.
681. art. 47. 48.

Actio. 17. sub
finem Anast. in
Agatho.

Baron. ib.
art. 49.

A selfe: For the 14 Councell of *Toledo* speaking in more prejudiciall termes, *Leo the Pope of old Rome* (say they) *encreased vs by his letters, that the Acts which he sent vnto vs might stand good, borne up by the force of our authoritie*: and thereupon they made this answer, *we (say they) not able at this present to assemblie our selves in a Generall Councell, by reason of the times, haue met at severall times and places, and haue read them, approuing what is there ordained touching the doctrine of two natures in Christ &c.* And, we haue thought good to confirme these Acts, thereby to satisfie the Bishop of Rome and to declare our consent of faith in plaine and open words. And *Baronius* himselfe calleth it a Confirmation of the Acts of this Synod. And for a farwell to the time of *Agatho*, we may remember, that in his time was held the 11 Councell of *Toledo*, by the commaundement of King *Eringus*, wherein were handled matters of great importancet.

26. PROGRESSION.

That the free election of the Popes was restored to the Clergie and people of Rome; and how they abused this freedome.

Leo the second, successor vnto *Agatho*, in the yeare 683, vpon the letters of the Emperour *Constantine* receiued the Councell of *Constantinople*, written in Greeke, and (as we haue already declared) condemned and excommunicated those whom the Synod had excommunicated, and among the rest Pope *Honorius* himselfe: And *Constantine* to gratifie him againe ordained, That the Archbishop of *Rauenna* elect should come and take his ordination at Rome, but so, that he should not pay anie thing for his Pall: whereby appeareth, that this corruption, notwithstanding the constitution of *S. Gregorie*, continued still at Rome. But *Benedict* the second, successor vnto *Leo*, went a step farther, and obtained the Emperours Patents, directed to the Clergie, people, and armie of Rome (for the Garrison within the Citie made a partie also in these elections) containing, *That he who in a lawfull assemblie and by common consente should be elected, without expectancie of consent either of Emperour or Emarch, should presently be consecrated and taken as Bishop of Rome*: which was neuer scene before, since the time of *Iustinian* the first. But soone appeared, how necessarie a tie that was to be layed vpon them: for *Benedict* happening to die within the yeare, and his successor *John* sitting but a little longer, when they came to the choice of a successor, *The Citie* (saith *Sigantus*) *seeing her selfe at her old libertie, fell likewise to her old dissensions*: The Clergie chose *Peter*, the Armie *Theodore*, and after a while let both those fall, and by a generall consent consecrated *Conon* for their Bishop: who happening likewise to die at the end of eleuen moneths, the like diuision fell among them as before, which continued for the space of two moneths and vppward: For during the time of his sickness one *Paschal* an Archdeacon had written to *Iohannes* Exarch of *Rauenna*, promising him a great masse of money, which *Conon* (who then lay on his death bed) had bequeathed to the Clergie and religious houses. *John* thereupon made his partie good within the Citie: Wherefore *Conon* had no sooner his eyes shut, but the Citie was diuided, some standing for *Theodore* the Archpriest, others for *Paschal* the Archdeacon: the one part making head within the Patriarchat (for so called they the Palace of *Lateran*) the other without; either partie being ready to come to blowes; when vpon the suddaine the chiefe of the Armie, Clergie, and people, to preuent this mischief, tooke one *Sergius* a poore Priest, out of the midst

Coneil. Tolet. 14.
c. 2. an. 683.

An. 681.

An. 683.

Lib. Pontific. in
Leo. 2.

Sigon. de Reg.
Ital. l. 2.

Lib. Pontific.
Sigon. de Reg.
Ital. l. 2.

Illat. in Leo. 2.
Benedict. 2. Joh.
han. 5.
Conone, Sergio.

middest of the companie, and proclaimed him Pope; and presently all, euen the two competitors themselues, saluted him as Pope. *Sigonius* addeth, That they adored him; but this is spoken after the manner of these times: *Anastafius* saith, That they humbled themselues, or bowed downe before him: so great was the pride of that See, such corruption was there vsed to aspire vnto it. The Exarch being loth to lose his money, came thither in all hast, and finding *Sergius* quietly in possession, demanded of him the money which was promised to him by *Paschal*: *Sergius* to content him, gaue him the Vessell and Crownes of gold which hung vp before *S. Peters* House, and yet all was too little. This fell out about the yeare 690. And so within foure yeares, after their libertie of election restored to them, fell out two schismes, next kinne to commotions, in the State; and the souldiors began already to haue a hand in the election of the Popes, as the Prætorians had heretofore in the choice of the Emperours. And *Anastafius* farther reporteth, That this *Paschal*, one of the competitors, was afterwards thrust into a Monasterie, for worshipping of trees, for lotteries, and other enchantments which he vsed. Also we may obserue, that after the time of *Leo* the second, the Popes were consecrated by three Bishops, namely those of Ostia, Port, and Velitre, as all other Bishops were; whereas before he was only consecrated by him of Ostia: but after all, they grew impatient, to see themselues so ordered by the sixt Generall Councell; and *Iustinian* the second sonne to that *Constantine*, of whom they had receiued so manie and so large fauours, felt it to his cost.

OPPOSITION.

This *Iustinian* therefore, after the death of his father, who had before his death associated him in the Empire, following (as *Sigonius* saith) the steps of his father, wrote presently to Pope *John* the sixt, That he had found the holic bookes of the sixt Generall Councell, digested and set in order by his father, which estsoones he presented to the Patriarchs, and to his Holinesse his Solicitor, to the sacred Senat, to the Metropolitans and Bishops, to the chiefe officers both of his Court and Armie, to be read before them, and to be subscribed by them, to the end that they might neuer hereafter be falsified or corrupted: whereof he thought good to aduertise him, assuring him, that he purposed neuer to depart from them. But this dispatch found *John* dead, and *Conon* placed in his roome, who received the letters: and the Emperour shortly after vnderstanding of his election, spared for no kind of gratulations, which are not, I warrant you, forgotten in the Historie. But this *Conon* happening to die shortly after his election, hauing beene all the while sickly, and *Sergius* succeeding in his place, *Iustinian* sent like letters vnto him, requiring him to subscribe to this Councell, so carefully compared with the Originals, and already subscribed by his Lieger Solicitors. *Sergius* because there were some Acts there which pleased him not, namely, those which concerned the ordering of his See, tooke occasion to say, that some bodie had falsified the Acts, and thereupon he disauowed his Solicitors (*Anastafius* saith, his Legats) and refused to subscribe vnto them: Whereat *Iustinian* tooke such offence, that he renounced the Church of Rome, which vntill then he had euer maintained, and sent to apprehend *John* Bishop of Port, and *Boniface* chiefe Counsellor of the See. Moreouer, *Zacharie Protospatarius*, or as we say, High Constable, came himselfe to apprehend the Pope. But *Sergius* had taken such order, that all the souldierie of Rome was at his deuotion, so that *Zacharie* was faine to submit himselfe, and to crie him mercie. The pretence of his not subscribing was (as *Anastafius* sayth)

be.

Blondin, Dec. 1. l. 9.

Anastaf. in Sergio.

Sigon. l. 2. an. 692.

Sacra Iustin. ad Iohan. 5. in 2. To. Concil.

Lib. Pontif. in Conone.

Sigon. l. 2. de Reg. Ital. Anastaf. in Conone.

Anastaf. in Sergio.

Anastaf. in Sergio.

A because he would not consent to errors of nouelties; or (as *Paulus Diaconus* reporteth) to a Synod of Error, as if they had beene Monothelites. But the Canons which are come vnto our hands haue no such smell about them, but in expresse rearmes they pronounce Anathema against them: neither indeed was there anie thing in them that troubled his conscience, saue onely that they equalled the Bishop of Constantinople with himselfe. And *Anastafius* seemeth to say as much, when he sayth it was by reason of certaine articles there added, contrarie to the Rites of the Church, and therefore not contrarie to anie article of religion, or point of doctrine: but in the life of *Iohn* he speaketh plainly, saying, it was for certaine articles contrarie to the Romane Church: for indeed the Emperour sent him an Orthodox confession of his faith withall. And this came vnto the yeare 700.

B *Baronius* seeketh to discredit and to annihilate the Canons of this Councell, but we haue sufficiently justified them elsewhere: he calleth it a false and erroneous Synod, grieuing to see his Head bounded and limited by law and reason, as if all the members should thereby fare the worse: But let him thanke those Fathers for it, and the Popes Legats themselues, who were present at it. But about all, *Tharassius* Patriarch of Constantinople is he which offendeth him, for that in the second Councell of Nice he sayth, What ignorance is this of some which trouble themselues about these Canons? It is a scandale to doubt whether they are of the sixt Generall Councell or no: Know all men therefore, that that Councell was first assembled vnder

C *Constantine* &c. And afterwards the same Fathers assembled themselues vnder *Iustinian* his sonne, and then made these Canons, and that therefore no man should doubt thereof. And is it ynough now to find some little error in the date, thereby to reject all these Canons? And *Balsamon* Bishop of Antioch pleaseth him as little, because (sayth he) that the sixt and this sixt Synod had made no Canons, this therefore came in supplement vnto them &c. and is also reckoned as Generall. For although the Westerne Bishops, to wit, Italians and Latines, because they are there touched, say it is no Councell, and that the Popes Legats were not there &c. yet I find, looking ouer the old Nomocanon, that *Basill* Bishop of Gortyna, Metropolitan of Candie, and another Bishop of Candie were there as Lieutenants of the whole Synod of the Church of Rome; and not they onely, but

D also the Bishops of Thessalonica, Sardana, Hieraclea in Thrace, and Corynth, as special Legats from the Pope, and were called Legats à facie, who also had particular iurisdiction, as appeareth by the second title of the fift booke Imperiall. What spunge can wipe this out? or who can thinke that this can be controlled by giuing *Balsamon* the lye, or by saying that he was an heretike? Can *Gratian* endure this iniurie, who hath canonized these Canons? Or the second Councell of Nice, or the Popes *Gregorie* the second, and *Adrian*, who haue cited them for good prooffe, alledging the 83 Canon to iustifie their vse of Images? Or is it ynough for *Baronius* to say, that these Popes kill the Greekes with their owne swords, when as by approving them they rather cut the throat of their owne cause? What speake I of their approving

E hereof, when they receiue it as one of the six sacred Synods? and that in these words: This picture (meaning of the Lambe) is receiued by the Canons of the sixt Synod, published by humane and diuine ordinance &c. As for that which he sayth, That *Anastafius* in his translation of the seuenth Synod testifieth, That none of the Patriarchall Sees receiued them, besides his proper qualitie, as vassall to the Popes; this author maketh himselfe otherwise too too much suspect in this businesse, when in his Epistle Dedicatorie to *John* he sticketh not to say, That in this Synod (meaning the second of Nice) there are manie things of the Canons of the Apostles, and of the sixt Generall Councell found, which with vs (saith he) are not found

N

either

Paul. Diacon. gest. Langobard. l. 6. c. 11.

An. 700.

Baron. vol. 8. an. 692. art. 1. 2. Pseudo-synodum.

Syno. Nice. Act. 2.

Balsamon in Nomocanone.

Actio 2. & 3.

either interpreted or received: of so good dealing were the ministers of this See A
cuen in those dayes, to leaue out whatsoeuer might make against them.

26. PROGRESSION.

That Aripert King of the Lumbards bestowed the Cottian Alpes vpon the Pope:
and that Iustinian the Emperour sent for Pope Constantine to come to Constantinople.

An. 705.

THE greatnesse of the Bishop of Rome at this time was such, that the Empe-
rours residing in the East, being harassed what with the inuasions of the barbarous
abroad, what with ciuile dissentions and rebellions at home, had need of
their fauour to maintaine their credit in the West: So had the Exarchs in Italic,
to make their partie good against the Lumbards: And the Lumbards themselues
were faine vpon occasion to speake them faire: and the Popes, & children of this
world, and wise in their generation, made vse of the times for their owne aduancement.
In the yeare therefore 705 John the seuenth entred vpon his See. Aripert
King of the Lumbards gaue him (as Paulus Diaconus reporteth) the inheritance of
the Cottian Alpes: Blondus and Platina say, that he gaue him all betweene Turin
and Gennes, and from thence as farre as France; and this they call, *Giuing to Saine
Peter*: and he made no great difficultie to be liberall of another mans. Paulus
saith, That all this did formerly belong to the See Apostolike, meaning, by that
pretended donation of Constantine the Great; and that they were taken away by
the Lumbards; and that he sent the *A&T* of the donation in letters of gold to Aripert.
But Platina marreth all when he sayth, That this is reported without an author,
and that seeing there is no certaintie of the donation it selfe, and that the Canons
reckon it as a Palea or chaffe, without corne or substance in it, how can the
confirmation hold for good? Wherefore this was either a meere deuice of the
Popes to encroach vpon it, or else a humor of Aripert, thereby to redeeme the ma-
nie enormous cruelties by him committed, and mentioned by Sigonius, accor-
ding to the common error of the times: but he, shortly after pursued by his ene-
mie, was drowned in the passing of a riuier. On the other part Iustinian the second
weariet with his homebred trauerfes, being now at length restored to the Em-
pire which he had lost, purposing to be reuenged of his enemies, thought good
first to gratifie the Pope, and therefore sent him the *A&T*s of the sixt Council by
two Metropolitans, exhorting him to receiue them. Anastasius the Popes Librarie
keeper sayth it was with request, to strike out what he thought fit: But Platina
their Historian sayth, That it was absolutely to haue him subscribe vnto them: but
both of them agree in this, that he sent them backe againe, as wanting courage to
contradict or confute them. But in the yeare 708 Pope Constantine made better
vse of the times: for Iustinian hauing made away the chiefe of the aduerser facti-
on, and hauing pulled out Calimicus the Patriarch of Constantinople his eyes,
sent him prisoner to Rome, thinking thereby to doe the Pope no little pleasure:
and thereupon sent to him to come into the East, with purpose to vse his aduice
in matters, and to oblige him to himselfe with honors which he meant to doe vnto
him. The Historie sayth, That he gaue order to haue him receiued in all places
as his owne person, That he fell at his feet, and kissed them, with his diademe vpon his
head: but withall it letteth vs vnderstand, that he vsed his authoritie to make him
come. Paulus Diaconus saith, That he commaunded the Pope Constantine to come vnto
him:

Anastasin
Ioh. 7.
Paul. Diacon.
l. 6. c. 28.
Blond. Dec. 1.
l. 10.

Sigon. de Reg.
Ital. l. 2.

Plat. in Ioh. 7.

An. 708.

Paul. Diacon.
gest. Longobard.
l. 6. c. 31.

A him: not, as Sigonius an author of these dayes, that he beseeched him. And Anastasius
himselfe sayth, That he sent his sacred Patent, by which he commaunded him to
come vnto the royall Citie, and that he with all readinesse to obey the Emperours behests,
caused shipping to be provided; and these are the authors who liued neerer vnto the
times: so that Baronius is idle when he interpreteth his commaunds to be but prayers
and requests: Wherefore the rest that the Emperour did, was in denotion and
compunctiō, and not in dutie or obedience. And indeed Paulus Diaconus reporteth,
That the Emperour renewed vnto him all the former priuiledges of his
Church, so that he was to hold them from him in time to come: And Anastasius
giueth the cause, Requesting him (saith he) to pray for his sinnes; for these were the
satisfactions which those times required: and so (saith he) the Emperour dismissed
him to returne to Rome. Who durst speake thus in these daies? But Platina after all,
Iustinian (saith he) for all these calamities changed nothing of his former life, onely he
had the Apostolike See in a greater awe and reuerence than before, and so long, as good
friends as might be.

OPPOSITION.

Notwithstanding this strong support, yet were there alwaies some or other
who would not endure this Tyrannie. The Church of Rauenna was but lately
come to the yoke, and that by the commaund of the Emperours: Wherefore Felix
succeeding vnto Damian, came and presented himselfe vnto Pope Constantine,
to be by him approued, and consecrated at Rome: but sayth Anastasius, he would
not enter caution according to the custome, that is, as Platina and Blondus more inge-
nuously deliuer, would not oblige himselfe to a set forme of obedience, and to send a
certaine summe of money to Rome; wherein the magistrats themselues of Rome assisted
him. The tale goeth, that his Caution being layed by the Pope vpon the holie
confession of S. Peter, that is, vpon his Reliques, it was found shortly after all blaake,
and as if it had bene burnt with fire: These were the petty miracles of those
times, to put to children: but the matter stayed not here. The Archbishop be-
ing thus repulsed by the Pope, returned to Rauenna, made his moane to his peo-
ple and Clergie, and thereupon with one consent brake off as before from the
Communion of the Romane Church. Pope Constantine on this other part made
his plaint to Iustinian, who dispatched thither Theodore with a nauie: the Archbi-
shop with other adioyning congregations, as of Ceruia, Comachio, Forlim Popoli,
Cesena, Imola, Faenza, and others, all great peoples in those daies (as Blondus
testifieth) prepare themselues for the encounter. Theodore after manie hot skir-
mishes landed, besieged the Citie, tooke in by composition as well the citizens as
the Archbishop, proceeded notwithstanding against the chiefe of them, by sci-
sure of their goods and persons, hanged some, banished others, and the rest he
caused to fine deepe for their liues. This they called to be tried by S. Peters iudge-
ment. As for the Archbishop, they put out his eyes, and banished him into Pon-
tus, vntill that by this pastorall proceeding he being conuerted from that damna-
ble heresie, of not paying money to the Pope (for so Platina is pleased to tearme it)
he submitted himselfe to giue such caution as they demaunded, and so doing, was
restored to his See. And so saith likewise Anastasius. Yet was this Felix (whom
we see so hardly vsed) recommended in Historie for sanctitie of life, and mira-
cles; called in his Epitaph (which Baronius rehearseth) *Terbeatissimus Archiepis-
copus*. But he would faine persuade vs, that those barbarous and cruell vsages
of the Pope were the cause of this his sanctitie. Yet Benedict Archbishop of Mi-
lan,

Anast. in Con-
stanti.

Anast. &
Plat. in Con-
stanti.
Blond. lib. 10.
Dec. 1.

Blond. ib.

Sigon. de Reg.
Ital. l. 2.

Hieronym. Ru-

Paul. Diacom.
l. 6. c. 29.Anast. in
Constanti.

lan, a man of reputed holiness, found a little better vsage. Hee pretended, That **Paulia** the chiefe seat of the Lombards, was belonging to his Diocesse: But coming in kindness to see the Pope, was faine to haue the cause heard at Rome, where it was agreed, That *anciently the Bishops of Paulia were consecrated by the Bishops of Rome*, whereas yet Paulia was euer of the Prouince of Milan: but the Pope was iudge in his owne cause.

27. PROGRESSION.

How and vpon what occasions the Popes ruined both the Estate of the Exarches, and the kingdome of the Lombards in Italie.

TO fulfill the prophesie of the Apocalyps, it was necessarie that the second Beast should enter vpon the place of the first; and the Empire declining, and the Apostasie encreasing, the Papacie should plant it selfe in the roome of the Empire. The Emperours were long since confined in the East: but the Exarches of Rauenna, who had alwayes their Iudges vnder them at Rome, remained still as a moat, or rather a thorne in the Popes eye: and the Lombards on the other side held them continually at a bay, and in feare of a sudden flaw: and now shall we see how cunningly they rid themselves of both. Immediately vpon the enteruiew betweene the Emperour *Iustinian*, and *Constantine* the Pope, *Iustinian* abandoned by the armie, was assaulted by *Heliza* Generall of the armie for *Philippicus Bardanes*, who slew him, and farther caused his sonne *Tiberius*, who was fled to the Temple of Blacharnes, to be there murdered, and then sent *Iustinians* head to *Philippicus*, and herto Rome. *Constantine* the Pope somewhat amazed with this sudden alteration, yet bethought himselfe how to doe most for his owne behoofe. There was at that time a certaine Monke called *John*, who had persuaded *Philippicus* to turne Monothelite; which Heresie had bene formerly condemned in the first generall Councell. And *Iustinian* had caused the chiefe of those Fathers which assisted at that Councell to be pictured in a table, and to be hung vp in the porch of S. Sophia in Constantinople. *Philippicus*, by the persuasion of that Monke, defaced this table; and farther commaunded, That all Images should be pulled downe in the Churches: A good ordinance, had it not proceeded from an hereticall disposition. On the contrarie *Constantine* the Pope, in despite of *Philippicus*, caused a table, containing the Images not onely of the Fathers of the first Councell, but of all the six generall Synods, to be hung vp in *Saint Peters* Church at Rome; and in a Synod there ordained, That Images should be set vp in Churches: So the question about Images came now to be principall, which at the first was but accessarie. In so much that from thence forward, though the Emperour elected were neuer so Orthodox in other points; and though he received the six generall Synods with all readinesse, yet was hee not obeyed nor acknowledged by the Popes, or at all in Italie, if he held not for the vse and veneration of Images, which by circumstances they made alwayes more and more odious to the aduerser partie: So that vpon this point the Popes neuer wanted matter of quarell against the Emperours, till in the end they had thrust them cleare out of Italie. *Constantine* therefore, taking occasion as before, refused *Philippicus* his Patents, which he sent vnto him, pronounced him an Heretike, forbad the people of Rome to receiue either his name, or his letters, or his image, or his coyne: suffered not his pourtrait to be placed in the Church, nor his name to be mentioned in Diuine

Paul. Diac.
li. 6. c. 34.

Service:

A Service: which was in effect, as much as in him lay, to depose him from the Empire. Whereupon shortly after there arose against him one *Arthemius*, who pulled out his eyes, and thrust him from the Empire. So that *Onuphris* in his Annotations vpon *Platina*, in the life of this *Constantine*, had reason to say, That he was the first which durst resist the Greek Emperour to his face, because he was fallen into the Heresie of *Iconomachie*, which forbad the vse of Images; not for that he was a Monothelite, nor that he denied either two natures or two wils in Christ, but only vpon the difference concerning Images in Churches: And *Sigonius* giueth the same reason, and none other. So small an occasion tooke they to depose the Emperours, whose roome they had so long desired to enjoy. But *Gregorie* the second, who succeeded after him, went a little farther: being that *Gregorie* who, as *Sigonius* reporteth, for his excellent veine in that kind, was surnamed the Dialogist; and it may be that hee meant, that this *Gregorie* was the author of those fabulous Dialogues which goe vnder the name of *Gregorie* the first: *Leo* the third, surnamed *Isauricus*, in the year 717 was called to the Empire: This *Leo*, so soone as he was quietly seated in his throne, ratified the Edict formerly published against the vse of Images: for other Heresie than this his greatest enemies lay not to his charge. And thence, saith *Sigonius*, took their beginning those great seditions, by means whereof that huge Dominion of the Church in Italie was established. Some Historians say, That he attempted against the life and libertie of Pope *Gregorie*, as well knowing that hee could neuer bring his purposes to passe, so long as he stood vpright: yet *Zonaras*, though a Monke, and a great maintainer of Images, saith no such matter; no more doth *Barthelemy*. But the Popes must haue some colour for so haut an enterprise. *Gregorie* hereupon called in the Lombards against the Exarch, who posted to Rome in all hast, but was repulld by the Lombards, and faine to returne vnto Rauenna; and there brake off the peace betweene the Exarches and the Lombards (which had continued euer since *Rotharis* his time) to the final ruine of both Estates, and first of that of the Exarches, whose chiefe seat and citie *Rauenna*, *Luitprand* king of the Lombards tooke and sacked. But *Gregorie* liked not this sudden encrease of the Lombards power, and therefore altered his course, and carrying the matter verie closely, got aid of the Venetians, and thereby suddenly reestablished *Paul* in the Exarchat of Rauenna. In the meane time the Emperour *Leo* ceased not to exhort *Gregorie* to forbear the maintenance and support of Images in the Church. *Gregorie* replied, That it belonged not to the Emperour to innouat any thing in matters of faith (for so he termed the vse of Images.) Neither staid he here, but farther, as the Histories report, he solicited the Venetians, and the inhabitants of Rauenna, to rise in armes against the Emperour and his Exarch, caused cities and townes to thrust out their lawfull magistrats, and to put others of their owne choyce in their roomes, persuaded the citizens of Rome to abandon him as an Heretike, if he persisted in those his opinions, and in the end absolued the people of Italie from their oath and allegiance to him, freed their conscience, forbad them to pay their tribute, or to yeeld him obedience in any kind. The people feeling the reines to lye loose vpon their neckes, presently murdered *Paul* Exarch of Rauenna, pulled out *Peters* eyes, who was Duke of Rome, killed *Exhilarate* Duke of Campania, and his sonne, filled euery corner of Italie with sedition and blood. And in conclusion, finding themselves so farre engaged in these disorders, that they saw no hope of reconciliation left them with the Emperour, they shooke off, and first of all the citizens of Rome, the yoke of the Emperour, taking a solemne oath to become liege seruants, obedient in all points, and to all

Anast. & Ula.
in sa Constant.Onuphris in An.
notat. in Plat.
in vit. Constant.Sigon. de Regi.
Ital. li. 3.

An. 716.

An. 717.

An. 718.

Blond. Dec. 1.
li. 10.
Sigon. de Regi.
Ital. li. 3.Zonaras. p. 88.
10. 3.
Cedren. p. 373.

Baron. 9. an. 716
art. 34.Onuphr. in An-
not. ad Plat. in
Constant.Zmar. to. 3.
in Leo. 3. p. 85.

cedren. pa. 373.

Sigon. de Reg.
Ital. li. 3.Blond. Dec. 1.
li. 10.Aimon. li. 4.
ca. 57.Appendix Greg.
Turmen. 1.
c. 110.

An. 731.

purposes, to the Pope. And here, saith Baranius, was an end of those Dukes and Governours which the Emperours were wont to send to command in Rome, and places neere adjoining. This revolt would be faire justifie vnder colour of conspiracies made against the Pope, which no Author reporteth but *Anastasius*, a domestike of the Popes. And therefore *Sigonius* saith also, That Rome, and the dukedome of Rome, were translated from the Grecians to the Pope of Rome, by reason of their wicked Heresie and impietic. What impietic, saue onely that pretended sinne against the vse of Images? But he goeth on, and setteth downe a beadrill of places which came to the Pope by this new conquest; Rome, with her castles and borough townes in Tuscanie, Port, Centocella, Cere, Bleda, Matuta, Sutri, Nepes, Castalgalesi, Orta, Polimarte, Ameria, Tuderta, Perugia, Narni, Oricoli; and in Campania di Roma, Signia, Anagnia, Ferentino, Alatrio, Patrico, Frusigno, Tiuli; and in Terra di Lauoro, Sora, Arces, Aquino, Teano, and Capua: whereunto we may adde, That *Luitprand* king of Lombards, who at his entrie vnto his kingdome redemanded the Cottian Alpes, as a part of his demaines, restored them againe, and confirmed the grant of *Aripert*; haing as good right the one as the other, to grant away that which belonged to neither of them. And thus by the Bishops of Rome were the Emperours thrust out of Italie, whither they neuer after looked but with a sigh. *Onuphris* speaking of *Gregorie* and this his fact, saith in plaine termes, That he was more hardie than his predecessor *Constantine*, and that he lawfully rest out of *Leo* the third his hands all the Empire of Italie, which was not possessed by the Lombards, in the yeare 729. Thus haue we seene the ruine of the Exarches. It remaineth now, that we shew how they suppressed the kingdome of the Lombards, of whom *Gregorie* stood in bodily feare, because *Luitprand* their king comming with his armie before Rome gates, had already forced him to intreat for peace: moreover, *Gregorie* saw that he was linked with *Charles Martell*, at that time Maior of the kings house in France, who had sent vnto him his son *Pepin*, with request that he would adopt him as his owne, and in token thereof, after the manner of the Lombards, to cut off his lockes; which *Luitprand* accordingly had done: though *Aimonius* saith, He did it as his godfather, and after the manner of the Christians. Wherefore to preuent a mischiefe, he sent vnto *Charles* a solemne embassage, the Keyes of the holie Sepulchre, and *Saint Peters* Chaines, with other rich presents, which, as *Aimonius* saith, had neuer bene heard of, nor seene before; upon condition, That he should free the Church of Rome from the present tyrannie of the Lombards, and preferring heauenlie rewards before earthlie and transitorie respects, should breake off all alliance and confederacie which he had with them. *Charles* hereupon dispatched another embassage to Rome, to ratifie an accord with the Pope; whereof ensued the deliuerance of the Pope out of that imminent danger wherein he was, and the vtter ruine of the Lombard State in Italie. *Gregorie* in his Epistle vnto *Charles* bringeth in the Lombards speaking in this wise, Let *Charles* now come with his French men and helpe thee if he can, &c. And againe, *Saint Peter* could doe well ynough of himselfe, but his purpose is to trie the courage of his children, &c. Howbeit *Baranius* would attribute this Epistle to *Gregorie* the third, his successor.

Gregorie the second died in the yeare 731, and after him succeeded *Gregorie* the third, both in place and also in purpose. Concerning Images, hee decreed in a Synod of 93 Bishops, That whosoever would not doe them religious honour, should be cut off from the bodie and blood of Christ, and from the vnitie of the whole Church, thereby putting *Leo* and his soone out of all hope euer to reenter againe vpon Italie. As for the Lombards, it happened that *Thrasamond* Duke of Spoieto intended to

rebell

- A rebell against *Luitprand*, and for that purpose made alliance with *Gregorie*, and to oblige him the more, because his power was great in Italie, hee surrendered vnto *Gregorie* certain places which had bene formerly litigious betwene them, and thereupon rise in open rebellion. *Luitprand* presently came downe vpon him, and forced to crie to *Gregorie* for helpe, *Gregorie*, according to their articles, receiued and defended him. *Luitprand* summoned *Gregorie* to deliuer him into his hands, if not, threatened to take him for an openemie; and when *Gregorie* refused to doe according to his summons, *Luitprand* moued from Spoletum, where he lay, tooke by the way sundrie places of the Popes dominion, and at length came and encamped before Rome gates. Sundrie gentlemen of the citie, growen wearie, and scorning this new Church government, came ouer to *Luitprand*, and offered him their seruice. France was too farre off to helpe in time, yet *Charles* intreated *Luitprand*, by an embassador sent vnto him, to raise his siege; which he did, holding onely in his hand what he had already taken. *Luitprand* was no sooner returned to *Paui*, but *Thrasamond*, supported by *Gregorie*, tooke the field againe, surprising many of those cities and places which he had lost. But shortly after, all in one yeare, died the Emperour *Leo*, *Charles Martel*, and *Gregorie* the Pope. After *Gregorie* succeeded *Zacharie*, who redemanded his places of *Luitprand*, and tooke part, as his predecessors had done, with the rebels: but seeing himselfe in danger, entreated a parley, and there got of this vertuous prince (for so they tearme him) what euer he desired; who was contented, at the Popes entreatie, to giue ouer the action which he intended against the Exarch of *Rauenna*. In like sort dealt hee with *Rachis*, successor vnto *Luitprand*, sometimes trying his patience, and otherwhiles flying to his mercie, but still abusing his deuotion; vntill at length, building vpon the foundation which his predecessors had laid, hee resolued to ruine this ouer powerfull neighbouring Estate of the Lombards, by a forreine power, which though greater in it selfe, yet was lesse dangerous to him, and of lesse annoyance to his proceedings. And the ambition of the French easily hearkened to such a motion. *Pepin* succeeded his father *Martel* in his Mairaltie of the household, and vnder this name in the royall authoritie. But not content with the thing vnlesse he might also haue the Title, sent to consult *Zacharie*, Whether it were not reason that he which tooke all the paines in administration of all affaires of the kingdome, should be king, rather than he, who contenting himselfe with the Title, tooke care of nothing, but onely in pleasures and pastimes; poinsing at *Chilperic* his Lord and Soueraigne, whom he would faine haue pulled from his throne by force, onely he wanted authoritie, cloaked with deuotion. *Zacharie*, who vnderstood by the halfe what the whole meant, presently commanded; as saith *Aimonius*, by his authoritie, That *Pepin* should be created king, who was accordingly that same yeare sacred, by the Archbishop *Boniface*, the subiects discharged of their allegiance, and *Chilperic* degraded. Pope *Zacharie*, saith *Sigonius*, anteposing his Decree, out of the greatnesse of his authoritie. What authoritie, but that which was foretold vs by the Apostle, of that sonne of perdition, placed in the Temple of God, exalting himselfe above all that is called God, and carrying himselfe as if he were God: God, saith the Prophet, to whom alone it appertaineth to set vp and to pull down kings, to continue kingdomes, or to translate them from one stocke vnto another. And *Sigonius* cannot hold, but must needs say, That he dyed, hauing carried matters more for the behoofe of the Church and of the Apostolike See, than according to rules of true pietie and religion. And this fell out in the yeare 750.
- Pepin* now owed *Zacharie* a good turne, and quickly had occasion to requite his kind-

An. 739.

An. 741.

Aimon. li. 4. c. 61.
Sigon. li. 3.
Blond. Dec. 2.
li. 1.

2. Thessal. 2. 4.

An. 750.

kindnesse. *Rachis* king of the Lombards entring into religion, *Aistulph* his brother, who succeeded in the kingdome, set vpon the Exarch of Rauenna, tooke the citie, & made him saue himselfe in Greece. And this was the period of the Exarchat, after two hundred yeares space that they had borne sway in Italie. This done, whether *Aistulph* grew more insolent than before, or whether a fright tooke the Pope, to see such proceedings, *Stephen*, who had now succeeded *Zacharie*, resolved, for preuention, to flie to *Pepin*. And *Aistulph*, by his predecessors examples grew wise, and would not be led with words. *Stephen* knew not whom to trust, and to passe himselfe in person ouer the Alpes, had bene to ruine into the dinels mouth: wherefore he vsed the credit of *Pepin* to make faire weather with him, to win him to withdraw his forces, and to grant him safeconduet through his countries towards France: which he did, and receiued him in his journey with all honour at his Court. Whence he passed into France, where meeting with *Pepin* at Pontigon, in the yere 754, exhorted him, in remembrance of the kindnesse which he had receiued of *Zacharie*, to stand *Saint Peters* good friend: (nothing came amisse vnder so plausible a name) And *Pepin* desired no better office, both in regard, saith *Sigonius*, of the kindnesse of *Zacharie* in degrading *Chilperic*, making that iust and lawfull by his sacred autoritie, which otherwise seemed vnto be vnto lawfull: as also because he desired to haue this right of succession established by *Stephen* vpon his two sonnes, *Charles* and *Carloman*. The conclusion of all was, That the next Summer *Pepin* should passe with his armie into Italie, and force *Aistulph* to surrender the Exarchat, and all other places which he had taken: And that the Pope should spend the Winter in France, to annoint and sacre his two children. But vpon the holding of the Parliament in France, when he saw all matters sort after his desire, he went a step farther, and drew a promise from *Pepin*, That he would not restore either the Exarchat, or Pentapolis, vnto the Emperour of Greece, who had made himselfe vnworthie thereof by his cowardise and heresie; but that he would bestow them vpon *Saint Peter* and his successors for ever, for the good of his soule, and for the remission of his finnes. Which *Pepin* sware vnto him to performe, and made his two children take the same oath; and he presently deliuered him a Patent thereof, signed with his owne hand. *Pepin* had no sooner set foot in Italie, but *Aistulph* presently promised to yeeld vp the Exarchat, and what euer else he had taken: for performance whereof he gaue fortie hostages, which were presently conueyed into France. *Pepin* had no sooner turned his backe, but *Aistulph* immediatly repented him of his surrender, drew his forces into the field, and *Pepin* was faine to repasse the mountains, and to hasten backe into Italie againe. Then was *Aistulph* faine to performe his promise with effect: And when the Emperour of Greece required him to restore to him the Exarchat and Pentapolis, as to him properly appertaining, and not vnto the Pope, his answer was, That he had bestowed it vpon the Church for his soules health, and for the remission of his finnes. And thereupon renewed his grant to *Stephen*, giuing him liuerie and seisin, for him and his successors after him; causing the keyes of euerie citie to be laid vpon *Saint Peters* Confession, that is, in the place where *Saint Peters* supposed reliques lay. Which largesse of his to *Stephen*, was as justifiable as that other of *Zacharie* was to him, either being verie liberall of what belonged to neither of them, yet the fact more sufferable in a Captaine than in a Bishop. And yet by this Title it is, that the Popes got Rauenna, Boulogne, Imola, Faenza, Forlimpopoli, Furli, Cesena, Bobio, Ferrara, Commachio, Adria, Figaruolo, Gabelo, all which belonged properly to the Exarchat. Also to him accrued by that conueyance of *Pepin*, Arimini, Pefaro,

An. 754.

A ro, Concha, Fano, Senogallia, Ancona, Oximo Humana, Aisio, Fossombrone, Montefeltra, Urbino, Bagno, Agabio, with many castles and other places: as also Pentapolis, containing now the two prouinces of Romagna, & la Marche. There is yet an Epistle extant of *Stephen* vnto *Pepin*, where are these words: *We may now say, as said Susanna, Anguishes on all sides: And we know not what to doe, &c. what we feared from the Lombards is now come vpon us: Forsake vs not, despise vs not; so may God be good and mercifull vnto you, when hee shall come with Saint Peter to iudge the world: and so may you neuer heare that saying of his, Nescio vos, &c.* Threatning him with little lesse than hell it selfe, if he made not the more halt. This letter was sent by *Warnherus*, who passed the watches when the citie was inuested, and so went a messenger into France. Diuers others there are of this nature, but about all one written as from *Saint Peter* himselfe, with this inscription, *Peter an Apostle of Iesus Christ, the Sonne of the living God, &c.* the Epistle directed, To the French in general: the contents whereof were, *That they should nothing doubt but that he was in the verie flesh present with them: That by the speciall grace of God he had taken them into his particular protection: That therefore hee aduised them to deliuer his citie of Rome from the danger of the Lombards: That they should make the most hast they could, before that living fountaine, by which they were sanctified and regenerated, were dried up; and not to depart from thence vntill they had set her at libertie: vpon paine to be excluded from the kingdome of God, and deliuered over to the diuell and his angels: and promising them for their paines, if they would take it, what soeuer they should request of him. And these were thos *Pia fraudes*, as they termed them, whose religious knackes and knaueries, with which they gouzled the world in those dayes. This passed in the yere 755, and 756, and shortly after dyed *Aistulph*. After him succeeded *Didier*, his high Constable, who found some difficultie in the beginning of his raigne, by reason of the contradiction of some of the nobilities and *Paul* succeeded his brother *Stephen* in the Papacie, in the yere 757. But *Paul* happening to dye that same yere, and *Didier*, during his sicknesse, hauing made a strong partie to procure a Pope which would be at his deuotion, *Two* Duke of *Nepete*, by his commaund, at the instant when the Pope gaue vp the ghost, seised one of the gates of Rome, and caused his brother *Constantine*, of a lay man to be made Subdeacon, and Deacon, and after that to be created and consecrated Pope all in a day. Thereupon arose a schisme, seditions and murders within the walls of Rome, till at last they agreed all vpon one *Stephen*, the third of that name, and made him Pope. This *Stephen* cast his eye presently vpon France, sent an embassage vnto *Pepin*, requesting him to send him the most learned and vnderstanding Bishops of France, whose help and aduise he meant to vse in settling the Estate of the Church of Rome. This embassage found *Pepin* dead, but the two brothers, *Charles* and *Carloman*, though not well agreeing in other matters, yet joyntly concurred to satisfie this desire of the Pope. The Reader may not thinke that hee did this to reforme the abuses of his Church, he did it onely by their meanes to annull the election of *Constantine*, and to make him burke alive in the Presbyterie of *Saint Sauioir* of Lateran, causing him first to be miserably beaten by the Priests, and pronouncing all his consecrations made, to be void and of none effect. Whereby a man may ghesse how ragefully he was incensed against the Lombard king himselfe. And it is worth the noting, That when he vnderstood that *Charles* began to hearken to a motion of marriage with *Bertha*, *Didiers* daughter, hee presently forbad him, vnder paine of excommunication: his reasons are such as wee find them in his owne letters. Hauing therefore remonstrated to *Charles* and *Carlo-**

An. 755.

Mar. Scot. in Chron.

Consortium ne-
quissime adim-
nitionis.

man the dangerous fall of our first father by occasion of his wife, the frailetie of whose sex Sathan vsed to serue his owne purpose: at last he commeth to the marriage, and telleth them, That this was a suggestion of the diuell, *no compling in marriage, but a accompanying of a wicked inuention*: now followeth his skill in Diuinitie, *we find* (saith he) *in the holie Scriptures, that manie haue gone out of the right way by marrying strange women*. But strange women in Scripture, are they vnderstood of a foreine nation, or of a different religion? Or is not this to play with the Scriptures, seeing they were Orthodox of one side and other? But he goeth on, *Must your noble race* (saith he) *be polluted with this perfidious and lothsome generation of the Lumbards, who are not so much as named among the nations, and from whom it is certaine that all Leapers tooke their beginning?* And thereupon would persuade them, that their father was certainly purposed to marrie them in France to verie faire women, to whose loue they could not chuse but addiect themselues. But euer he commeth backe to his first argument, *what fellowship* (sayth he) *hath the beleener with the insidell, the light with darkenesse: neuer did man who married a strange woman continue innocent*. Who euer thought to haue heard such diuinitie come from a Pope? And yet his adjurations preuailed so farre with him, that a whole yeare after the marriage he diuorced the daughter of *Didier*, whom he had married by the aduice and counsell of his mother, and presently married (as *Eghinard* writeth) *Hildegarde* of Sueuia: For the match with *Didiers* daughter being broken off, the Pope neuer made more mention of a precontract in France, as before: whereas if anie had beene, it must haue serued for a barre against this marriage, as well as against the former. But this *Stephen* dying in the yeare 772, and *Adrian* succeeding in his roome, *Didier* sought to oblige him to himselfe by some alliance, and to make him sure against France: but missing of his purpose, and being confident that the two brothers liuing in jealousie of each other, would neuer passe into Italic, he set vp an armie, and inuaded the Exarchat, tooke Ferrara, Comachio, Faenza, and entred verie farre vpon Romagna and la Marche. *Adrian* hereupon sent an embassage by sea to *Charlemaigne* in Fraunce; and the more to interest him in the quarrell, told him, That *Didier* would force him to annoint the sonnes of *Carloman* his brother; that his refusall was the cause of all this trouble. *Adrian* all this while was in a piteous plight: for *Didier*, either for, or vnder colour of deuotion, came before Rome gates, when by meanes of an excommunication which *Adrian* cast out against him, his priuat familie and others would not suffer him to passe anie farther. But when *Charles* was once passed the Alpes, those of Spoleto and Riete, and others, came presently and yielded to the Pope: Moreouer, those of *Didiers* owne dominions fell from him by heapes, so that he was forced to breake vp the siege. Then came *Charlemaigne* to Rome, where he was receiued, as the sole author of the life and libertie of the Church; the people singing before him, by the appointment of *Adrian*, as the children once did at the entrance of our Sauour into Ierusalem, *Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord, Hosanna &c.* And after some few dayes spent in pompous deuotions, *Charles* was requested to confirme the donation of the Exarchat, Romania, and la Marche, which his father, himselfe, and his brother *Carloman*, with all the Iudges of France, had long before promised at Creci in Fraunce: all which he presently accorded, giuing ouer and aboue, of that which was none of his, the Islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicilie, the territorie of the Sabines, with the Duchies of Spoleto and Tuscanie, which belonged to the Lumbards, reseruing alwaies to himselfe the souerainetic

An. 772.

A raignetic of them. And thus came the kingdome of the Lumbards to an end by the practises of the Popes; whereas yet their Kings haue this testimonie afforded them, euen by the Historians of their greatest enemies, *That from the time they received the Christian Religion and Catholike Faith, they had euer beene great Iustifiers, and devoutly giuen, witnesse* (saith *Sigonius*) *their good lawes, which so seuerely punished thefts, robberies, rapes, murders, and adulteries, carefully preserving euerie man in his owne estate, goods, and libertie; witnesse also the sumptuous Temples and ample Monasteries with which they beautified and adorned Italic, the faire and goodlie Cities which they either built or repaired, the honours they did to holie persons, the Lordships and riches which they bestowed upon the Popes, with the great reuerence they used towards them: insomuch that some of them, at the Popes persuasions, left Crowne and Kingdome to confine themselves within a closter*. But the Popes ambition was great, and the Lumbards payed the price of their deuotion towards that See, by the final ruine of their state and kingdome. Neither is *Onuphris* ashamed to vaunt, that *Gregorie* the second had chased the Emperour out of Italic: That *Gregorie* the third, by the helpe of *Pepin*, had begun the warre vpon the Lumbards, which being pursued by his successors, must needs, as it did, end in the ruine of that Kingdome: And this fell vpon the yeare 773. Where note also, for the more perfect view of these proceedings, that about the yeare 740 the King of West Saxons in England purposing to take the Frocke vpon him, first made his realme tributarie to the Pope, binding it to pay yerely a pennie for euerie chitney in the land: So likewise in the same Island did *Offa* King of Northumberland, vnder *Adrian* the first. The Author setteth downe the cause, which was, *the feare he had to be punished for his sinnes, as thinking he should neuer be able to make sufficient satisfaction to God for them* (though he had alreadye giuen the tenth of all his goods) vntil he gaue other mens goods also, and made the kingdome to beare the penaltie of his offences; so well did the inuention of Purgatorie suit alreadye with their ambition. But *Gregorie* the seventh, called *Hildebrand*, would make the world beleue, That *Charlemaigne*, in humble acknowledgement of *S. Peters* helpe in his victories vpon the Saxons, had giuen the countrey of Saxonie as an offering to the Church of Rome; and that he commaunded sioake pence to be payed throughout Fraunce vnto the Pope: but he alledgeth no author saue onely his pretended Charters, by vertue whereof he commaunded *Peter* Bishop of Aiba, and *G. Prince of Salerne*, his Legats, to make demand of those said pence in Fraunce: But the French euer laughed at such claimes, and *Charlemaigne* was too wise to fall into such a trap.

About this time also was it, that *Boniface*, falsely surnamed the Martyr, a great champion of the Popes, and Pope himselfe, published the Decree *Si Papa*, containing, *That if the Pope happen to neglect his owne saluation and others &c. he euer draweth with him multitudes of soules to hell*. A great mischief: but what remedie? for it followeth, *That no mortall wight may presume to reprove him for his faults, because he himselfe iudgeth all men, and is iudged of none, vntil he be found erring in faith*. Which doctrine once layed for a ground, what wonder if Popes haue alwaies run so headlong to all manner of impietie? And the better to see how the Apostasie from true doctrine hath alwaies encreased with the Tyrannie of the Papacie, we must further see, that the most grosse abuses grew vp in this lamentable time. We haue said before, that *Gregorie* the first altered the Liturgie of Rome: this was now receiued in Italic by the meanes of *Adrian* the first, in Germanie by the diligence of *Boniface*, and in Fraunce by the authoritie of *Charles*, and

Onuphr. in
Constant.

An. 773.

Gregor. v. in ep.
ad Pet. Alban.
& G. Principem
Salernitanum.

Distin. 16.

and where euer they found opposition, there they brought it in by force and violence. The holie Supper was for the most part left off, & priuat Masses vsed in stead thereof: the Sacrament was turned into a Sacrifice, and then began the opinion of Transubstantiation, to giue it the greater credit. Purgatorie also now came to be vndoubtedly beleued of the common people: hence came those multitudes of foundations, the Church euer parting stakes in the reuenues. Now began men to flocke to Rome in pilgrimage, hoping thereby to purchase remission of all their sinnes; insomuch, that the Bishops and Fathers of Fraunce in the Councell of Tours began to oppose against it, and to entreat the Emperour to stay the current of this abuse. And lastly, in the yeare 788 was held that second Councell of Nice, called the seuenth Generall Councell, vnder *Constantine* the seuenth and his mother *Irene*; wherein after strong opposition, was finally established the adoration of Images: *Adrian* the first there assisting by his Legats, whom *Irene* the Emperesse hoped so to satisfie and content, by giuing way to this Decree, that by his fauour she might once more set foot in Italic.

Concil. Turoni.
An. 813. sub
Charo. Magni.
Concil. Nice. 2.

OPPOSITION.

Neither may we thinke, in this so great an alteration, both in the doctrine, and also in the government of the Church, that euerie man held his peace: for the doctrine, we haue elsewhere declared how euerie article, and when it came to be corrupted; as also what opposition was alwaies made against it: so that we shall not need to rehearse it here farther than as it was vsed by the Popes, to the corruption of the policie and government of the Church. The Popes (as we haue said) thrust the Emperours out of Italic; the colour was because they rejected the adoration of Images: it being therefore cleare that the three seuerall Councils of Constantinople, the one held in the yeare 713, the other in the yeare 729, and the third (called the seuenth vniuersall Councell, consisting of 338 Bishops) in the yeare 755, all held in the times of *Constantine*, *Gregorie* the second, and *Stephen* the third, who were those that did abuse this article of Images, to thrust the Emperours out of Italic; it being I say cleare, that all these condemned the adoration of Images, Is it not manifest what they judged of the Popes proceedings against the Emperours, seeing they condemned the ground of their proceedings? And we may easily imagine what the Churches of Fraunce thought of those Popes, whom they saw to trouble the world vnder a colour of Images, seeing themselves neither at that present, nor in long time after vsed them, or at least vsed no religious honour towards them, no not those who yet condemned the Greekes for breaking and defacing them; witnesse *Anastasius*, a Writer of that verie time, and *Baronius* of this present: and seeing that a Councell held at Gentilli, others say at Saumur in Fraunce, vnder *Pepin* himselfe, not daring to speake more plainly for feare of the Pope, yet counsailed the Emperours of Greece to hold them to the ancient vsage of the Church: seeing also, that another Councell of the Westerne Churches, held vnder *Charlemaigne* at Francford, composed (as sayth *Sigonius*) of a great multitude of Bishops, of Fraunce, Germanie, and Italic, present there the Legats of the Pope, condemned openly and shamefully that second Councell of Nice; and consequently censured all those Councils which were held at Rome in the yeare 713, 716, 742, 768, vnder *Constantine*, *Gregorie* the second, *Zacharie*, and *Stephen* the third, for the support of Images. Moreouer, they published a booke against that second Councell of Nice, declaring it to haue bene a false Synod, and no Councell at all, against Pope *Adrian*, who had approued it:

An. 713.
An. 729.
An. 755.

Anast. Biblioth. in ep. ad Joh. 8.
Baron. in Annal. an. 794. art. 40.

A and who can doubt, but that *Pepin* and *Charlemaigne* themselves would haue condemned it, but that they could not meddle with the point of state, without quarrelling the Pope vpon a matter of the Church. But to come vnto the Historie of those times: *Zacharie* had holpen *Pepin* in his vsurpation of the Crowne of France, and *Pepin* in thankfulness came to assist him in his exaltation ouer the Emperours and Lumbards in Italic: *Carloman* his owne brother, which was entred into a Monasterie at Mount Cassin in Italic, tooke a journey of purpose into France, to dissuade the enterprize, and with great earnestness in open Parliament pleaded the cause of the Lumbard King; which how could he doe, without condemning the Popes ambition? Some say he did it not of his owne will, but by the commandement of his Abbot: but was not the good of the Church (if he had so thought it) more to haue bene regarded? Or what could an Abbot haue done to so great a Prince as he was? In the end *Charles* came to an end of his conquests in Italic; then was he moued to ratifie to *Adrian* the pretended donation of *Pepin*, at what time *Charles* let him to vnderstand well ynough, that he held not his Crowne from the Pope, but that the Pope held both his dignitie and Rome it selfe in fee from him, and homage to his Empire: for there it was by generall consent of Bishops and Abbots ordained, That *Charles* should be Prince of the Senat (in which verie point *Adrian* encroached vpon the prerogatiue of the Emperour, to whom onely it appertained to giue that title) and that he should haue power to inuest the Archbishops and Bishops of all Provinces (meaning of Italic) with prouiso, That if they were not allowed and inuested by him, they could not be consecrated by any: moreouer, that he should elect the Pope and dispose of the See Apostolike: all which we find in *Gratian* in the Decree, standing yet, after the correction of *Gregorie* the thirteenth. So likewise *Sigebert* Abbot of Gemblons, *Charles* (saith he) held a Councell at Rome with Pope *Adrian*, with 150 other Bishops and Abbots, to whom the Pope with the whole Synod gaue authoritie to elect the Pope, and to provide the See Apostolike, and gaue him also the title of Prince; ordaining farther, that the Archbishops and Bishops throughout the Provinces should receiue inuestiture from him, and that a Bishop not approued and inuested by him, should not be consecrated by any, and that such as should be refractarie to this decree should be Anathema, and if they repented not, their goods should be confiscated. Which *Gratian* expresseth in these words, who soeuer shall doe contrarie to this decree, the Synod layeth the band of Anathema vpon him, and ordaineth, that his goods shall be confiscated if he repent not. So also saith *Sigonius*, adding farther, that this Rite of Inuestiture was so called, because it was giuen them by a Ring and a staffe; in regard, no doubt, of those lands which they euen then possessed. This Rite of confirming the Popes, continued (as we haue already shewed) in the Emperours hands vntill the time of *Constantine Pogonatus*, who about 100 yeares past had released it to Pope *Benedict* the second, and so it continued vntill now, when *Charlemaigne* tooke it into his hands againe. *Sigonius* graunteth all this to be true: but he addeth, that *Charlemaigne* out of his good nature released it againe: but there is no author for it, and the practise long after was to the contrarie. *Baronius* here setteth vpon poore *Sigibert*, and crieth out, *de scelus & impostura & fraud*, laying to his charge, that he was of the Emperour *Henrie* his faction, and that in fauour of him he invented this fable, and that the Historians of *Charles* say no such matter. But what? was *Gratian*, were all the rest of later times schismaticke for reporting the same thing after the same manner? Was *Gregorie* the 13 a schismaticke, who hath in his late correction left that Canon standing and vncorrected; yea but *Gratian* had it from *Sigibert*, and gaue too light credence to him: It is true that *Gratian* hath set it downe in *Sigibert* his owne words;

Armon. lib. 4. c. 62.

Sigon. l. 3. de Reg. Ital. Anast. in Stephan. 3.

D. 63. c. Hadrianus 22. Sigon. de Reg. Ital. l. 4. Dignitatem Principatus Sigibert. in Chron.

Baron. vol. 9. an. 774. art. 10. 11. & seq.

But is this all the esteeme he maketh of this great Oracle of the Canonists? And I aske farther, in all that schisme of *Hildebrand*, or in anie other, where this case was so hotly debated, was *Sigibert* euer condemned of a falsehood, or accused of forgarie? If we should reject their authors as peremptorily as they do their owne, what villanie would they not say against vs? For whereas he saith that this word *Inuestiture* was not then in vse, euery man knoweth that it came in with the *Lumbards*.

But I returne to *Charlemaigne*. In the partage which he made of *Italie*, he left *Apulia* and *Calabria* to the Emperour of *Greece*, as heretofore in the time of *Justinian*; and appointed *Dukes* of *Beneuent*, *Spoleum*, and *Friul*, as vnder the *Lumbards*. As for the *Exarchat* of *Rauenna*, *Romania*, *la Marche*, the *Duchie* of *Petrousa*, of *Rome*, *Tuscany*, and *Campania*, which he had giuen to the Pope, he retained the soveraigntie ouer them to himselfe, and consequently ouer the Popes; who could not hold these *Duchies* but by oath of fealtie and allegiance, conceiued in these words, *I T. R. doe promise to be faithfull all my life long, without fraude or mal engine to Charles my Lord, and to his children &c.* And the truth is, that it appeareth by *Adrians* Epistles, that he held not himselfe all of the best contented with *Charlemaignes* dealings, seeing he so often putteth him in mind of the great debt he owed to *S. Peter*, and that therefore he should remember the promises which he had made vnto him; complaining euer and anon of those whom he had left behind him in *Italie*, to command euen in matters of the Church: That the *Bishop* of *Rauenna*, since his coming into *Italie*, was growne stouter than before, especially since the time that he had sent thither some of his *Commissaries* to elect a new *Bishop*; reprouing him sometimes for these matters, and calling him to answer it before *S. Peter*. All which we shall see more at large hereafter.

In the year 798 died *Adrian*, in whose roame succeeded *Leo* the third, by the election of the Clergie and people of *Rome*; who presently vpon his election dispatched an embassadour vnto *Charlemaigne*, to aduertise him of his election, and to present vnto him the keys of the Confession, i. of the Sepulchre of *S. Peter*, with the maine Standard of the Citie, and manie other honourable presents, in token of fealtie and homage; requesting him to send some principall man of his Court, to minister the oath of Allegiance to the people of *Rome*, thereby to hold them in their dutie and subiection vnto him, as *Aimoni* in his Historie reporteth: whereupon *Angilbert*, Abbot of *S. Richarius*, was dispatched thither to that effect. Shortly after, the nobilitie of *Rome* growne wearie of the Popes yoke, and willing to shake it off, set vpon *Leo* as he went in solenne procession, shrew him from his horse, and left him there halfe dead; his followers tooke him vp, and carried him to the *Vatican*. It is reported, that they pulled out his eyes, but that God by miracle put them into his head againe. We may well doubt of this miracle, seeing that *Aimoni* reporting it, addeth, as some thought. But *Zonar* speaketh plainly and saith, That they who were first in trust to pull them out, shred them, and onely beat him about the eyes, without perishing his sight; and yet these men crye out, A miracle. *Leo* hereupon tooke a journey into *Germanie* as farre as *Westphalia*, where *Charlemaigne* then was, to craue justice, telling him, That the *Romanes*, who had long since taken their *Bishop* for their Lord, seeking now to returne to their ancient libertie, and not able to oppress him with false criminations, had attempted vpon his life. Whereupon *Charlemaigne* resolved in the yere 800 to make a voyage into *Italie*. Vpon his arrivall at *Rome* he assembled a multitude of *Italian* and *French* *Bishops*, commaunding the accusers and the accused, i. *Leo* the Pope, to appeare before them, himselfe presiding and sitting in the middle

Signo. de Reg. Jtal. l. 4.

Ep. Adrian. ad Charol. 30. 31. 39.

An. 796.

Ad suam fidem et subiectionem. Aimoni. lib. 4. cap. 86.

Lib. 4. c. 89. Zonar. to. 3. pag. 97.

An. 800.

A of them. *Anastasi* the Popes Historian sayth, That the *Bishops* then and there declared openly, that they might not judge the See Apostolike: but *Aimoni* a great deale more sincerely reporteth, That there being none found that would come forth and charge him with his crimes, he purged himselfe by oath. And vpon this sedition tooke *Charlemaigne* occasion to seise into his owne hands all authoritie ouer the Citie of *Rome*: for as an *Italian* Author of that time reporteth, He thereupon resolved to make all the great ones of *Rome*, as well *Bishops* as *Lays*, to become vassals of the Empire: That they and the whole people should sweare fealtie to the Emperour: That the Emperour should alwaies haue his *L. Deputie* residing within *Rome* in the Palace of *Saint Peter*, at a certaine stipend by the day, to void all contentions arising among them: and this

B Deputie carried matters so, that the least in the Citie had alwaies iustice against the greatest; though neuer so neere kinsman to the Pope; all fines leuied to the vse of the Emperour, who onely could dispense and pardon. And this order continued (saith that Author) vnto the time of *Lewis* the second, sonne of *Lotharius*. This is certaine, that vpon a Christmas day (as *Ad Viennensis* writeth) Pope *Leo* set the crowne vpon his head before *S. Peters* altar, all the people crying out, To *Charles Augustus*, crowned of God, great and peaceable Emperour of the *Romans*, life and victories. After which salutations he was adored by the Pope himselfe, after the manner of the ancient Princes: and from that time leauing the name of Prince, he tooke the title of Emperour and *Augustus*. And if you would know what is meant by the manner of ancient Princes, *Saluian* telleth vs,

C That the manner was, for seruants to kisse their Lords and Masters feet. And in such qualitie did they acknowledge *Charlemaigne*, euen as liege Lord of the Citie of *Rome*: as *Paulus Diaconus* speaking to him saith, You shall find expressed the names of the streets, gates, bridges, places, and Tribes, of your *Romane* Citie, that is, of *Rome*. And thus did *Charlemaigne* make the *Bishop* of *Rome* know himselfe, eue in *Italie* and in the proper place of their magnificence. And this was the cause of his coming thither at that time; not as they would haue it, to kisse the Popes pantofle, or to visit *S. Peters* threshold: for we find euen at this very time one *Claudius* *Bishop* of *Turin* crying out against those *Rome*-wandring, or *Pilgrimages* made to *Rome*, That it was a follie to run thither for penance, or there to seeke remission of their sinnes:

D That the saying of our Lord, Vpon this stone will I build my Church, was meant of the Confession, not of the Person of *S. Peter*: That the keyes & power of binding and losing had another meaning: That none but ideots had recourse to Saints and relikes: That the place and See was nothing: That he was not to be deemed Apostolick, who sat in the Chaire of an Apostle, but he that did the office of an Apostle. And more no doubt should we learne of him, if we had his books themselves, for now we haue no more of them than we find in the inuectiues of those that write against him: and no maruell, since the Councill of *Tours* before mentioned complained of these abuses, and saine would haue found a remedie against them.

E As for the spirituall power, the Emperour *Constantine* and *Irene* his mother sought the most they could the fauour of the Popes, yet as touching the second Councill of *Nice*, they say in their Patent, That they themselves called it by their commaundement, as the saits of *Tharasius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople* &c. And in the Acts of that Councill it is said, This Synod assembled by their religious Decree, in this famous Citie of *Nice*. So likewise speaketh the Synodall Epistle, directed as well to the Emperours in speciall, as to all *Bishops* in generall; and so doth the said Patriarch *Tharasius*, writing vnto *Iohn* the Priest. *Zonar* saith, By the permission of the Emperours: and *Theophanes*, The Emperesse *Irene* (saith he) assembled all the *Bishops* to celebrate the Councill at *Nice*: and which is more, Pope *Adrian* himselfe

Aimoni. li. 4. c. 90.

Author quidam Jtal. apud Vguerium.

Missum suum.

Ad Viennensis. in Chroni. an. 798. Ab eodem Pontifice adoratus est.

Saluian. in ep. ad parent.

Aimo. l. 4. c. 90. Paul. Diacon. in dedicat. Festi Pompeij.

Jonas. l. 3. aduers. Claudii. Turinens.

Concil. Nicen. a. in princ. to. 2. 1b. in epist. ad Iohan. Presby.

Zonar. to. 3. pag. 95.

writing to the Emperours, acknowledgeth as much, requesting them upon his knees, and prostrat at their feet, to establish Images, by the authoritie of that Councell. As for the Presidencie, though the Popes Legats were indeed there present, being summoned as other Patriarches were, and though they had their priority of place, yet it no where appeareth of their presiding: The Patriarch *Tharasius* most commonly propounded, gaue order, spake last, and concluded, as appeareth in the third Action. And when any Decree was to passe, it passed alwayes vnder the name of the whole Synod, *The Synod saith it, The Synod ordaineth it*. And when the Councell was broken vp, *Those, saith Zonaras, who were of it came to Constantinople, and there in open Court, the Emperours presiding, read the Acts of that Councell in the eares of all men; which Acts were there approued, authorized, and subscribed by the Emperours.* And *Adrian* himselfe writing to the said *Tharasius*, in the second Session of this Councell, stileth him by the Title of *Vniuersall Patriarch*. *Bellarmino* saith, That the Emperour did nothing there. Nothing at Nice, I confesse, for he was not there: and yet it cannot be denied, but that he sent thither the Proconsull *Petronius*, and other Senators, to see good order kept. *Bellarmino* addeth, That vndoubtedly the Popes Legats Presided there; his reason is, because they are named first, and first subscribed. Wherein, as euer, he confoundeth Preseancie, or priority of place, with Presidencie. But what will he say, if a man tell him, That the Bishops of Sicilie at the entrie of the Synod make this proposall, as of a matter fit and conuenient, *That the Soueraigne or Supreme Pastor of the Imperiall citie of Constantinople should make the ouerture of this Synod; and the Synod ordaineth, That it should be done according to the desire of those holie Bishops,* and so it was.

Concil. Nicen. 2. Act. 3.

Zonar. to. 3. pa. 95.

Adrian in Epist. ad Tharas. in Synod. Nicen. 2. Act. 2.

Bellar. de Concil. li. 1. c. 19.

Concil. 7. vniuers. Act. 1. Aperiatur Ianua

Iustinus.

D. S. C. Adrianus.

As for the *Westerne* Emperour, and the Councell which was held at *Francford*, there is no colour of controuersie; whether we speake of the calling of it, or of the presidencie in it: though the Bishops of *Italie*, and *Adrians* Legats, were there present. For the Epistle of *Charlemaine* to *Elipand* Archbishop of *Toledo*, speaketh plainly, saying, *We haue commanded a Councell to be assembled of all the Churches of our Prouincas of Germanie, France, Spaine, England, and all the Prouincas of Italie*: which he there specifies, inuiting thither by his speciall mandat, the Patriarchs of *Milan*, *Aquileia*, and others, immediatly from himselfe and by absolute authoritie. True it is, as himselfe saith, that he had sent thrice or foure times to *Adrian* Bishop of *Rome*, to haue his opinion concerning the Heresie of *Elipand*: but he presently addeth, That he had likewise called certaine personages out of *England* for the same purpose, well seene and conuersant in the discipline of the Church; the one and the other to assist with their skill and knowledge, neither of them to supplie any want of authoritie in himselfe. And as he in person presided, so is the Synodall Epistle sent forth in his name. And as was this of *Francford*, so likewise were all those Councells of *Germanie* and *France*, held at *Arles*, *Aix*, *Tours*, *Chaalons*, and *Meuce*, all, I say, assembled by the authoritie of the Emperour, with these words, *By the command, By the iniunction, &c. of the most glorious king or Emperour Charles*. Neither can that Councell held at *Rome* shield it selfe from this authoritie, seeing that both *Yno* and *Gratian* speaking thereof, say as before, That *Charles* appointed to be held that Councell with *Pope Adrian*, in the Patriarchat of *Lateran*, in the Church of *S. Saviour*, celebrated with fiftie three holie Bishops and Abbots. If then the Pope could not of himselfe call a Synod in *Rome*, what could he doe in other countries? who though he had shaken off the yoke of the Emperour of the East, yet by a kind of continuation of respect, dated alwaies his Councells by the yeare of his raigne. So did *Pope Zacharie* that Councell which

A which he held at *Rome*, wherein were condemned *Adelbert*, *Godefract*, and *Clement*, bearing date, *Imperante Domino Pijssimo, Augusto, Constantino Imperatore anno 26 Imperij eius, &c.* so did they certaine ages after: To be short; at this time Princes euery where according to the exigencies and necessities of their seuerall Churches, assembled Synods by their owne authoritie: which Synods, if need then were, provided for the vacancies, reseruing alwayes to the Prince the right of consent and approbation of them, in regard of the great possessions & lordships which euen the they stood seised of: So that where it is said in that Synod of *Rome*, That the Bishops should receiue inuestiture from the Emperour, it was no nouell constitution, but onely a renouation of an old ordinance, of long time suppressed by the Popes, but vsed in *France* and *Germanie* since the time of their first Christian Princes. *Waltram* Bishop of *Naumbourg* to this purpose speaking, *Gregorie the Great*, saith he, wrote to *Theodoric*, and to *Branichild*, To grant inuestitures of Bishops without simonie: so that this right began in the first race of the kings of *France*. And it followeth, That long time before that decree of *Adrian* and his successors; the kings once annoiuted, and the Grand Master of their household, granted inuestitures of Bishops, as did *Dagobert*, *Theodobert*, and *Sigebert*; by whom were inuaded *Remacius*, *Amandus*, *Audomarus*, *Ansbertus*, *Eligius*, *Lampertus*, and other holie Bishops, &c. We also find in histories, how the Bishops of *Spaine*, *Scotland*, *England*, and *Hungarie*, came in alwayes by the authoritie of the kings, following the ancient custome, until this present noueltie, meaning, which the Popes brought in about the yeare 1100. So that where we read, That about the yeare 779, *Charlemaine* would haue *Turpin*, or *Tulpin*, Archbishop of *Reims*, to accept of the Pall at *Pope Adrians* hands, we must take it for a speciall fauour which he meant to doe him at that present; and which he knew well how to restraîne, when he saw himselfe at an end of his purposes which he had in hand. Adde we hereunto, That both *Pepin* and *Charles* made lawes meere Ecclesiasticall, not concerning Church government onely, but also so concerning points of doctrine; whereof we haue the articles to this day; and at *Modena*, saith *Sigonius*, are those lawes yet kept, by which he established the State of the Church after a new order, whereof he alledged the promise onely, but thereby appeareth, that he purposed seriously to execute his power, mentioned in the chapter *Hadrrianus*, in reforming the Church and the world to his life. But no cable could hold the violent ruine and corruption of that Church; and all his diligence serued onely to their greater condemnation. For the Scripture must needs be fulfilled, That this ambition must raise it selfe vpon the ruines of whatsoever was good, just, or holy: As indeed their vberedations, and whatsoever seemed in them to participat most of the spirit, had but reference to some worldly respect and purpose. *Gregorie* the second and third were banished into *Germanie*, where they found Christian Churches of long continuance; yet they call *Blasphemy* the Apostle of the Germans, as if he had first converted them to Christ: For what his chiefe drift and purpose was, we may learne by the words which he wrote to *Gregorie* the second at his going, in these words, *I doe promise to S. Peter, and to you his Vicar, &c. that with all integritie I will serue and bend my course to the behoofe and profit of thy Church &c. If I shall otherwise do, let me in the day of iudgement inuurre the punishment of Ananias and Saphira*: and he deliuered him this onely signed with his owne hand. And yet *Gregorie* writing to the Germans, saith, That he sent him for the illumination of the Gentiles: promising to whomsoever that should assist him, place with the blessed Martyrs; and threatening euery one that should resist him, with *Anathema*: who yet preached nought vnto them but the authoritie of

An. 745.

Waltramus apud Naumburgensis.

Capitularia.

2. To Concil. in Decret. Greg. 2

1b. in Epist. ad Epist. Praesby. Diacon.

To. 2. Concil. in Epist. ad Bonifac.

1b. Epist. Decret. Zachar.

1b. Epist. Greg. ad Bonifac.

Missum Sancti Petri, Synod. Franc. sub Carlomanno. An. 742.

Auenti. Annal. Boier. li. 3.

of the Pope, and Romish inventions. The like may we learne by the letters of *Gregorie* the third to *Boniface*, wherein he rejoyceth with him, for that *God had opened to him among these nations the way of saluation, and the doore of mercie, and had sent his Angell before him to prepare his way*: This Angell was *Charolus Martellus*, who fauoured him, and the cause why, we haue seene before. Neither doth he sticke to tell vs in this verie Epistle, what this way of saluation was, to wit, *the Apostolical Tradision of creating Bishops there ex nostra vice*, that is, in true construction, after his owne mind and humor. Neither did *Boniface* faile one jot of his promise, as we may farther learne by his Epistle to *Zacharie*, wherein hee protesteth, *That looke how many auditors and disciples God had giuen him in this his embassage, hee had not ceased to draw them euerie one to the obedience of his See*: As also by that Epistle of *Zacharie* to the Bishops of France and Germanie, wherein hee congratulareth them, not for the vnion which they had with him in Christ, but *that they were conuerted to Saint Peter, whom God had appointed as a fauourer and master ouer them*: that is, That they acknowledged the Bishop of Rome; deliuering them withall a doctrine, no doubt, verie necessarie to saluation, to wit, That Christians, aboue all, must beware of eating Gaies, Dawes, Storkes, Beauers, Hares, wild Horses, &c. with such like fooleries; for more necessarie doctrines of saluation shall you there find none: referring himselfe for the rest, to the sufficiencie of *Boniface* in these matters; to whom he writeth, and *holie brother*, saith he, *thou art well instructed in all things by the holie Scriptures*.

Yet could not the Popes effect all that they attempted in France and Germanie, for all their support by Princes: For *Gregorie* the second is faine to write to *Charolus Martellus*, vpon the information of *Boniface*, and to request, That hee would repress a certaine Bishop accused of some idleneffe in his charge. And *Zacharie* was not well content with the Bishops of France, for that, contrarie to promise, they regarded not the Pall when it was sent vnto them. It may be hee tooke too deepe of them, as he can hardly denie in his Epistle to *Boniface*: but in the end, *if they will not, saith he, aduise them*. But which is more, *Carloman* himselfe in the Synod which hee assembled in his kingdomes, assisted by *Boniface*, saith in expresse words, *By the aduise of our Bishops and great men, we haue appointed Bishops, and for Archbishops ouer them Boniface, the messenger or deputie of Saint Peter*: by which it appeareth, That *Carloman* himselfe provided or appointed them. And this is the first time that we euer find a Legat of Rome assisting in any of the Councils of France, namely in the year 742. To be short, if *Boniface* sought to blemish any of the Bishops whom he found there at his coming, they died not in his debt, calling him, *The author of heresie, the disturber of peace & pietie, and the corrupter of Christian doctrine*, who yet were Monks, and the most learned of those times, *Clement* and *Stinson* of Scotland, *Adalbertus* of France, disciples of *Beda*, and others, whom they seeked to stain by sundrie imputations. But if any angered him, or seemed to be more blamed than himselfe, his next way was to accuse him of Heresie, to make the Pope denie him for an Heretike, and the Prince to be so ill perswaded of him. As for example, *Kirgilus* a Bishop (much renowned for his pietie and learning) in Bauaria, for affirming, *That there were Antipodes*, as hee was indeed a man scarce in all sciences, especially in the Mathematickes: Which *Boniface* perswaded *Zacharie* (a couple of scholars well met) to condemne in him as Heretike and irreligion: And thereupon were letters dispatched to *Vitlo* king of Bauiers, to depose him from his charge. To conclude this section, we may not forget, that this *Adrian* was the first that is said to haue sealed in lead; as also, that he laid the first

Adrian in Epist. ad Charo. mag. de Nic. Synod.

Baron. vol. 9. art. 800. art. 6, 7, 8, & sequens.

Dan. 4.

Prouerb. 8.

A first stone of that doctrine, which since that time hath beene so well practised by his successors, to the cost of so many kings and princes, *That if any man hold any Church goods, if he refuse to restore them, he is an Heretike*. The verie seed of so many excommunications, spoyles, and reuolts of subjects from their lawfull Lords and Soueraignes: and vnder this colour did he animat *Charlemaine* against the Emperours of the East; and hereupon also *Leo* the third tooke occasion to crowne him Emperour of the West, and, if we will beleue *Baronius*, to translate the Empire vpon him.

Now from this coronation of *Charlemaine* at Rome by Pope *Leo*, *Baronius*, after his accustomed boldnesse in this kind, draweth in consequence a cruell and a bloudie doctrine, wherein all Christian Princes haue their interest, namely, *That the Bishop of Rome hath authoritie and power to translate Empires and kingdomes*, filling with this argument six or eight pages. *Leo set the Crowne upon Charlemaines head*. We grant, what followeth? *Ergo*, saith he, *Leo collated the Empire vpon him, translated it from the Greekes to the French, did it, and had right so to doe*. What Reader can endure such a *non sequitur* as this? For when the Patriarch of Constantinople was wont to crowne the Emperour, or when Archbishops in other places crowne their kings, doe they bestow the Empire or kingdome on them? or because they are instruments vsed for the performance of this ceremonie, doth it implice a power or right in them, of conferring kingdomes, whether hereditarie or electiue? No doubt, neither he that did consecrate, nor he that was consecrated, had euer any such opinion. And therefore the Emperours crowned by the Patriarches, and *Charlemaine* by the Pope, were neuertheless termed *Diocypus*, i. crowned of God; as appeared in *Charles*, by the acclamation before mentioned of the people, made at his coronation, *Charolo à Deo coronato, &c.* But peradventure his authorities are better than his reasons: *All this, saith he, was according as it is written, The most high ruleth ouer the kingdomes of men, and he giveth it to whom it pleaseth him*. True, but how doth he proue that the Pope is God, or that the most high hath surrendered his place to him? And againe, *By me kings raigne and by me princes beare rule*: which words *Salomon* spake of the eternall wisdom of God. And where doth he proue that this wisdom was hypostatically and essentially residing in the person of the Pope? And yet, as if he had deliuered some high point of doctrine, *Reader*, saith he, *consider well this matter, &c.* and what I pray you followeth of this wide gaping, but mere gullerie and cogging? Secondly, *who doubteth, saith he, but God hath giuen us great authoritie to his Church, as heretofore he gaue to the Iewish Synagogues? And doe we not see how Samuel translated the kingdom of Saul to David, Elias and Blaiseus from the house of Achib to the house of Iehu?* Nothing but trickes againe: for where readeth he that the Synagogue had euer right to translate the kingdom, that euer it did it, or medled with it? And if the Pope for this purpose will needs be master of the Synagogue, and circumsise himselfe, yet how wil he proue

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vnitous, that vnto this decayed Synagogue of the Iewes the Church of Rome hath now succeeded, rather than that of Ierusalem, of Alexandria, or of Antioch? or which is more, where will he shew vs, That God hath spoken to him, and giuen him any speciall command, either by Oracle, or by miracle, or by any other way? Doth he not see that this worke was altogether extraordinary, wherein the High Priest was not vsed, but a Prophet, and velle elected of God for this speciall purpose? which should not haue beene, if the office had beene properly affected to the Synagogue: And shall these men be euer suffered thus to abuse the world? Thirdly, saith he, *it was said to Ieremie, I haue set thee this day ouer nations and king-*

Ierem. 1. domes,

domes, to plucke up and to destroy, to plant and to build. And it was also said by the Prophet Haggei, *The glorie of this house, i. of the second Temple, shall bee greater than the glorie of the first.* And Saint Paul saith, *If the ministrations of condemnation, i. the Law, was glorious, much more shall the ministrie of righteousnesse exceed in glorie, meaning the ministrie of justification by faith in Christ: Ergo, saith Baronius, much more hath the Pope power to plucke up and to pull downe, to collate and to translate kingdomes.* Who can but grind his teeth to heare such prophane abuse and blasphemie of the word of God? For was *Jeremie* either Synagogue or High Priest? or was he to denounce and threaten the ruine of the Iewish Estate by the Babylonians, as a Priest of Anatoch, or as a Prophet? and was it not said vnto him, when he would haue excused himselfe, *Before thou comest out of the womb I sanctified thee, and ordained thee a Prophet for the nations?* And did not the Lord put forth his hand and touch his mouth, saying, *Behold I haue put my words into thy mouth?* What can *Leo* and the rest of such companions alledge for themselues like vnto this? And last of all, doth he make no difference betweene denouncing the judgements of God, as they were reuealed vnto him by speciall commaund from him, and the intruding himselfe without commission to the deposing of one king and installing of another? *Jeremie*, though founded as you see vpon a greater power, yet did he presume to depose *Sedechias*, or to anoint *Nabuchadnezzar* in his roome? Saint *Jerome* truly was of another mind concerning this place of Scripture, who expoundeth it by another in the five & twentieth of the same Prophet, where God deliuered to the Prophet a cup to make drunke all nations with the wine of his wrath; all which are there specified by their names, that is, to forwarne them of the plagues which God was redie to powre out vpon them: And yet doe we any where find that the Prophet intermedleth with the affaires of those seuerall nations? And when Saint *Jerome* will goe a little farther, and allegorise this peece of Scripture, he expoundeth these words of *planting* and *pulling up*, the one of bad doctrines, which are plucked vp; the other of good, which are planted by the word of God: as also those other of *pulling downe* and *setting up*, of the efficacy of the spirit of his mouth. Yea but the glorie of the second Temple should be greater than the glorie of the first: What second Temple, caritise diuine as he is; but the Temple of Ierusalem? And what was that greater glorie, according to all interpreters both Iewes and Christians, old and moderne, but the redemption of mankind by Christ crucified for our finnes, vnder the second Temple? Or if by the second Temple he will needs vnderstand the Church of Rome, what followeth thereof, but this, That the Bishop of Rome be either *Caiphus* or *Herod*, or because he chalengeth both jurisdictions, *Caiphas* and *Herod* all in one? And what is meant by that glorie of the ministrie of the Gospell which the Apostle speaketh of, but Christ reigning powerfully in vs by his spirit: Which the Apostle also in that same place teacheth the ministerie of the Spirit, not of the letters: opposing the Law grauen in stones vnto condemnation, against the faith of Christ written in our hearts vnto saluation? And what fellowship, I would know, hath this ministerie with the others pretended magisterie? This ministerie, I say, of the spirit, with that magisterie which is simply carnall and worldly, breathing out ambition, and conspiring nought but tyrannie. Saint *Chrysostome* vpon this place, *The glorie, saith he, of Moses was outward to the sense, for they saw it with their eyes; but the glorie of the New Testament is not to be discerned but by the eyes of the Spirit.* Wherefore they that seeke for glorie in temporall and carnall things, doe not they renounce this other glorie? And againe, *He hath opposed, saith he, the slowe to the heare, and the letter*

Ierem. 2.6.&9.

2. Cor. 3.

In 2. Cor. 13. c.
3. Homil. 7.

A *ter to the spirit: and the New Testament gave not onely life, but also spirit, from whence proceedeth life.* How farre is this construction from that of *Baronius*, which saoureth naught but flesh and blood? Saint *Ambrose* also vpon this place, *It is manifest, saith he, that the grace of the Law of Faith is greater than that of the Law of Moses.* This holie Father expoundeth this glorie to consist in grace, in stead of *Baronius* his tyrannie and oppression. And againe, *The gift of the righteousnesse of God by the faith of Christ, is greater than the gift of the old Law.* And now see how these men alwayes follow the interpretation of the Fathers. Too much alreadie said, I confesse, but the Reader will pardon me in a case of such absurd positions; which yet to denie, or doubt of, is no lesse with them than open heresie. Fourthly *Baronius* affirmeth, That *Charlemaine* when hee parted his kingdomes amongst his children, disposed not of the Empire, as knowing, saith he, that it depended of the election of the Pope. But the verie Testament which he produceth for his prooffe, gainesfaith his assertion (which yet is an vncertaine writing, in the judgement of *Peter Pytheus*, from whom he had it) for in the verie instep thereof, it is thus written, *We desire, saith hee, with the good pleasure of God, to leaue our children heres of this our Realme or Empire.* And againe, *Such partages wee haue thought fit to make of our Realme or Empire.* And indeed hee diuided among them his whole Estate, naniely, *Italie*, euen vnto *Rome*, on the right hand and on the left, saue onely that which we call at this day the kingdome of *Naples*; which was yet possessed by the Emperours of *Greece*. The cause why he made none of his sons Emperour, was, to leaue no occasion of discord among the brethren; meaning that each of them should hold his part, without prerogatiue of the one about the other. For hauing parted his whole Estate among his children, if he had left the Title of the Empire to be disposed of at the Popes pleasure, what had the Pope but so much smoke to giue, in case he would haue placed it vpon a stranger?

Ambros.

Baron. to. c. an.
806 ar. 26.
Arbitrio Romani Pontificis electum.

Regni vel Imperij nostri.

28. PROGRESSION.

How the Popes encroached vpon Lewis the sonne of Charlemaine: and of his pretended Donation.

Charlemaine kept his temporall power safe ynough from the intrusion of the Popes, leauing sometimes the spirituall as a prey vnto them: for by his law it was, that the Bishops of *France* finding themselues agriued with the judgements of their Metropolitans, or comprouinciall Bishops, were permitted to run to *Rome*: Yet his words are carefully to be noted; when a Bishop, saith he, hath had sentence against him; it shall be lawfull for him to demand a reuiew, and if need be, to goe freely to the Bishop of *Rome*: where this word *licitat*, as also in another place *placuit*, import a nouell grace and fauour granted by the Prince: not that the Churches of *France* were anciently tied to any such obseruation. And yet is it set also with an alternative, *Let him, saith he, be iudged either by the Bishop of the Diocesse, or by the Bishop of Rome.* And this was termed a *Proclamation*, or an *Appellation*, the source of so many debates and quarels which ensued between the Popes and the Bishops of *France*: *Charles* had treated with the Emperour of the East, and particularly agreed about the partage of *Italie* betweene them two, each of them retaining the Title of Emperour, the one of the East, the other of the West: Which he did the rather, to set himselfe safe from that raging ambition of the Popes. But when *Charles* was dead, though he vied his power with such moderation,

An. 816.

ration, as they in discretion had no reason to complaine, yet they presently set themselves to worke on the good nature of *Lewis*, sonne and successor vnto *Charls*. After *Leo* succeeded *Stephen* the first, contrarie to the law, being after his election presently consecrated, without expecting the Emperours commaund, as saith *Aimoni*. Yet to daube this fault committed, he commaunded (saith *Theganus*) all the people of Rome to take the oath of fealtie vnto *Lewis*, and came himselfe in post hast into France, sending two embassadours before him, as it were to demaund consecration at the Emperours hands; all which was nothing but to trie his patience: and after a while when he had crowned him, he returned home laden with rich gifts and presents. Yet it should seeme that he was taught his dutie while he was in France; for we find an ordinance of his in the Decrete *C. Quia sancta*, in these words, *For as much as the holie Church of Rome (ouer which, by the will of God we are now placed, upon the death of the Pope) manie times suffereth violence, because the election and consecration of the Popes are made without the aduise and knowledge of the Emperour, and because (according to the Canons and auncient customes) there are present no embassadours or other from the Emperour to hinder such disorders; we therefore will and command, That when a Bishop (of Rome) is to be chosen, the election be made by the Bishops and Clergie, in the presence of the Senat and people, and that the Bishop thus elected be afterwards consecrated in the presence of the Emperours embassadours.* Which ordinance is afoot at this day, hauing escaped *Gregorie* the thirteenth his censure in his late edition: and what matter then though *Baronius* (as he saith) doubteth of it. Yet was this law transgressed in the next election, which was but one yeare after, of *Paschal* in the roome of this *Stephen*. This *Paschal* being solemnely and fully consecrated, sent away presents and letters of excuse vnto the Emperour, telling him; that the Papacie was layed vpon him against his will, and after much resistance. This excuse presupposeth a confession of an act done contrarie to the law: yet shortly after he sent another embassadour, to entreat the Emperour, That what had bene heretofore accorded betweene the Popes and his predecessors, might stand good (meaning betweene *Charlemaigne* and *Adrian* and *Leo*) which we haue seene before; for of anie other accord can it not be vnderstood, and so *Leo Hostiensis* expoundeth it: all which was graunted. Here the Historians of the Popes produce a certaine graunt, pretended to haue been made by this *Lewis*; which the more ample it is, the more also is it to be suspected: And this is the first Graunt which is suffered to come abroad; as for those others of *Charles* and *Pepin*, they only quote them, but produce them not to our scanning, especially that of *Charlemaigne*, produced by *Anastafius*, of the same stile & tenor with that *Palea* of the donation of *Constantine*, though written so long after, & in so different an age: which graunt of *Lewis* containeth (as they say) an absolute renunciation of all right in the election of Popes, expressed in the Canon *Adrianus*, recited at length by *Sigonius* and *Baronius*, and taken by them word for word out of the Decrete of *Gravran*; which the more learned sort haue euer rejected as false and counterfeit, and that for many reasons. First, for that many lands and lordships are passed in that graunt, which we find many yeres after comprised in that donation which *Maud* the Conteresse made vnto the Church. Secondly, because that of manie of those lands there passed, the successors of *Lewis* disposed as of their owne. Thirdly, because there are graunted manie Prouinces, Islands, Demaines, Ports, and Riuers, vnto which the Emperour *Lewis* neuer did or could lay anie claime, and which in the treatie betweene the Emperours, were left for a partage properly belonging to the Emperour of the East. Fourthly, because *Lewis* giuing Italie afterwards to one of his sonnes for

Electus & ordinatus.

Aimoni. lib. 4. c. 103. Thega. de geflis Ludou. c. 16, 17, 18.

D. 53. c. 28. Deo auctore.

Canonico ritu.

Baron. vol. 9. an. 616. art. 101

Aimoni. li. 4. c. 105. post completam solemniter ordinationem.

Hoflien. li. 1. c. 18.

Anastaf. in Adriano.

A for his portion, had left him small meanes to support his estate, if besides the part of the Grecian Emperour and the state of Venice, all those lands comprised in that donation had bene taken out of it. Fifthly, because the Citie of Rome was long after governed by the officers of the Empire, and the Popes Bulls dated (as *Guicciardine* recordeth) *Imperante domino nostro &c.* Sixtly, because this renunciation is not found obserued in those Elections which ensued afterward: which were (as we shall hereafter see) ordered and confirmed by the Emperours; who tooke it in great redainder, if anie thing happened to be attempted to the contrarie. Seuenthly, because the Authors of that time, as *Nitare*, *Aimoni*, and other Annalists make no mention thereof, no not *Anastafius* himselfe in the life of *Paschal*, who for the good will he bare vnto the Popes, would not haue omitted so high a point of their honour. Eightly, because the Popes neuer pretended anie such grant, vntill long after, and when the house of *Charlemaigne* was fallen to the ground. Ninthly, and which cutteth the throat of all, because *Orbo* the third, Emperour, in that donation which is kept in the Muniment house of the Charters of the Church of Rome, at the Cordeliers of Assisa, hauing by way of Preface declared, That he purposed to giue vnto *S. Peter* and to *Syluester* the second his master things of his owne, giueth him in that Charter eight Counties, *Pesaro*, *Fano*, *Senigallia*, *Ancona*, *Fossombrone*, *Calle*, *Hesio*, and *Occimo*, being the verie same which are contained in the donation of *Lewis*, pretended to haue bene made so manie yeares before: For had there bene anie such, what needed anie new donation? or with what face could *Orbo* in that his Charter haue vsed these words following? *We not regarding those forged Mandats, and imaginarie writings, doe out of our owne bountie and liberalitie giue vnto S. Peter things of our owne, and not as ours, that which is his alreadie.* By which words it is apparent, that he dasheth that donation of *Lewis* and all others whatsoeuer. And *Syluester* the second accepted of this donation, though he vnderstood his writings as Lawyerlike as anie Pope that went before him. But whether that donation of *Lewis* be true or false, we cannot doubt of their ambitious encroaching vpon other mens estates, seeing that *Paschal* pulled out the eyes and cut off the nose of *Theodore*, chiefe Secretarie to the Church of Rome, and of *Leo* the Nomenclator, his sonne in law, for carrying themselves loyally towards *Lotharins*, sonne to *Lewis*, and associated in the Empire: and as little doubt may we make of their pride, seeing that *Anastafius* their Historian glorieth in this, That Pope *Valentine*, elected in the yeare 828, made all the Senat of Rome come kisse his foot: And this was the first Pope that euer suffered this so to be done vnto him; and God suffered not him to sit aboute fortie dayes. But *Helmoldus* obserueth a huge increase of the pride of the Church in the dayes of this *Lewis*, where he saith, *That he made them, who in the regard of their care of soules were Princes of Heauen, by his largesse and liberalitie Princes of his kingdome.*

Diploma Orbo- nis 3.

Anastaf. in Valentin.

Helmold. in hist. Sclauor. l. 1. c. 4.

OPPOSITION.

E *Lewis*, for all his kind nature, yet suffered not the Popes to do what pleased them, and there wanted not those who spake broadly ynough of the encroachments and vnrptions of the Popes. The Emperour himselfe tooke *Paschal* in hand, and sent *Adalung* Abbot of *S. Vast*, and *Hunfrey* Countie of *Coire*, to enquire vpon the murder committed, as was said, either by his commaundement, or not without his prinitie and aduise. *Paschal* thought to prevent him by his embassadours, whom he sent to request him not to giue credence to any such report. But when *Adalung* and *Hunfrey*, continuing on their journey, were come to Rome, they found that

the

Aimoni. de familia S. Petri.

An. 823. Iudicium facere.

Aimoni. lib. 4. c. 112.

Author vite Ludoui.

the Pope had purged himselfe by oath in the presence of manie Bishops, and had taken the murderers into his protection, as belonging to the familie of S. Peter, pronouncing those that were slaine guiltie of treason, and consequently their murder iustified. So that Sigonius himselfe let fall this word, That the embassadors of Lewis could not search out the veritie of this fact, nor so much as begin to take knowledge of it. This was about the yeare 823. But when Lotharius came the yeare following, after the death of Paschal, into Italie, to see iustice done in those parts, he found the cause of these mischiefs to proceed from the misdemeanors of the Popes, and commuencie of the Iudges, by meanes whereof manie mens goods had beene confiscated; all which he caused to be restored to the right owners, resuming withall an ancient custome of sending some certaine personages à Latere with speciall commission from the Emperour to doe iustice betweene man and man indifferently, without respect of persons, as often as the Emperour should thinke fit. All which was done with the consent of the new Pope Eugenius (say the Historians) and to the contentment of Lewis, when he vnderstood thereof. Sigonius also produceth a certaine ordinance which he left behind him, for the ordering and composing of matters within the Citie of Rome, wherein is contained, That none should intrude himselfe into the election of the Popes, but such as are called thereunto by the Canons, vnder paine of banishment; which article tended to prevent all canuassing for the Popedome: also therein was contained, That all those who were to exercise anie place of iudicature in Rome, should first come into his presence, that he might informe himselfe both of their number and of their names, and put them in mind of their severall duties. Item, that the King himselfe, or in his absence others in his roome, should assist at the consecration of the Popes: And so (saith he) was it for certaine yeres after observed, and last of all established by a new Constitution.

In the yeare 824 came there embassadors from Michael and Theophilus, Emperours of Greece, to Lewis and Lotharius, to craue their aduise and the aduise of the French Church, concerning the vse of Images, and withall to entreat them to be a meane to the Pope, that he would graciously accept the embassage which they purposed to send vnto him vpon the same question: whereupon there assembled a Nationall Councell of the French Bishops, to giue their aduise jointly vnto the Emperours, where they openly declared vnto them, as well the euill practises of Adrian in the carriage of the Councell, as also the pestilent contagious error and abominable superstition, which vnder Images he had brought into the Church: But about all they plainely shew, that the position concerning the Popes not erring, was no article of their learning or beleefe, when they say, That the Pope suffered himselfe to be carried downe the streame of this error, partly by ignorance, partly by wicked custome: That it was pitie to see those who were placed in chief authoritie to direct others, themselves to forsake the high way, and to run astray into paths of error. And in their Epistle to Eugenius they sticke not to write plainly, That the matter of this miserable rent and distraction was a thing, without which, through faith, hope, and charitie, the Church might be saued as well in this world as in the world to come: And that the Emperesse Irene and her sonne in the passing of that Ediēt concerning the adoration of Images, were abused by a pestilent illusion of the diuell. And the booke which thereupon they wrote to the Emperours Lewis and Lotharius is so well grounded both vpon the authoritie of the Scriptures, and interpretations of the Fathers, that it may easily appeare, that the diuinitie of Italie was no way comparable to that of the French Clergie. As for the Pope, when the Emperours requested to heare some proofes for the adoration of Images out

Synod. Paris. sub Ludoui. & Lothar. an. 824.

A of the word of God, he neuer put himselfe to the paine to giue them satisfaction, but answered all in a word, saying, That they were arrogant fellows that made such questions. Adde we here one obseruation of the manner of speaking which that Synod so frequently vsed, we (say they) hold the place of S. Peter, to whom Christ said, What soeuer thou shalt bind &c. All the Bishops then holding themselves as the Vicars of S. Peter, saying farther of the simple Priests, That they were the porters, to whom were committed the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen. And what can the Pope challenge more?

In the yeare 827, vpon the death of Valentine, was elected Gregorie the fourth, with due obseruation of the Law which Lotharius had left behind him: For the Lieutenant of the King happening at that present to be away, Gregorie could not be consecrated vntill he was returned, and had fully informed himselfe of the proceedings in that election. And the Annalist sayth in expresse termes, That his consecration was deferred, till the Emperours pleasure was knowne thereupon. Certaine yeares after, about the yeare 833, his children made a conspiracie against him. This Gregorie; to oblige Lotharius to himselfe, tooke his part, and came into Fraunce, in shew to mediate a reconciliation betweene the father and the sonnes, but indeed (as Aimonius reporteth) to set them farther out, and to giue countenance to a certaine Synod; which the sonnes assembled at Compiene, to depose their father: This attempt (as say the Authors of those times) proceeding meerey from the working of the diuell, which wrought by his ministers in the hearts of the children against the Emperour. The Bishops of Fraunce tooke part some with the father, others with the sonnes: on the sonnes side was chiefe Hebo Archbishop of Rheims, a slaue by birth, and a man of lewd conditions; against whom the Historian cryeth out, saying, Miserable wretch; how hast thou recompensed thy masters kindnesse: he made thee free (for noble he could not) clothing thee with the Pall, and Scarlet, and thou makest him to put on hairecloth. How hast thou despised those precepts of the Apostle; Be ye subiect to euerie higher power, Feare God, Honour the King? Who perswaded thee hereunto but he, who is onely King ouer the children of pride, who said to his Creator, All these things will I giue vnto thee, if thou wilt fall downe and worship me? For the father, stood principally Drago or Dreux, Bishop of Mets, a great man in his time, with manie others; all which perceiued plainely, that this Gregorie was a part-taker in this conspiracie: The Emperour said, If he be come into Fraunce as his predecessors haue done before him, why commeth he not vnto me all this while? The Bishops said, If he be come to excommunicate, we will send him away excommunicated againe. And Hincmar Archbishop of Rheims writing to Pope Adrian the second, telleth him in plaine termes, That Gregorie came into Fraunce with an euill intent, and purposing to beare out the children against the father, He came (saith he) into Fraunce, and after his comming our peace continued not: also he returned not with so good credit as was fit he should, and as his predecessors were wont before him. And the Chronicle of S. Denis, The ministers of the diuell (saith he) preuailed so farre, as to write all the sonnes against him, and maliciously made the Apostolike of Rome to come into Fraunce vnder colour of pietie, as it had beene to mediate a peace betweene the King and his children: but the truth it selfe afterward appeared. And of the Apostolike it was commonly said, That his comming was onely to excommunicate the King, and the Bishops if they supported the father, and were not in euerie respect obedient to the sonnes: but when the Bishops heard say this, they protested, That they would neuer obey him for feare of his excommunication: for (say they) the authoritie of the auncient Canons is

Simoneta. c. 5.

Sigon. lib. 4. de Reg. Ital.

Author vite Ludouici. An. 833.

Aimoni. lib. 3. c. 14.

Thega. de gest. Ludoui. Chronicon Dionysian.

Purpura vestit iit te & pallio.

Vita Ludouici. Aimon. l. 5. c. 14.

Flodoard. in Hist. Rhemensi. Tacm. l. 5. c. 16.

Chron. Dionys.

farre different from this course. And when Lewis was fully reestablished in his kingdome, not by the authority of Gregorie, but as the Historian of the Church of Rheimes reporteth, by the common consent of the Bishops, Gregorie vnable to maintaine those Bishops whom he had drawne into this practise, they were glad (though vnder a most gracious Soueraigne) yet to saue themselves in Italie from the rigor of the lawes: the others were faine to confesse the action, and plead guiltie, acknowledging themselves vnworthie of the place they held, and in effect to be depofed, especially Hebo Archbifhop of Rheimes, and Agobard of Lions. And this was in those dayes all the feare that the Bishops of Fraunce had of the Popes excommunications. And in this time it was, That Claud of Turin taught openly both by tongue and pen, That he was not Apostolicall who sat in the Chaire of an Apostle, but he that did the office of an Apostle. And this reacheth vnto the death of Lewis, which fell in the yeare 839. Adde we hereunto, that the Emperour Lewis treading the path of Charlemaigne and other his predecessors, with the aduife and counsell of the Prelates and the rest of the learned of his kingdomes, enacted lawes for the better ordering of the Churches of his dominions; not onely concerning their policie and gouernment, but also touching Faith, without asking leaue, or expecting a Mandamus from the Pope, whatsoever Baronius and his Benediēt the Leuite prate vnto vs, as may appeare by the Articles of Lewis; and the Abbot Andegifus, who collected those Lawes, maketh no mention of the Pope in the Preface to them. Also he assembled Councils within his owne Estates at Thionuille, at Aix, and Pauiā, where you shall ever find, By the commaund, By the wholesome commaund of the glorious Prince, By the grace or gift of God, Emperour &c. making bookes of this subject. And in the Council of Aix la Chapella, the Bodie of the people speaketh of the Clergie in generall, and sayth, By them are we made Christians, who hauing the keyes of the kingdome of heauen in their hands, iudge in a sort before the day of iudgement: and so had no need to be beholding to Rome for the keyes. But in the yeare 828 we find a particular Ediēt of Lewis, whereby, to appease the wrath of God incensed at that time against him and his people, for the manie corruptions growne in among them, he commaunded a fast to be held throughout his kingdomes. And besides sundrie other Councils, he called foure seuerall Synods for the reformation properly of the Church of Fraunce; namely, at Mence, at Paris, at Lions, and at Toloufa, there to handle, discusse, and find out things belonging to Christian Religion: what the Prince, what the people held, either answerable or contrarie to the reuealed will of God: what had bene retained, what omitted, either in part or in whole: how the Clergie behaued themselves; wherein they erred and departed away from the rule of holie Scripture: And in all this no mention made of the Popes authoritie.

An. 839.

Capitularia.

Extat ante Concil. Parif. To. 3. Concil.

An. 828.

Concil. Aquif. gra. 3. to. Concil.

Baron. an. 817. art. 21, 22. & sequent.

Conquandum Angelis.

Baronius maketh much of certaine Epistles, written about this time by a Monke of Greece, named Theodorus, with his complices in Idolatrie, to the Pope of Rome, by reason of the haut titles which he giueth him, magnifying him aboue all other Bishops. It were a verie sufficient answer to say, That this was a Monke, offended with his Patriarch of Constantinople for taking away his Images, and therefore no matter what he sayth. But yet examine we his letters: First he calleth the Pope, Equall to the Angels; Will Baronius abet this flatterie? seeing that the Apostle to the Hebrewes, after the Psalmist, speaking of our Lord and Sauior Christ, sayth, Thou hast made him little lesfer than the Angels? How can he make the Pope equall to them, but as he is more than a man,

A man, as God himselfe, as he that maketh himselfe God; as S. Paule speaketh in the second of the Thessalonians, chap. 2. Secondly he calleth him, The Great Light, Prince of Bishops, and Apostolike Pope. In that he calleth him Prince of Bishops, it imports nothing but the Primacie of his See. But you shall see how this same Monke wrote at the same time, scarce changing a pennie betweene to other Patriarchs: for to him of Alexandria he wrote, To the most holie Father of Fathers, and Light of Lights: Doe not these words weigh downe those other of Great Light? And as he calleth the one Pope of Rome, so doth he the other Pope of Alexandria: as he calleth him of Rome Apostolike, so the other, The crowne on top of all Apostolikes. And what aduantage now hath Baronius gotten for the Pope? Yes, sayth he: for the Pope of Rome is called The Supreme Light, and the other is called onely the Light of Lights. First, what faire play to turne a die? And whereas but two pages before, by his owne confession, the Monke called him onely Magnum Lumen, a Great Light, now to make him say, Supreamm Lumen, the Supreme Light. Secondly, who knoweth not, that Light of Lights in all tongues, especially in the language of the Scriptures, implicth more than a Great Light? Baronius his replie is, That the Bishop of Alexandria was so called, in regard that Cyrill, his quondam predecessor, was Legat. Latere for the Pope of Rome: First, that hath already bene proued to be false: Secondly, I would aske, Whether all they who in anie Council heretofore were the Popes Legats, had this title themselves, and deriued it to their successors? How manie simple Bishops should since that time haue had this title, if that were true? That the Monke wrote in the same stile to the Patriarch of Antioch, Baronius himselfe confesseth; but will you see what he wrote to him of Ierusalem, to whom Baronius doth not afford this title: he concealeth the subscription, and for anie thing we know it may be the same with the other: but what sayth he towards the foot of the letter, Thou (sayth he) art Prince of the Apostles, though thou be reckoned the first in order: and so by his reckoning the Pope of Rome is a Patriarch, as others were, but he of Ierusalem was the chiefe, in regard of those holie deuotions done vnder him, as is there said. And he addeth farther a reason of this prioritie and preheminance, For (sayth he) where that Bishop of Soules, and High Priest Christ Iesus, was borne and wrought his heauenly miracles, where he suffered and was buried, where he was raised againe to life, and liued, and thence taken into heauen, there also must needs be the supreme or soveraigne dignitie and honour, viz. of the Church. See good reader, what light and fruiolous arguments these men are faine to hunt for in euerie idle flatterie of a Monke, to exalt and magnifie that See of Rome.

Apostolicum verticem.

E

29. PROGRESSION.

Of Sergius the second, and of the open Simonie used in his time.

After the death of the Emperour Lewis, his sonnes, who so well agreed against him, fell to variance among themselves; and (sayth Sigonius) in the dignitie of the French, by occasion of these diuisions, diminished, so that of the Italians (meaning of the Popes) encreased. Charles surnamed the Bauld, had for his partage the kingdome of France; Lewis, all Germanie Eastward of the Rhine; Lotharius, all the Low Countries, Burgundie, Prouence, Italie, and Rome, with the Title of the Em-

Carulus Caluus. Sigibert. an. 844. Platina in Sergio. Sigon. de Reg. Ital. lib. 5.

An. 844.

Anastasin
Leo. 4.

Empire: So that of all the children, the Pope had especially to deale with *Lotharius*, and his eldest sonne *Lewis* whom he associated in the Empire in the yeare 844, and proclaimed king of *Italie*. In this yeare died *Gregorie* the fourth, who had alreadie begun to make his profit of their dissensions: The Clergie and Senat of Rome immediatly after his death elected *Sergius* the second, & consecrated him, without expecting the Mandat of the Emperour: Though *Anastasin* their owne Historian, in the life of *Leo* the fourth, successor vnto *Sergius*, saith in expresse termes, *That the Romans durst not consecrate a Pope without authoritie from the Emperour*: Which he would neuer haue written, if that pretended Renunciation of *Lewis* the first, Emperour, had taken place. But *Sergius* making his hay in the Sunshine of their diuision, went through with it. This is he, as *Platina* reporteth, that first altered his name; though *Onuphrius* attributeth it to *Iohn* the twelfth: also who first ordained, That no Bishop might be conuicted but in the mouth of seuentie two witnesses; and yet himselfe put to death a certaine Cardinall Priest, and an enemy of his, called *Athanasius*, vpon the testimonie of farre fewer witnesses. Also this is he whose raigne is so foulely stained and blotted with detestable simonie: He had, saith a certaine Author of that time, a brother called *Benedick*, and surnamed *Brute*, being indeed of brute behauiour, who growing vpon the weaknesse of the Pope, vsurped the execution and administration of all affaires, as well Ecclesiasticall as Ciuile, and had by briberie and corruption obtained of the Emperour Primatum & dominium *Roma*; that is, as we interpret, the chiefe place and gouernement of Rome: Shortly after he seized into his hands the Bishopricke of *Alba*, marring all in euery place by his auarice and vaine behauiours. Above all, vnder this Pope and his brother *Simone* grew manstrews; Bishoprickes were openly set to sale, and they carried them who could giue most for them. Neither was there any Bishop or other who led with the zeale of God, would deale with the Emperour for the restrains and reformation of this horrible abuse. And this was the cause, why seeing no Christian sought to redresse this sinne, God sent in Pagans to punish their transgressions. The *Sarasens* comming suddenly and vnawares vpon them, slew infinit multitudes of men, set fire on townes and castles. And the Histories from hence forward, are full of these calamities. But let vs looke backe and see what the Emperour *Lotharius* did.

Author. Constantinus apud Vignarium pa. 214. & 215.

OPPOSITION.

So soone as *Lotharius* vnderstood of the consecration of the Pope made without his priuie, and in prejudice of the Empire, he presently sent his sonne *Lewis* into *Italie* with an armie: *Sigebert* saith, he sent to confirme him. *Baronius* speaketh all faue good of him for so saying. But what euer the cause was, he gaue him his vnckle *Drogo* Archbishop of *Mets*, for a guide and conductor in this voyage. They lay to his charge, That he passed with great terrour and crueltie through *Italie*: And the truth is, that he chastised with some rigour the citie of *Boulogne*, for not receiuing him as they ought; borne out, as it should seeme, by the Pope. But when he came to Rome he entred the Vatican Palace, where the Pope attended his comming, and receiued him according to the custome. *Sigonius* will needs report, That he kissed his holie foot: but the world was not yet come to that. *Anastasin*, who wch not to looke any of the Popes prerogatiues, saith onely, That the Emperour and the Pope embraced each other. And *Platina*, That they entertained each other with a mutual kisse. And then the Pope vsing his Church power, and standing at *S. Peters* Church doore, which was shut, if thou art come, said he, for the good of this Church and Citie, then enter by my commaund; if otherwise, by my good will they shall

Baron. vol. 10.
an. 844. art. 5.Osculum sancto
pedi infixit.
Anastasin
Sergio 2.
Plat. 46.

- A shall not be opened vnto thee. And when *Lewis* had graciously assured him of his good meaning, he caused the doores to be set open to him, and to the great ones that were about him: Yet did the whole armie also rush into the citie, to see it, and to visit the Churches. So much had the Clergie of Rome alreadie preuailed by their dissensions. The issue of all was, That *Sergius* artoled, crowned, and proclaimed *Lewis*; *Anastasin* saith, King of *Lombards*; *Ado* and *Leo Hofstiensis* say, King of *Italie*, and Emperour, with a joyfull acclamation of the people; and both *Platina* and *Sigonius* speake after the same manner. And *Anastasin* saith farther, That the Pope would not suffer the Romans to sweare fealtie to *Lewis*, but only to the Emperour *Lotharius*: whereof other Authors make no difference. And a certaine Author of that time, in an abridgement of the historie, saith in expresse words, That after many mischieses done vpon the people of Rome, they made them sweare fealtie to the Emperour, and confirmed *Sergius* in his See againe: as not holding his Title of the Popedome for good before, much lesse of the Seigneurie of Rome. And *Anastasin* doth not liticke to tell vs, That the Popes authoritie was then and there questioned and debated: for, saith he, *Drogo* Archbishop of *Metz*, and other Archbishops and Bishops gathered together against this vniuersall Church, and Head of all other Churches, without the leaue of their Metropolitan, and did euerie day make new quarrels against our most holie Pope and his Bishops. And if you aske who they were that joyned with *Drogo*, he telleth you, That they were *Gregorie* Archbishop of *Rauenna*, *Anguilbert* of *Milan*, *Ioseph* Bishop of *Iuree*, *Agin* of *Verona*, *Almaric* of *Coma*, *Norchauld* of *Versels*, *Saufredus* of *Rhegium*, *Toringar* of *Concorda*, *Odelbert* of *Aqui*, *Ambrose* of *Luques*, *Iohn* of *Pisa*, *Peter* of *Volaterra*, *Gausfran* of *Pistoria*, *Cancio* of *Sienna*, *Lupus* of *Textina*, *Sismond* of *Aprusia*, *Pico* of *Scolana*, *Fratellus* of *Camerin*, *Gisus* of *Ferma*, *Raciper* of *Nocera*, *Amadis* of *Pinna*, *Donate* of *Frisoli*, and others; and with them the Counts *Boso*, *Adelgisus*, *Iohn*, *Guido*, *Vernard*, *Wifrid*, *Maurinus*, and others; that is, the better part of the Bishops of all *Italie*. In somuch that *Anguilbert* Archbishop of *Milan* separated himselfe wholly from the Roman Church, which one of his predecessors had newly acknowledged some sixty yeres before. And this separation dured, as the sequell of this historie will declare, two hundred yeres. *Sigonius* obserueth this separation, but concealeth the cause, which was the pride of that See, *Simonie*, & other disorders there vfed in the time of *Sergius*. Besides that, *Theodorus* Abbot of *Fulden* reporteth of this *Anguilbert*, That he was much affectioned to the memorie of good *S. Ambrose*, whose liturgie continued in the Church of *Milan* at that day, and long after.
- D To go on with the time, *Baronius* vpon the yere 839, produceth out of the Vatican a certaine Epistle of *Gregorie* the fourth, written to the Bishops of *France*, *Germanie*, of *Europe*, and of all *Prouinces*: (he might haue made shorter work, and haue written to all the world:) wherein vpon the complaint of *Aldric* Bishop of *Mans*, made of the wrongs done vnto him by the other Bishops, he giueth them to vnderstand, That according to the ancient Canons, an Appeale from them lay to Rome, or to his Legat *à Latere*, exhorting them in all hast to take horse and come away to him. This pretence of the Popes was no newes to them; and wec haue said alreadie, That *Charlemaigne* was content to sooth the Popes in their humor. But *Baronius* telleth vs not what became of this letter, or whether the Bishops of *France* gaue way to this Appeale, or no: and it is verie likely, that no; for had there bene any thing for his purpose, or not something against it, we should haue bene sure to haue heard of it.
- E *Baronius* told vs before, That *Charlemaigne* disposed not of the Empire, as properly

Ado Viennen.
in Chron.
Leo Hofstien.

Author. Constantinus apud Vignarium pa. 214.

An. 839.

ly depending of the Popes election; and we there shewed the contrarie: Loe now **A** Lewis, surnamed the Courteous, Charlemaines sonne, he from whom they claime that goodlie donation, who disposeth absolutely of the Empire, and of Rome it selfe, as we haue alreadie declared. And farther *Theganus* saith, *That he named his sonne Lotharius, after his decease, to receiue all the kingdomes which God had giuen him by the hands of his father, and to haue both the name and Empire of their father: which by the other sonnes much stormed at.* And *Nitard* saith, *That he diuided his whole Empire among his sonnes in such sort, that Pepin should haue Gascoine, Lewis Bauiere; but Lotharius after his decease should haue the whole Empire, and suffered him in his life time to beare with him the name of Emperour.* And when the brothers, after many hot bickerings, came at last to an agreement, *In the end,* saith *Helmoldus*, *by the mediation of Pope Sergius, this discord was appeased, and the realme diuided into foure parts, in such sort that Lotharius had Rome, with Italie, Lorraine and Burgundie for his part; Lewis the riuer of Rhine, and all Germanie; Charles, France; and Pepin all Guiene: both which were writers of that time, or not long after.*

Thegan. de gest. Ludouici.

Nomen & Imperium. Nitard. l. i.

Helmold. l. i. c. 4

30. PROGRESSION.

That Leo the fourth was consecrated without the Emperours leaue, and how the matter was excused.

An. 847.

When Lewis was returned into France, Pope *Sergius* the second dyed in the year 847, and the same day was elected *Leo* the fourth, and presently consecrated, contrarie to the law, and without expecting the pleasure of the Prince. The people excused their doing by reason of the Sarafens, who at that time pressed sore vpon them: and *Leo* his sufferance, as being forced thereunto by the people; who yet, as *Anastasius* reporteth, liued in feare of *Lewis* his second returne to Rome vpon the like occasion, as feeling their wounds yet bleeding of his first being there. And farther he obserueth, That they carried him to the Patriarches Palace of Lateran, and there, *after the ancient custome, kissed his feet.* And yet all the antiquitie of this custome was but since the time of *Valentine*, who, as himselfe reporteth, was the first author of it, and liued some thirtie yeares past. And for the rest, this was that *Leo* which walled and fortified the Vatican against the Sarafens.

Anastasi. in Leo, 4.

OPPOSITION.

An. 854.

Leo about the year 854 cried for helpe to *Lotharius*, against the Sarafens, who presently sent his sonne *Lewis* with an armie into Italie; but withall, because he was informed, That the discipline as well of the Church, as Estate of Italie, established heretofore by his father and grandfather, was much fallen to decay; he commanded him, as soone as the warres would giue him leaue, to call together the Bishops, and the chiefe men of Italie, to aduise of some course for the restoring thereof. *Lewis* hauing assembled them at *Paui*, and calling vnto him *Anguilbert* Archbishop of *Milan*, he who, as we haue alreadie said, separated himselfe from the Roman Church (judge Reader by that which followeth, how faint the regall authoritie then reached) and *Andrew* Patriarch of *Aquileia*, signified vnto them, That his pleasure was to take a particular account of the liues and duties of the Bishops and the rest of the Clergie, of their sermons, of the reparation of Churches and Hospitals, of the regularitie of Monkes, of the jurisdic-
tion

Action of the Counties, and to reforme in euerie person and degree what he could find amisse: commaunding those two to make relation of what he had said, vnto the other Bishops; who were so farre from declining his jurisdiction, that they yeilded him a particular account vpon euerie of the said articles: humbly requesting him, to grant such as had beene faultie and negligent, some time to amend their manners; confessing that sermons had been a long time omitted, through the negligence partly of the Prelats, partly of the people, who by hauing priuat chapels adioyning to their houses, neglected the frequentation of the publike Churches; with many other matters of like nature: all which he tooke order to redresse as to him seemed best, sitting in his palace, and by the aduise of his priuie Counsel.

B And whereas there was one *Gratian*, a Master of the campe, and a man of great credit and authoritie, who sought to sow discord betweene the Temporall Estate and the Clergie, practising vnder hand to translate the whole Empire backe vnto Greece againe; *Lotharius* hearing hereof, sent to his sonne *Lewis*, to march immediatly vnto Rome, and there to preuent such inconuenience. And *Platina* reporteth, That *Leo* the Pope was accused as partie in this conspiracie. But in the end *Lewis* hauing hanged one *Daniel*, who had falsely accused him, Pope *Leo* wrot to *Lotharius*, *That he did, and euer would obserue the behests and commaundements of his progenitors:* Requesting him withall, That the Roman law might still take place, as now and heretofore. And we haue the extract of that letter in the Decret of *Gratian*, in these words, *De Capitalis vel pro acceptis imperialibus vestris, vestrorumq; Pontificum predecessorum irrefragabiliter custodiendis, quantum valuimus & valemus Christo propitio & nunc & in eorum modis omnibus nos conseruatos profiteamur: Et si fortasse quilibet vobis aliter dixerit vel dixerit fuerit scias eum pro certo mendacem.* Where *Baronius*, after *Isidore*, in stead of *vestrorumq; Pontificum*, readeth *nostrorumq;* contrarie to the credit of all copies and glosses, onely to auoid *Leo* his tying himselfe to the obseruation of such Edicts and Iniunctions as our kings shall make in the assemblies of their Bishops in their dominions. And how farre kings of those dayes proceeded in matters of this nature, we can learne no whence better than from the Decrees and ordinances of *Charles* and *Lewis*, and those which we haue also of the Synod of *Soissons*, alledged by *Baronius* himselfe, and called, *Capitula Charoli Calui, The Iniunctions of Charles the Bauld*; which concerned the whole policie and discipline of the Church. And the same *Leo* in another Epistle speaketh to the Emperour as humbly as in the former: *In the proceedings of this cause,* saith he, *we haue done some things incompetently, not obseruing in your subjects causes the ordinary course of law: we are readie to reforme what euer is amisse, as you and your Commissioners shall thinke fit, &c. wherfore we earnestly intreat your clemencie and greatnesse, That you would send some such into these parts, to take knowledge of these matters, &c. and of all matters great or small, which any man hath informed you of concerning vs, &c.* By which we may easily perceiue what hand the Emperour in those dayes bare ouer the Bishops of Rome. Yet *Baronius* contesteth, That *Leo* withstood *Lotharius* and *Lewis* the Emperours, in the claime which they made to their right of confirmation vpon the election of Popes; and that hee prevailed so farre, that the election from that time should be made according to the Canons; meaning that Canon by which they pretend, That *Lewis* the first, Emperour, renounced all right in the election: But for prooffe he alledgeth naught but a Palea of the Decret, which is vnable to stand against the current of all Histories besides. And yet the words of that Palea import but this, *That betweene the Emperours and the Pope it was accorded, That the election and consecration of the Bishop of Rome in time to come should*

De Iurisdictione Comium.

Sigon. de Reg. lial. lib. 5.

D. 10. c. 19.

Baron. an. 853. art. 17.

Capitularibus.

Capitulos.

should not be made but iustly and canonically: which no Logicke can wrest to proue what he intendeth. And these words are noted for a Palea in the verie edition of Gregorie the thirteenth.

Hincmar. Epist. ad Carol. Ca. No. de Episc. Sylva-nens. Idem ad populi Bellouacensem. Liberam & Regularem Electionem.

Idem ad Cler. & pleb. Cameracensem. Idem ad Laudinenses c. 6.

ib. c. 34.

Idem in Epist. ad Hadrian. 3.

Luitbertus Episc. Moguntinens.

This Leo, as he could not keepe himselfe from encroaching, so met hee sometimes with rubs in his way. Charles the Bauld raigned at that time in France. The order was, when a Bishopricke fell void, that the Clergie and people joynd in petition to the king, to grant them leaue to make a free and a regular election, and that he would send thither, according to the holic Canons, a Visitor to assist at the election: And thereupon did the king signifie to the Metropolitan which of his Bishops he would haue to assist as Visitor, to see the election in all points canonically made, yet so, as without any preiudice of his owne Canons. By which it was ordained, That in euerie such election the consent of Clergie and people should concurre, it being the principall cause why the Prince would haue a Visitor to assist, to see his Canons duely and carefully obserued. All which we may learne out of sundrie Epistles of Hincmar Archbishop of Reims, but especially out of that which he wrot to Charles the Bauld, touching the vacancie of the Bishopricke of Senlis; himselfe being chosen Archbishop in a Synod held at Beauuais, in the place of Hebo, which rebelled against the Emperor Lewis. And though there be one which writeth, That at the entreatie of Lotharius he receiued the Pall at Leo his hands, to weare euerie day, a priuiledge which the Pope said he would neuer grant to any other: yet Hincmar himselfe, holding this Pal for a badge of honour, rather than for a marke of subiection, spareth not to say openly, That it was not lawfull for the inferiour Bishops upon any publique or generall occasion, to consult the Pope, vnesse they had first aduised thereof with their owne Archbishops: and yet the question was onely of consulting. That it was needlesse for Archbishops to expect resolutions from the See of Rome concerning such things as were alreadye sentenced in the holse Scriptures, in the Councils, in Canons and Decrees of the Church: And thereupon inhibiteth his nephew Hincmar Bishop of Laon to Appeale to Rome, declaring the letters monitoric, by which the Pope warned him to appeare before him, to be void and of none effect; forbidding him to obey his summons: and expounding these words, *Tu es Petrus, &c.* in this manner: *Vpon this sure and solide confession of faith which thou hast made, will I build my Church.* And as touching the power of binding and loosning he spareth not to write to the Pope himselfe, telling him out of the writings of Leo the first, That that power was passed and deriued from Saint Peter, and from the rest of the Apostles, to all the chiefe Heads of the Church, meaning to all Bishops, and consequently to himselfe as well as to the Pope of Rome: And that Saint Peters priuiledge taketh place onely where men iudge according to the equitie of Saint Peter, and is of force where soeuer that equitie is used: no more at Rome than at Reimes; no lesse at Reimes than at Rome; in euerie place alike, according as the Bishops doe, or doe not their duetic. So likewise when this Leo, presuming vpon the pretended Apostleship of Boniface, encroached vpon the Churches of Germanie, more than reason was he should, Luitbert Archbishop of Mence writing to Lewis king of Germanie, spareth him not: *The cause, saith he, will not suffer me to keepe silence; for I were inexcusable before God and your Highnesse, if seeing with my eyes the imminent danger of the Church, I should dissemble my knowledge, as an hired seruant, and no longer a true Pastor of my sheepe. The Primacie therefore and the dignitie thereof now shaketh, and is growne infamous in the verie chaire of Saint Peter: for after a secret and unheard kind of persecution she is wronged, not by those who know not God, but by such as ought to be conductors and leaders of the people*

A people of God, which make more account of earthlie trash, than they doe of heauenlie treasure. And this ache of the head, if speedie remedie bee not applied, will quickly disfill vpon the members, &c. You know the danger wherein the people of God standeth, euerie man seeth it, and the verie elements tremble at it, to see how the governours and conductors thereof, whose duetic is to seeke to saue the weak, for sake themselves the way of saluation, and run headlong to their downfall, drawing those which follow them into the like pit of perdition. wherefore I exhort your wisdom, which loueth veritie and iustice, that according to the knowledge giuen you by God, you would aduise with such as know the Law and are louers of equitie and iustice, how peace and vnitie may be restored to the Church, &c. For the whole bodie of the Church is not hurt, though the Head being wounded, all the members are weakened thereby: wherefore the sound parts must helpe the sick, at least if they will take the medicine, if not, then cut them off, according to the precept of that true Physitian, least all the bodie perish with them. wherefore I thinke it necessarie, that Charles your brother, and a religious Prince, should be requested by your letters and embassadour, to come to a conference with you concerning this matter, as some as may be, to the end that he and the Bishops of his kingdome, who are yet cleane from those pollutions, may ioyne with you and your Bishops, and all together take vpon you this common care, to reforme, by the assistance of God, the peace and concord of the Catholike and Apostolike Church. This Luitbert was a man much esteemed for his integritie, wisdom, and sanctitie of life and conuersation, and for this cause of so great authoritie in the world, that the two kings of Germanie and France, made him arbitrator betweene them in differences of their kingdomes: And yet saw hee even then corruption so satre growne in that pretended Head, that hee could hope for redresse and remedie from none but from these two great Princes. For, that hee meant the Pope no man can doubt who knoweth the Historie of the times, and the contentions which they had at that time with Germanie and France.

Neither may we here forget, before we passe any farther, that we haue a certaine Canon of this Leo his making, by which he taketh away all authoritie from all Decretall Epistles of Popes, vntill the times of Syluester and Syricius; and so blotteth out with one dash of a pen all those which are attributed to them, during the three or foure first ages; which yet our aduersaries at this day vse as good authoritie against vs. And the Roman Code seemeth to point hereat, seeing that it neuer vseth any before that time.

Here now are we to obserue, shall I say a Proceeding, or rather a headlong stumble of this Mysterie of Rome, that prodigious accident and monster of this time: A stumble indeed, and a fall withall it should haue beene, if either the Church of Rome had had any forehead, or the people eyes: I mean that which fell out in the year 854, after the death of Leo the fourth: which yet I had rather set downe in Platina his words, as we find them in his Historie which he dedicated to Pope Sixtus the fourth, A woman, or rather a wench sitting in the See of Rome, saying Masse, creating Bishops, offering her foot to bee kissed by Princes and people: As if God purposed to expose to the view of the world in this living picture, that mother of fornications foretold in the Apocalyps: *Iohannes Anglens* therefore, saith Platina, berne at Mence, aspired to the Papacie, as it is said, by euill practises: For being a Female, and dissembling her sex, she went with her paramour, a learned man, to Athens, and there grew so expert in the liberall Sciences, that coming afterward to Rome, she found there few equall, none superiour to her selfe: And what by lecturing, what with disputing, both wittily and learnedly withall, grew so farre in grace and fauour with all men, that vpon the death of Leo, as saith Martinus, by a generall con-

Leo. 4. ad Epist. Britan.

D. 2. ca. de Libellis.

Act. 8. 54.

Plat. in Iohan. 8.

sees, she was chosen Pope in his roome. But not long after, being great with child by her seruant, hauing for a while hid her great bellie, in the end going to Latran, betweene the Theatre, which they call the Colosse of Nero and S. Clementis, falling into her throwes, she was there deliuered, and died in the place, hauing for Pope two yeres one month and foure daies, and was buried without honor. Some write that upon this occasion the Pope when he goeth to Latran, shunneth this street of purpose: and that to prevent the like inconuenience in time to come, when the Pope first sitteth in S. Peters Chaire, wherein is a hole made for this purpose, the punic Deacon is to handle his priuities. I will not denie the first to be true: for the second, I suppose that the Chaire is so pierced, to the end that he which shall be set in so high a place, may know that he is a man and no God, and subiect to like necessities of nature as other men are: and therefore it is called *Sedes Stercoraria*; we in English may call it by a more cleanelie name, a clofe-stoole. But *Platina* (for feare no doubt of the hole or dungeon, where he had long lyen in the time of *Paule* the second) after all this addeeth that which followeth, *That* (saith he) *which I haue said, is a common bruit, the authors thereof uncertaine, and of no great name, which yet I thought good briefly and nakedly to set downe, that I might not seeme wilfully to omit a thing which euery man almost affirmeth: but let vs erre for once with the multitude, though it is certaine that this is one of those things which are both credible and possible:* so much it troubled him to carrie an euen hand in this matter. And we must now enter the lists of this question, because this Historie (which euer heretofore passed for currant without contradiction) findeth in these daies some opposition: especially *Onuphrius* vpon *Platina* thinketh himselfe sufficiently armed with reasons to euict this report as fabulous. First therefore he sayth, That *Anastasius* (who liued at this time) saith no such matter: for answer we say, That to argue *ab autoritate negatiua*, proueth nothing. But *Raimulphus* in his *Polychronicon* giueth a reason why the Historians of that time omitted it, which was, *Propter turpitudinem Rei*, for the baselinesse of the matter, as they did many other things of like nature. But if some in reuerence to the Popes haue thought good to smother it, yet others in their loue to the truth would not conceale it. Neither may *Onuphrius* take on in such eagre sort against *Martinus Polonus*, as the first noiser of this report, to whom, in regard he was penitentiarie to *Nicholas* the third, and afterwards Archbishop of *Cosensa*, they should in good manners owe a little more respect: but manie others, and his betters, had long before reported the same. *Onuphrius* himselfe testifieth, That he had scene certaine Commentaries of *Damasus* and *Pandulfe* of *Pisa*, written in that verie time, where, in the margin, betweene *Leo* the fourth and *Benedict* the third this womans name is inserted: but (saith he) *written with another inke*: so, or not so, I leaue vnto his conscience. But not to stand anie longer vpon this, *Marianus Scotus* (a Monke of the Abbey of *Fulden*, of the order of the *Benedictins*, and a great Chronicler, and one by whom themselves haue dained to gouerne themselves in the dating of their Conncels, sayth, *That in the yeare 854 Leo the fourth died the first of May, and after him succeeded Iohannes Mulier, Iome the woman, for the space of two yeres, five moneths, and foure daies.* And it is to be noted, that he had it from those which were before him, for he was brought vp in the said Abbey of *Fulden*, where this *Iome* also herselfe had sometime liued. They would ward this blow by saying, That they haue copies of *Marianus* his booke, wherein no such words are to be found: but our copie was taken out of the Librarie of the Colledge of *S. Bartholomew* in the Citie of *Francford*, by the commandement of the Bishop of *Mentz*. *Baronius* to make this pill swallow the better, readeth these words of *Marianus*, with an *vt asseritur*, i. as it is reported, but without author or manuscript for his prooffe. And this *Marianus* died

Onuphrius ad Plat. in vita Johan. 8.

Raimulphus, l. 5. c. 32.

Marianus Scotus, l. 3. Chron. An. 854.

A died (according to *Trithemius*) in the yeare 1080. And *Sigibert* Abbot of *Gemblons*, who liued about the yeare 1100, *The same* (saith he) *is, that this Iohn was a woman, who companied with one onely seruant of hers, by whom she was beget with child and deliuered, being Pope: and for this cause is he neither named nor numbered among the Popes.* And here againe they say first, that he was a schismaticke; secondly, that in some copies there are no such words; but we list not belecue them at their word. After these came *Martin* of *Polonia*, about the yeare 1270, whom *Platina* followeth almost word for word, saue onely where the one sayth, *vt asseritur*, the other hath *vt auit*. There was another *Martin* of the Order of the *Minor Friers*, who in his Chronicle intituled, *Flores Temporum*, reporteth, That when this *Iohn* went to conjure the diuell out of a man which was possessed, asking the diuell when he would goe out of him, the diuell answered in a Distich:

*Papa pater patrum, Papisse pandito partum,
Et tibi tunc edam de corpore quando recedam.*

Tell thou me when thou wilt be deliuered of a child, and I will tell thee when I will goe forth of this bodie.

This *Martin* liued about the yeare 1370. *Petrarch* was one who could well discern betweene a historie and a tale, and was for the most part trained vp in the Popes Court: he in his Chronicle affirmeth it as certaine, and as *Martin*, so he calleth her *Iohannem Anglicum*, i. *Iohn English*; who (saith he) *was a woman, and therefore not entred in the Catalogue of the Popes: adding farther, That he was promoted to the highest honour of Priesthood by a generall consent.* And this *Petrarch* liued when the forenamed *Martin* did. *Bocace* also in his booke of illustrious or famous women, describeth her, and representeth in picture her trauaille, the Cardinals and Bishops standing about her in stead of midwiues: and to this day (saith he) *to continue the memorie of this vilanie, the Popes when they celebrate the Rogations with their Clergie and people, shun the place where she was deliuered, which is in the middle of their way, and turne aside to goe by narrow lanes.* These were men too wise to stuffe their bookes with such relations, had they had no other author but *Martin*, though he a man not altogether to be neglected. And *Antonius* the Archbishop addeth farther, *That there was there placed an effigie of Marble, to continue the memorie thereof: and thereupon crieth out with S. Paule, O the height of the wisdom of God, how incomprehensible are thy iudgements, and thy wayes past finding out &c.* As for that which *Raimundus* bableth concerning the virgine *Marie*, it is too weake and foolish to auoid the authoritie of such an author as *Antoninus* is. Like-wise *Otho Frisingensis* in his seventh booke, where he setteth downe the Catalogue of the Popes, he nameth *Iohannem VII. feminam*, placing her in the roome of *Iohn* the seventh, not of the eight, by the common error of Chroniclers in the number of those who haue borne this name. To let passe the Chronicles of *Ausbourg*, *Raphael Volaterranus*, *Sabellius*, *Philip* of *Bergamo*, *Matthaeus Palmerius*, *Trithemius* in the life of *Luithprand*, *Iohannes Stella* in the liues of 230 Popes, *Nauclerus* Chancelor in the Vniuersitie of *Tubinge*, *Albert Crantius* Deane of *Hambourg*, the *Fasciculus Temporum*, aliàs *Carthusianus*; *Celsus Rhodoginus*, the supplement of *Iohannes Lucidus*, with sundrie others: the most of these whom I haue my selfe with these three verses of *Baptista Mantuan* a Carmelite, who placeth her at the verie entrie into heil:

Sigibert. in Chron. an. 853.

Papa existens.

Martinus Polonus.

Chron. Martin. Minorit. vlt. impress. an. 1486.

Petrarch. in Chron.

Boc. in lib. de claris mulieribus. c. 99.

Anton. tit. 16. c. 1. § 7.

Otho Frising. l. 7.

Annates Augustani.

Raph. Volaterran. in comment. sa. v. ba.

Sabellius Aenead. 9.

Phil. Bergo. in Supplem.

Matth. Palmer. continuator Euseb. & Prosperi.

Trithem. Naucler. General.

Albert. Crane. in Metrop. in Catal. Pontif.

Cel. Rhodog. l. 14. Antiq. Iulio. Continuat.

John. Lucid. in Chron.

Baptist. Mantu. l. 3. Alphons.

Suffrid. Leonar. in Notis, in Mart.

Polon. in Ed. Antuep. an.

Hic 1573.

*Hic pendeat adhuc, sexum mentita virilem
Fœmina, cui triplici Phrygiam diademate mitam,
Extollebat apex, & pontificalis adalter.*

And shall all this be rejected, by saying onely that *Martin* said it? But let vs see what more *Onuphrius*, the Iesuites, and *Baronius* himselfe can say concerning this point. Their maine argument is, That we can find no space betweene *Leo* the fourth and *Benedict* the third, to place *John* the eight there. And we answer, let them subtract from the next precedent Popes the time which they have added to them ouer and aboute the account of *Marianus Scotus*, and other aunccient Chroni- clers, and she will not want a place to stand in: For *Onuphrius* giueth to *Sergius* the second two moneths more than *Marianus* doth: to *Nicholas* the first he giueth nine yeares, six moneths, twentie dayes, whom *Marianus* maketh to sit but eight yeare, nine dayes: to *Adrian* the second he giueth foure yeares and eleuen moneths, whereas *Marianus* affoordeth him onely but two yeares. And so may *Onuphrius* easily cast vp his account, and we find the totall of ours. So likewise *Hermannus Contractus*, to leaue no roome for this *Ione*, casteth three yeares vpon *Sergius*, and nine vpon *Leo* the fourth: and so doe the rest which are alledged by *Onuphrius*.

Secondly they say, That vnto the time of Pope *Formosus*, that is for the space of nine hundred yeares complete, there was neuer anie Pope chosen, who had not beene brought vp from a child in the Church of Rome, and risen by degrees of Priesthood or Deaconrie. We answer, let them reforme then the generall current of Histories, which report, That *Constantine*, brother to the Duke of Ne- pete, was chosen Pope in the yeare 767, which was neither Priest, nor Deacon, nor Clerke, but tooke all his degrees in a day, and was consecrated by the Bishops of Præneste, Alba, and Port, and sat one yeare and one moneth: since which time they cannot denie but that meere lay men haue beene elected Popes. Thirdly, they come to scan the words of the Historie of *Martin*: *Anglicus natione Moguntinus*, an Englishman borne at Mence: What greater absurditie saith he? But the absurditie is their owne, and not the Authors, for *English* was her surname, not the name of her nation: and themselues obserue, that in the better manuscripts it is written *Anglicus*, not *Anglus*. Neither did anie euer vnderstand it otherwise, no not *Fasciulus Temporum*, where he writeth in this manner, *Some men* (saith he) report, that they neuer make Popes of Germanes, which is false. Besides that, *Polonus* sayth, a Margantine or Mangantine by nation, and by consequent no Englishman. Fourthly they say, That *Martin* maketh her a student of Athens, whereas at that time there was no learning there, but barbarisme, prouing it by *Synesius*, who so reporteth of it in his time. We answer, that *Synesius* sayth not there was no learning there, but not so much as he expected; and it was no small matter that could adde to the learning of *Synesius*: but it is apparent, that in Greece there were Vniuersities, continuing manie yeares after, at Athens, at Thessalonica, Constantinople, and a famous one in the Isle of Chio, since that inundation of the Turkes: and in this verie time of which we speake, *Zonaras* telleth vs, that *Michael Bardas* the Emperour restored learning there: and therefore as learning was not then in her heat at Athens, so was it not likewise cleane extinguished. And whereas they say, that at this time there were no Lectures of Diuinitie at Rome (a goodlie commendation for the See of the pretended Head of the Church) we answer them, that this great scarcitie bred her the greater admiration. Fifthly, they

Synesius in postrema epistola ad fratrem.

A they examine the circumstances: *Martin* saith it was done as she went from Saint Peters to the Latran; and the Popes (say they) at that time dwelt not in the Vatican. But we aske, whether then and a long time before S. Peters Church was not built, that so the Pope might goe from the one to the other in procession? And then they say it is strange, that in all those nine moneths no bodie should perceiue it. We answer, that there is nothing more common: but should they not rather admire the judgement of God, in proclaiming their abomination by this mysterie? Sixtly, not being able to denie, that the Popes vse to turte out of this way; they alledge a wrong cause of their so doing, saying, That if they went the right way, the streets would be too narrow for the preale of people? We answer, that they who haue seene the place, know the contrarie: But *Platina* affirmeth it in those words, *De primo non abnucriam*. For the first, I will not denie it, and the effigies erected vpon the place (as *Antonine* reporteth) auereth as much, which the Iesuites themselues cannot denie: But willing to seeme more vnderstanding than he, they would faine persuade vs, that this is the pourtrait of a Priest going to say Masse, with the Clerke at his heeles. A man may well say, that this is *Rasura in loco suspecto*: for what should such an Image make in that place? Seuenthly, for the close stoole, they passe it ouer in a word, That this is an idle tale of the people; others say by way of Allegorie, that this is to shew the new elected, that God raiseth the poore out of the dung. But for the matter it selfe, can they denie, but that the stoole is yet to be seene in the gallerie of the Palace of Latran, as they goe to the Chappell called *Sancta Sanctorum*, where the Conclau was wont to be held while the Popes dwelt there? And as for the cause, if it were such as they say, why then is there a hole in it? And why should not we beleue so manie Authors? And the verses of *Iohannes Pannonius*, long before this controuersie was risen, doe they not testifie as much?

*Non poterat quisquam referans aethera clauas,
Non exploratis, sumere, testiculis:
Cur igitur nostro mos hic nunc tempore cessat,
Ante probat quod se quilibet esse maverim.*

D Meaning that now Popes vse before hand to trie their manhood by their wenching and begetting of bastards. Eightly they say, That *Zonaras*, *Nicetas*, *Cedrenus*, and others speake not of it. We answer, that these Authors liued long after, and speake principally of the affaires of Greece, and but slightly of them neither. And I would know, if in a matter of the Latine Church we should alledge a Greeke Author, whether they would not presently call vs to the Histories of the Latines? And what wonder, if these idolatrous Monkes, shaking hands with the beastlinesse of the Romane Church, were willing to conceale this shame? But *Laonicus*, a Greeke Author, was not ignorant of this report, though farre from such affectations. He describing the election of Popes, as it was wont to be made in his dayes, writeth in this manner, *After that the voices are gathered, and the Pope declared, they keepe him that is elected in the house* (meaning where the Election is made) *if the house be otherwise fit for such a purpose: and then pronouncing him Pope, they make him sit downe in a bottomelesse chaire, to the end that some one appointed for this purpose may touch his priuities; whereby it may appeare that he is a man: For it is certaine, that there was a woman made a Pope, by error of her sex, because it is the fashion of the Italians to weare their beards shauen:*

Q

and

*Erigit è stercore
pauperem.
Antiquit. de
Faucbet, vol. 2.*

and this woman being begot with child, as she went in procession, was deliuered in the midst of her deuotion, in the sight of all the people: And therefore to auoid the like inconuenience, and to be sure of what they goe about, one toucheth the priuities of the Pope, and he that handleth them crieth out, *Mas nobis dominus est, i. we haue a male creature to our Lord and Master*: and so goeth on with the other ceremonies obserued in that election. *Baronius* in the meane time is well holpen vp to send vs to *Remondus*, who sayth, That all this was added by his interpreter *Clauferus*, but without all authoritie or other prooffe, saue onely that *Viginer* (who translated him into French) hath indeed left it all out, in fauour of the Popes. But that they may not say that *Laonicus* onely of the Greekes reporteth it, I can bring you another, *Barlaamus*, a Greeke writer, in his Dialogue touching the Primacie of the Pope, maketh mention also of a strumpet woman, who was made a Pope; yet *Onuphrius* followeth the chafe, and *Baronius* commeth to the rescue. And first he objecteth, That *Nicholas* the first, which came shortly after this time, would not (writing to *Michael* the Emperour) haue said so boldly as he doth, *Our predecessors of happie memorie, Leo and Benedict*, who had had a fit occasion to run vpon him in tearmes, if anie such matter had beene: So likewise had *Photius*, Archbishop of Constantinople, and a mortall enemy to the Pope of Rome. We say, that what answere the Emperour made him, we cannot tell for want of his Epistle, and for ought we know he did not spare to tell the Pope of one that was betweene those his two predecessors. And it is likely that he did: for it appeareth by the replie which Pope *Nicholas* made vnto his answere, that he had stung him, seeing that he reproacheth the Emperour, for beginning his letters with *insurious and opprobrious speeches, against the mother of all other Churches*, and excuseth himselfe for not answering to manie points of his letter, containing *blasphemie against the holie See, written (saith he) with the payson of a Serpent rather than with iuke, and that therefore he chose rather wisely to contemne them &c.* And therefore we may thinke, that in so long a letter, or rather a volume, such a matter as this could not be forgotten: and who knoweth not, that *Nicholas* (whom it concerned to suppress the memorie of this infamie, and to raze it out of all Registers) was no wayes bound in his answere to name it anie more? Againe we say, That *Stephen* the fourth might well haue written, *Our predecessors of happie memorie, Stephen and Paule*, skipping ouer *Constantine*, who yet reigned a whole yeare and vpward, because his Acts were all pronounced to be void, and his name razed out of the Catalogue. And *Baronius* himselfe teacheth vs, That in the yeare 868 *Adrian* the second, successor vnto *Nicholas* the first, obtained of the Emperour *Basilus*, successor vnto *Michael*, that the booke of *Photius* might be sent to Rome, in which that Epistle of *Michael* was contained, and which was by a decree of the Synod publicly burned, with all that which they had published against the See of Rome, to blot out the memorie thereof for euer. Againe (saith *Baronius*) it may be that *Marianus*, who first mentioned this three-Pope, had heard say of one *Cyrrillus*, a mignon of the Emperour *Michael*, whom he would oftentimes make to play the Patriarch in scorne of holiness and holie things, infomuch that once he deceived the old Empreffe his mother; and that what was done at Constantinople he reported as done at Rome, that of a mignon he made a woman, and of this play of a Patriarch a three-Pope. But how should this poore Monke make so manie metamorphoses? Who could tell him what passed in Greece? And seeing this mockerie of *Michael* was

two

Barlaamus in
dialog. de prin-
cipat. Pape.

Baron. vol. 10.
an. 868. art. 39.

Baron. 10. 10.
an. 854. art. 9.

- A two hundred yeares before his time, whence should he know it but by the Historie? Was the memorie hereof so fresh after two hundred yeares? If by the Historie, had he had none other but that of *Cyropolates*, he might there haue found all these circumstances, and consequently could not so haue mistaken the one for the other; for *Cyrrillus* maister *John*, for a male a female. And whereas it is said, That in the time of *Marianus*, *Leo* the ninth in an Epistle which he wrote vnto *Michael* Patriarch of Constantinople, reproacheth him, for that contrarie to the Nicene Canons they elected Eunuchs to their See, and that there was a report, that they had also beene couensed with a woman; to say nothing that the most part of these Epistles are forged, what probability, that *Marianus* hearing speech of such a thing done at Constantinople in his time, should report it as done at Rome, so manie yeares before? And where was either his wit or his honestie, when he so precisely quoted the yeares, moneths, and dayes? Or what meant other men, when they so particularly speake of her being with child, her trauaile, death, and other circumstances? Let *Cassius* his law take place, and let vs aske *Cui bono*: to what purpose to faine such a tale of a woman, especially Monkes, who wrote the Histories for the most part of their owne times, and to whose trust and keeping the report of these things was committed; seruants and creatures, as themselves confesse, of the Pope? What should they get by this report? Or rather what might they not feare for reporting it? Could they hope, that so prodigious a matter would euer be beleueed, vpon their relation, if the truth had not justified it selfe to all men? So manie circumstances, so cleare, so precise, some of which remaine vnto this day, what fancie could inuent them? Or what could make them credible, saue onely the euidence of the truth? What shall we say of the Imagerie of the Popes, to be seene in manie of the greater Churches of Italie, namely at Siena, where she hath her place among the Popes, where by a continued tradition euerie child can point at her, and tell what she was. If you will say, that those statues were erected not past some two hundred yeares, was it not long ynough for Rome to take knowledge of it, being vnder her nose, and to gaine say it, if it had beene false? Last of all *Onuphrius* sayth, That he is of opinion, that this tale proceeded from hence, That Pope *John* the twelfth had manie concubines, and about the rest, *Ione*, *Raineria*, and *Stephania*: and because he suffered himselfe to be led by *Ione*, and did what pleased her, some idle head or other inuented this tale of her. But he whose occupation is to be an Annalist, doth he not remember, that there are an hundred yeares betweene? And what probability to put *John* the twelfth for *John* the eight? And doth he thinke with this friuolous conjecture to shake the foundation of so manie proofes? And which is more, *Luitprand* whom he alledgeth, among all his concubines nameth no *Ione*, but *Raineria* he doth, whom he made gouernesse of manie Cities, and gaue her manie Crosses and Chalices of *S. Peter*; and *Stephania*, who died in childbed of his doing, being brought to bed before her time: likewise one *Anna* a widow, and another which was his neece. As for *Ione*, which *Onuphrius* nameth first, there is no such named in *Luitprand*, but *Onuphrius* hath foisted her name in, onely to giue a colour to his owne inuentions. And now let the indifferent Reader be judge of this strife betweene vs.

Baron. 10. 10.
an. 853. art. 58.
Leo. 9. epist. 1.
c. 23.

Luitprand.
l. 6. c. 6. & 7.

Qij

31. PRO-

31. PROGRESSION.

The attempts of Pope Nicholas upon the Emperour Lewis, upon Lotharius king of Lorraine, upon the Bishops of France, and the small reckoning he made of holie Scripture.

An. 855.

Anast. in Bened. 3.

Idem in vita Nicolai 1.

Sigon. de Reg. Ital. li. 5. An. 860.

Anast. in Nicol. 1. Sigon. de Reg. Ital. li. 5.

YET could not this shame make them let go their hold; but the worser their game, the better face they set vpon it. *Benedict* the third then succeeded this *Ione*, and was inthroned without leaue asking of the Emperour, and thinking it ynough, if he sent him word afterward thereof: Whence followed that schisme of *Anastasius*, who was borne out by those of the greater fort and qualitie, and by the Emperour *Lewis*, at the instance of his embassadours: so that they were forced to returne to a new election, wherein *Benedict*, through the fauour of the people, was againe preferred in the election; and then followed, by the consent of the Emperour and in the presence of his Lieutenants, his confirmation. Whereby it evidently appeareth, That there was a meere nullitie in the first Act, for want of his authoritie. This *Benedict* liued not long, and did but little: but so soone as *Lewis*, sole Emperour now by the decease of *Lotharius*, and who had nothing to take vnto but onely *Italie*, heard thereof, knowing how neerely it concerned him, to maintaine this prerogatiue, he removed presently to Rome, to assist at the creation of a successor: but found himselfe preuented, by a choise already made of *Nicholas* the first, who, as the manner then was, had hid himselfe, to make the world beleue that he was elected against his will; and was shortly after consecrated in the presence of the Emperour. This is he whom they vse to compare to *Gregorie* the Great, who indeed at the first entrance into his office made his haucie mind and itching humour sufficiently to appeare: For abusing either the deuotion or the present necessities of the Emperour, whose dominion was confined with the narrow bounds of a part of *Italie*, and that ouerlaid with the inuasion of the *Sarasens*, he was content to let him take his horse by the bridle at two seuerall times, and querrie-like to lead him about a bow shoot, as *Anastasius* himselfe reporteth; adding farther, That they kissed each other at their parting. But *Sigonius* in a more glorious manner, saith, That the Emperour taking his leaue, kissed his holie foot, and so returned into *Lombardie*. In the yeare 890 *John* Archbishop of *Rauenna* set his old Title on foot againe, declaring, That he held nought from the See of Rome: whereupon he fell presently into suspition of Heresie; for greater Heresie than this knew they none in those dayes. *Nicholas* hereupon stirred vp some of his inferiour Bishops against him, who also made other complaints of him, whereupon he was deprived of his Bishopricke. *John* in this extremitie fled vnto the Emperour, who mediated for him to the Pope. The Pope called a Synod at Rome, to heare and to sentence his cause in the presence of the Emperours embassadours: where he was condemned to acknowledge the Pope, to enter into a straiter band, and to take a more speciall oath (vnder paine of forfeiture of some good summe of money, as we haue said before) to him and his successors, once in euerie two yeares to visit the Court of Rome, if he were not hindered by sicknesse, or otherwise dispensed with by the Pope. This we learne out of Histories: and a certaine Author of that time telleth vs, That the ground of this rigorous proceeding, was, for that he seemed too familiar with the Emperour; and farther, That in despight of the Emperour, for that he had appeared in his

cause,

A cause, his anger led him, vnder a colour of inspiratiō from heauen, to set the crown of the Empire vpon *Charles* the Bauld his head. Neither did the Pope stay here: It fel out, that *Lotharius* king of *Lorraine* falling in loue with a concubine of his, called *Waldrada*, whom he had of long time kept, desired to be rid of his queene *Thietberga*, and to marie her; and *Guntier* Archbishop of *Collen*, whether kinsman to *Waldrada*, as some report, or vpon what other respect I know not, assisted the king in this his purpose. Whereupon was a Synod assembled at *Metz*, where the queene made her apparance, and witnesses were produced to testifie a filthie incest betweene her and her brother; and she was thereupon separated from *Lotharius*, who shortly after, in another Synod at *Aix*, presented a bill, shewing the importance of hauing children to succeed him, and thereupon got leaue to take another wife, which was this *Waldrada*, the cause of all this quarell. Hereupon the friends of *Thietberga* began to stirre, among the rest *Hubert* duke of *Mantiou*, an allie of *Charles* of France, and vnclē, though no great friend, vnto *Lotharius*: these complained to Pope *Nicholas*, who hasted to be dealing with a Prince that was faultie, finding himselfe to be backed by a puissant king of France; and thereupon dispatched an embassage to *Lotharius*, cited *Thietgard* Archbishop of *Treuers*, and *Gontier* of *Collen*, to appeare at Rome, to answer the separation which they had made of *Thietberga* from *Lotharius*; made them deliuer vp into his hands the whole proceffe of the cause in writing, by which they offered to shew, That they had done nothing contrarie to the Canons, called not long after a Synod of certain Bishops, without any summons giuen to the other, & there reuerfed their sentence, declaring them to be degraded of all their Ecclesiasticall preferments; tearmed the Synod of *Metz*, An Assemblie of *Theeues* and *Bauds*. This done in the yeare 866, he sent *Arsenius* his Legat vnto *Francford*, to will *Lotharius* to abandon *Waldrada*, and to receiue *Thietberga* to his bed againe: and in case of default, declareth him, and all that followed him, *Excommunicat*: in so much that *Lotharius* durst not stand against him. This was the first act of *Excommunication* and *Interdiction* that euer the Popes exercised vpon our kings; animated thereunto partly by continuall jarres in the linage of *Charlemaigne*, partly by their faults, for which they stand registred in so many of the Popes Decrees, especially this *Lotharius*, D. 63. c. Relatum est, & 2. qu. 1. c. Qua *Lotharius*, where he presumeth, writing to the Bishops of *Italie*, *France*, and *Germanie*, to vse these words (The King *Lotharius*, if he may be rightly tearmed a King:) And in the Canons, *Præcipue & Ita Corporis*, 11. q. 3. 24. q. 3. An non *districta*, directed to his owne person. Yet may we see, that this *Nicholas* was moued to doe what he did, in zeale of policie rather than of religion; who at that verie instant tooke into his protection at Rome, *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, which had rauished and carried away *Judith* daughter to *Charles* king of France, writing to the king himselfe, and to *Hincmar* Archbishop of *Reimes*, and to the Synod of *Senlis*, in his behalfe; vntill in the end he got the mariage to be ratified, & the parties to be receiued vnto fauor: not blushing to say, That a predecessor of his had done as much, in the time of *Lotharius* the Emperour: and that a king must not thinke much to remit a small debt to his fellow seruant, who hath peraduenture himselfe need that that Master of Masters should acquit him of ten thousand talents. It so pleasing him to shew his omnipotencie in his ouer-rigorous proceeding against the one, and his too great indulgencie towards the other. By these defaults of our Kings and Princes, the Popes grew bold vpon our Bishops, admitting of all Appeals made from them; so that if any one had bene legally condemned by his Metropolitan in a Prouinciall Synod,

Q iij

if

Transurom-
tum DuxAnnal. incertis
Authoris.Latrocinium &
prohibulum.
An. 866.Nicol. Epist. 30.
& 32.

if he Appealed to Rome, & made his Metropolitan a partie to the suit, he was sure to be heard, and his cause to be reviewed, and his Metropolitan to be Interdicted, if he appeared not to the summons: And seldome should you find the sentence of a Metropolitan not reversed, in fauour of the Appellant. One example for all, of Rothard Bishop of Soissons, which Appealed from the sentence of Hincmar Archbishop of Reimes, who would not giue way to the Appeale: Whereupon Nicholas wrote vnto him, *That hee should not haue beene so vnmindfull of the priuiledges of the Apostolike See, to whom the venerable Canons giue power to iudge of the censures of the whole Church.* Which Canons yet he could hardly haue found, if he had beene put to seeke them. With like presumption wrot he to the Archbishops and Bishops of France, *That it belonged to his See to iudge of the writings of all Authors, and that what he reiected or approued, that also ought generally to be reiected or approued of all.* Likewise to the Clergie of Vienna, *That a new Church could not be built without his speciall leaue and licence had thereunto.* And to all Bishops in generall, *That no man in regard of his Primacie, might offer to iudge of him, or to retract a sentence which he had giuen, vnder paine of excommunication.* And in a letter which he wrot to Charles the Bauld, king of France, he saith, *That what is once well decreed, may not afterward be called into question;* with this limitation, *vnlesse it be in presence of a greater power: Innuendo,* that this greater power was his own. This is bad ynough, but that which followeth is more horrible: And Baronijs himselfe deserueth it: For in an Epistle of his written to our Bishops of France, wherein he argueth against those who would not admit of all the Decretal Epistles which he produced, meaning against Hincmar Archbishop of Reimes, and others; who for their defence alledged, That they were not to be found in the Code of the Canons: he is not ashamed to ranke them with the Old and New Testaments, making these to depend of the same authoritie with the Decretals, or rather indeed to be subordinat to them. A matter worthie the Readers obseruation: *For what,* saith he, *shall wee stand any longer to dispute, whether it ought to be done or no;* meaning, whether no Decretals ought to be receiued, but such as were in the Code of Canons: *For by the same reason we should not receiue the Old and New Testament;* for neither the one nor yet the other is found in the Code of the Church Canons. As if those Testaments tooke not their authoritie from the holie Ghost, who inspired them; from the Sonne, who vsed them against the false Doctors, and Satan himselfe; and from the Father, who hath so liuely and so deeply imprinted his marke vpon them. But if, saith he, *they shall replie* (for he maketh them as honest men, and as learned in Diuinitie as himselfe) *That among the Canons there is one of Innocentius his making, by which it is ordained, That the two Testaments from this time forward ought to be receiued, though in the first Canons neither of them be receiued,* I answer, saith he, *That if the Old and New Testaments are to be receiued, not for that they are in the Code of Canons, but because Innocent hath decreed that they ought to be receiued, It therefore followeth; That the Decretal Epistles of the Popes ought also to be receiued, though not inserted in the Code of the Canons; because it is manifest, that among other Canons there is one of Pope Leo, wherein it is commaunded, to obserue all the Decretal ordinances of the Apostolike See: So that if any man shall attempt any thing against them, he must know, that there is no hope of pardon left for him.* First then I aske, Had the Old and New Testament no authoritie in Christs Church, but by vertue, and since the date of that Decree of Innocent? Was the Church foure hundred yeares, and those the best, because the first, without knowledge of the Scriptures? Secondly, Whether Leo

2. q. 6. c. Arguta.

D. 19. c. si Romanor. De Consecr. D. 1. in Eccles. 17. q. 4. c. Nemmi. 25. q. 2. si quis. 6. q. 5. c. Quod bene.

Baron. vol. 10. an. 865. art. 13. c. 14.

Anobis utriusq; testamentum iam esse recipiendum.

A B C D E

in those verie words of his which Nicholas alledgeth, speaketh not onely, *De Ecclesiasticis ordinibus & Canonum disciplinis, i. Of Church discipline and policie.* We see then the small reckoning they made of holie Scripture, thereby to advance the credit of their owne Decretal Epistles. But no maruell, since he is not afraid to attribute to himselfe the verie name of God, and that in a certaine Decree canonized by Gratian: *It is plaine ynough,* saith he, *that the Pope can neither be bound nor loosed by any secular authoritie, whom it is eident, that the godlie Prince Constantine called by the name of God; seeing that it is a point without contradiction, that God cannot be bound.* For if the name of God be taken in both places in one & the same sence, i. for the Euerliuing God, then he calleth himselfe *The true God;* if otherwise, then are there foure terms in his Syllogisme, & therefore it concludeth not, and to stil there is in his words either fraud or blasphemie. Adde we hereunto, That he is false in his allegation; for Constantine, as all Historians report, spake those words of all the Bishops assembled at the Councell of Nice: and by the same reason all they were not to be iudged by men, least of all by the Pope, who was not in that company, and therefore had no part in that saying of his; but onely as he was of their Order. For Syluester was at Rome whiles the Fathers were at Nice. And yet Nicholas his successor attributeth those words to himselfe, in prejudice of, and excluding all other Bishops, to whom it was spoken. And the Glosse vpon that Canon well obserueth, *That after this reckoning a Bishop could not iudge his Clergie vnder him:* and we may say after him, *That much lesse then may a Pope iudge the Bishops.* For, saith the Glosse, *this saying of Constantine is to be vnderstood of all Ecclesiastikes in generall;* meaning in that sence in which Saint Gregorie spaketh, saying, *That all Priests in holie Scripture are called sometimes Gods, and sometimes Angels.* The words of the Canon *Futuram*, though falsly attributed to Mikhiades, are these, *Constantine the Emperour Presiding ouer the Councell of Nice, seeing the complaints of certaine Clerkes brought vnto him, sayd vnto them, You can be iudged of none, because you are kept to be iudged by God alone; seeing you haue bin called Gods:* and so they destroy one the other. Thus much for the Policie. As for the Doctrine, I haue elsewhere declared, That this was that Nicholas who most violently put in execution the Law of Calibate, or Single life, among Church men, threatening Anathema to those which withstand it: whereof ensued much trouble in the Westerne Churches. But before we proceed any farther, we must first see, whether he carried all these attempts without resistance, or no.

D. 96. ca. Satis euidenter 7.

Gloss. ib.

11. q. 1. c. Sacerdoti. Omnes Clericos

12. q. 1. c. Futuram. Quorundam Clericorum.

OPPOSITION.

And first as touching the Reduction of the Church of Rauenna to the obedience of the See of Rome: That Heresie for which the Archbishop was accused, is at large set downe by an Author of that time, in manner following: *The Emperour,* saith he, *not to surcharge with taxes those which had beene already pilled and spoiled by the Sarasens, demaunded helpe of Rauenna and Venice, by their meanes to saucour Apulia by sea.* At that time Iohn was Archbishop of Rauenna, who seruing the Emperour in house, was verie familiar with him: Whereupon Pope Nicholas, moued with a spirit of enuie, grew into great choler against him, and went about to call him to Rome by a ricke, purposing, if he could catch him there, to conuaint him in an Ecclesiasticall Court, and to condemne him, and to put another in his roome. Iohn hauing a word of this practise, fled to the Queene Enguilberta, who sent her embassadours to the Pope, requesting him to receiue the Archbishop to his fauour. But failing in her suit, she humbly entreated the King her husband to receiue the Archbishop into his protection, and to stand betweene

Author Coetaneus in Appendice Historica.

E

in

Inaudito
Principe.Ordines bene-
ficiales.

tweene harme and him, and to forbid the Pope to meddle with him. And because the Pope had excommunicated him, without hearkening to the Prince, therefore was there great heat burning betwene them, till in the end the Regall Honour stood up against the Apostolike Dignitie; putting him in mind of the ancient lawes and statutes of the Church, by which a Prelat might not excommunicat a Bishop without the aduise of a Synod: and that the calling of a Synod did not belong to the Pope, but to the Emperour. Whereupon grew sundrie damages vnto the Pope: For in Romania and la Marche the Emperour bestowed Church benefices vpon his followers, commaunding them to pay nothing to Rome, &c. seised of many of the Popes lands in Campania to his owne vse, and of such as were about him, &c. and in a word, by the aduise of the Nobilitie of Rome, established in Rome one Arsenius for their Bishop, a man of great sanctitie, and much learning, Legat of the See of Rome, and gaue him for his assistant Iohn the Deacon, & chiefe Chancellor, and a Secretarie of his own, which afterwards was made Bishop of Rieta. This was, as you see, all that damnable Heresie which the Pope pretended, and this was the order which the Emperour tooke in Rome it selfe. So that, saith the Historian, when the Emperour saw his time he came to Rome, where he was honourably receiued by great and small: the Archbishop of Rauenna came also with him, not fearing the Popes threats; which strooke yet a greater heat betwene the Emperour and the Pope. For the Emperour taking up his lodging at Saint Peters Palace, and the Pope lying at the holie Apostles, when he saw that whatuer he attempted against the Royall Dignitie came to naught, he appointed certaine Monkes and Nunnes (these were their old pranks) of the Monasteries about Rome, who euerie morning, by way of deuotion, went saying the Letanie round about the walls, and singing Masses against bad Princes. The great ones about the Emperour vnderstanding hereof, went to the Pope, entreated him kindly to forbid such doings: but not able to preuaile with him, went their wayes discontent. It fell out shortly after, that some of the souldiers going to Paules, lighted vpon these Letanies, who through the instigation of the old enemie, were thereupon moued to choler, and in duetie to their Lord, reuenged them of the wrongs done vnto him, wounded many of them, and made all take their heeles and run away, casting downe Crosses and Images which they carried in procession, after the manner of the Greekes, whereof some were broken, and others trampled vnder foot. The Emperour hereupon grew much offended, and the Pope somewhat calmer than before, and went to the Emperours lodging, to entreat for those of his companie who had committed that offence, and hardly could obtaine for them. And from that time forward they grew more familiar than before: But the Imperiall authoritie was still maintained at Rome. Thus we see how little he got by his Excommunication bolted out against the Archbishop of Rauenna. The Iniunction also which he laid vpon him, to come once in euerie two yeares to Rome, turned to his losse: for he saw indeed the Archbishop at Rome oftner than he was willing, because he was cut borne out and maintained by the Emperour. But about all it troubled the Popes conscience to see so great an authoritie so neere at hand, ouershadowing his own, as lesse offensiu when it was farther off: For, saith the same Author, whose verie simplicitie is warrant ynough for his truth and honestie, this Emperour, because he resided still in Italie, made himselfe alwayes a neere neighbour to Rome, and exercised his authoritie to the full, being assisted by the chiefe of the citie: who knew themselves, and gaue also the Emperour to vnderstand, the ancient customes of the Empire: perswading him to resume into his owne hands the Soueraignie and commaund which in alder times belonged to the Emperours. Which no doubt he would haue done, but for the reuerence which he bore to the holie Apostles (which reuerence yet was such, as that it pleased not the Popes:) For, saith he, whiles these matters so passed, the Bishops of Rome sent

emba-

A ambassadors with letters to Charles the Bauld, king of France; requesting him vnder hand to make a iourney into Italie: and because he was in some sort a Philosopher, they requested him to lend a helping hand to S. Peter, and to deliuer his Church from bondage, as if it had bene oppressed by some forreine enemie.

As for his proceedings against Lotharius, we will not here enter into the merits of the cause it selfe: but you shall see the letters which Gontier Archbishop of Collen, and Thietgaud of Treuers, wrot to this Nicholas; wherein they complaine of his tyrannicall behauiours: The Bishops our Fathers, and our Brethren and fellow Bishops, sent vs vnto thee, and we of our owne accord went willingly to Rome, and presented thee with the Acts of the whole processe requesting thee, as a good Father, to reforme

B what thou foundest amisse in them, &c. And thou madest vs dance attendance twentie dayes, before euer we could heare one word from thee; much lesse be admitted to thy presence. After a whole monethes attendance, thou sentest for vs, we came in all hast, without feare of harme, and thou causedst vs to be vsed like a companie of theenes; for, so soone as we were entred within thy gates, they were presently shut vpon vs, and we beset vs to be debarred the vse of all things both holy and humane. There, contrarie to all law, contrarie to the decrees and customes of our ancestors, without calling any assemblee of Ecclesiastikes, no Bishop, no Archbishop there present, not so much as thy selfe discoursing vpon our error, either by way of argument, or by testimonie of witnesse, or out of any writing, hauing no bodie to sit by thee but onely the Monke Anastasius, a man long since

C conuicted and condemned for a common whorler, thou diddest abruptly read out of thy paper against vs an vniuersal, a rash and a wicked sentence, repugnant to all Christian religion, and diddest insolently in thy words, taunt and reuile thy brethren & fellow seruants. The

emer-living Emperour of all hath set an incorruptible border of gold about the head of his Spouse (the Church) he hath honoured her with an euerlasting dowrie, with a diademe and scepter of immortalitie, hath giuen her authoritie to consecrate Saints, to assure them of heauen, to make them of mortall immortal creatures: All which prerogatives, Rob-

D ber as thou art, thou hast violently reft and taken from the Church to appropriat them vnto thy selfe. Thou art a wolfe vnto the Sheepe, a murderer of the liuing, and one which thrustest men into bell, couering thy sword all ouer with honie; so farr is it, that by thy helpe the dead may liue againe. Thou bearest the shew of a Pontife, but art a verie Tyrant; thou art in habit a Pastor, in heart a wolfe: Thy Title promiseth vs a Father, Et tu te factis Ionem ostentas, but in thy deeds thou carriest thy selfe as a god; thou callest thy selfe a Seruant of Seruants, and seekest by all means to become a Lord of Lords, and consequently, according to the doctrine of our Sauerour, thou art the least of all the Mi-

nisters of Gods Church: who yet in thy ambition runnest headlong to perdition, thinking euerie thing lawfull to be done, which it lusteth thee to doe: Fucus, factus es Christiania, and art become a waspe vnto the Christians. What could these men haue said more, vnlesse in plaine tearmes they should haue called him Antichrist? seeing that they

E plainly allude to that place in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, Shewing himselfe as if he were God. But for conclusion of all, they adde yet farther: For these causes, say they, we and our Collegues set not by thy commaunds, we care not for thy words, we feare not thy Bulls nor yet thy thunders: Thou damnest all men as impious, which obey not thy Decrees, and forbiddest them to sacrifice. But wee retorne thy sword into thy owne throat: thou which spittest in the face of our Lord Gods commaundement and decree, thou which breakest the vnitie and peace of our Christian societie, the verie badge and cognizance of the Prince of Heauen. After this they come to his pretended Primacie: The Holie Ghost, say they, is the author of all Churches in euerie corner of the world:

The

The Citie of our God, of which we are free denizens, reaching to emerie point of heauen, and is greater than that Babylon, foretold by the Prophets, which vsurpeth vpon the Truth, maketh it selfe equall with heauen, boasteth it selfe to be eternall, as if she were God, falsly glorying, that she neuer erred, nor can erre. This Epistle, related by an Annalist of these dayes, in the same sence, though somewhat different in words, with this conclusion in expresse tearmes, *We care not for thy sentence, as being a curse vnadvisedly pronounced, we will not communicate with thee, who doest communicate with the excommunicate; (sufficeth it vs to communicate with the whole Church, which thou despisest, whilest thou exaltest thy selfe aboue it: Et elationis tumore* (the verie word long before vsed by S. Gregorie) *and by thy swelling pride and insolence hast made thy selfe vnworthie of her, and hast distracted thy selfe from her Communion &c.* And know farther, that we are not thy Clerks, as thou braggest ouer vs, but thou shouldst take and account of vs as of thy brethren and fellow Bishops, if thy pride would giue thee leaue: They should haue said, Thy pride, which is vnseparable from the person of him whom thou representest at this day in the Church. And for the matter it selfe we may not omit, that this *Nicholas* in his letter, which we haue in the Decrete, sayth, That he tooke knowledge of this cause of *Lotharius* (which gaue occasion to all these stirres) as an arbitrator, by consent of parties, and consequently not as a judge founded in right of law or nature. And *Lotharius* himselfe in his letters to Pope *Adrian*, who succeeded *Nicholas*, saith, That he committed this cause to him *Ad tempus & in parte*, and therefore not to vse his absolute authoritie herein, but onely such as was committed by way of delegacie vnto him.

As for the attempts which Pope *Nicholas* made vpon our Bishops, in restoring so farre as he could *Rothard* Bishop of *Soissons*, deposed before by his Metropolitan, in the presence and with the assent of his fellow Bishops; *Hincmar* Archbishop of *Rheims* telleth him his owne, *Whereas* (sayth he) *your Benignitie hath willed me to assemble the whole companie of our brethren, and there, according to the tenor of your letters, to reintegrate Rothard Bishop of Soissons in his former place: your Paternitie must know that I could not so doe for manie sundrie reasons, namely, because he cannot be replaced but by the consent of those by whom he was deposed, of which, a great part say they will not meddle with his restitution, because they find not in him either life, or learning, or zeale, fit for that ministracion: and that, whereas it was expected, that at least he should haue bene somewhat ashamed of his deposing, he was on the contrarie growne more refractarie against the holie constitutions, the regall dignitie, and the priuiledges of the Metropolitans, and liuing now more scandalously than before; meaning since he had felt the support, and tasted the ayre of Rome.* And whereas *Nicholas* alledged to him the Canon of *Sardica*, he remonstrated vnto him, That by vertue of that verie Canon the Bishop of the first See ought not to restore a Bishop of another Prouince deposed, if he came vnto him to haue his cause reuiwed; but that he should send him backe againe to his owne Prouince, to haue his cause reuiwed there, if the cause so required, for that (as in the Councell of *Carthage* was contained) the matter can no where be so well examined as in the place where the crimes objected were said to haue bene committed: That if anie other course than this should be held in the restoring of *Rothard*, the censures of Bishops would be vilified and contemned both by the Clergie and by the people, who alreadie begin to speake hardly of the Popes authoritie: and in a word, that he could not doe this thing without wrong not onely to the priuiledge of Metropolitans, but also of all Ecclesiasticall constitutions.

Neither

Annal. incertii
Author. per
Per. Pithæum
in vulgus editi.

Si elatio per-
mitteret.

Ep. Hincmari
Archiepiscopi
Rhemens. ad
Nicolaum, apud
Floodardum.

Neither was there anie stronger beleefe in Germanie of the Popes not erring, than you haue heard in France; as appeared when he went about to establish his Decree of Single life: For hauing directed it to *Vldaric* Bishop of *Ausbourg*, with charge to put it in execution (not to rehearse what he said of the question it selfe, which we haue elsewhere set downe more at large) he telleth him in plaine tearmes, *That he was deuoid of reason, vniust, and insupportable: That hardly could the members of the bodie continue sound, seeing the Head was so ill affected; so farre estranged from true discretion, contrarie to the Euangelicall Institution, contrarie to the foretelling of the holie Spirit, to the examples of manie holie men, and the common aduise of the wiser sort, exhorting him to remoue this Pharisaeall, scandalous, and pestilent doctrine* from the flocke of *Christ*: and the verie stile it selfe of this Epistle is a sufficient warrant against all forgerie, to those who know what belongeth to it.

This Pope *Nicholas* went yet farther: for *Michael Bardas*, vncle to the Emperour *Michael*, succeeding in the Empire, had diuorced his wife, and was married to his daughter in law: *Ignatius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* cut him off for this sinne from the vnion of the Church. *Bardas* offended herewith, assembled a Synod, deposed *Ignatius*, and put one *Photius* in his place: whereupon arose a mutinie in *Constantinople*, some holding for *Photius*, others for *Ignatius*. The Emperour, to stint this strife, requested the Pope to send his Legats thither, who presently dispatched away *Rodoald* Bishop of *Port*, and *Zacharie* of *Anagnia*, giuing them instructions withall, to set vp Images againe, and aboute all to get in, if they could, his old patrimonie of *Sicile* and *Calabria*. These Legats, contrarie to his imagination (woon as it should seeme by the Emperour) ratified the deposition of *Ignatius*, and installation of *Photius*. *Nicholas* frustrate of his desire (which was vpon this occasion to oblige *Ignatius* to himselfe) disauowed his Legats, and for exceeding the bounds of their commission degraded them. Now in the declaration of this matter we are especially to obserue the answer which he made vnto the Emperour, who in his letters to him had sufficiently made knowne vnto him, That he desired not his helpe as to judge of a cause alreadie sentenced, but onely for the more easie execution of the sentence giuen, and for the more speedie pacifying of the troubles ensuing thereupon: and it is great pitie that we haue not his letter at large, but must be content with so much of it as the Pope is pleased to alledge vnto vs. But we may by *Nicholas* his answers easily perceiue, that *Bardas* spake mainly against his Primacie, because he is so earnest in the defence thereof: For (saith he) *if they which sit in Moses chaire ought to be heard, how much more they who sit in the chaire of S. Peter: and will not see that a man may denie him the ground on which his argument is founded. And againe he telleth him, That neuer anie Bishop of Constantinople was deposed without the consent of the Pope.* How hard a matter had it bene for him to haue proued this assertion? For what consent was euer required of them, other than as they were deposed in Councels, where peradventure the Popes Legats had their place as other Bishops had? Or should he not rather haue shewed, that at least someone Archbishop of *Constantinople* had bene ordained by them? Thirdly, he alledgeth the Councell of *Chalcedon*, where it is said (saith he) in this manner, *If a Clergie man hath a controuersie, either against his owne Bishop, or against anie other, let the cause be heard in a Prouinciall Synod: if a Bishop or a Clerke complaine against a Metropolitan of the same Prouince, let him repaire to the Primat of the Dioces, or to the See of Constantinople.*

Vvho

Nicol. ep. ad
Michael. Im-
perator. 20. 2.
Concilior.

Who would haue thought that the Pope had had such Logicke in store, to proue by these words, that men ought to appeale from Constantinople to Rome? Yet he concludeth, *What could the Synod (saith he) meane by the Primat of the Dioces, but the Vicar of the chiefe Apostle? Now the Canon which he meaneth is the ninth Canon of this Councell, where it is said, Diocesis Ægyptior, Exarchum adeat, Let him goe to the Exarch of the Dioces, not the Primate: where Balsamon teacheth vs, That Διοίκησις or a Dioces contained more Prouinces than one, and consequently the Exarch had more than one Metropolitan vnder him, but that this power of the Exarchs is now no longer vsed in the Church, and therefore from the Metropolitan the plaintife was to goe directly to the See of Constantinople. But Nicholas addeth farther, whereas (saith he) it is said, the Primat of the Dioces in the singular number, we must vnderstand it as if it had bene said, the Primat of the Dioces in the plurall: as it is said in the Scriptures, A fountaine sprung out of the earth, that is, manie fountaines &c. What presumption is this to thinke, that the world will hold it selfe well apaied with such copper coyne? But with like impudencie doth he alledge the fixt Canon of the Nicene Councell, and the decrees of his owne predecessors for the Primacie of his See; witnesse, as a man would say, taken out of his owne bosome, and brought to testifie in his owne cause, such as were Boniface, Gelasius, and the rest. The onely thing which he alledgeth as pertinent and proper to debarre the Emperour from intermedling in Church matters, is this which followeth, Before the coming of Christ (saith he) there were such as was Melchisedech, both Kings and Priests together, which the diuels also counterfeited, in as much as the Heathen Emperours were also high Priests; but since we are come to him which is the true King and Priest all in one, the Emperour hath not medled with the office of the Priest, nor the Priest with the title of the Emperour: who, had he foreseene the vsurpations of his successors in possessing the seat of the Empire in Italie, and making themselves to be called and taken for no lesse than Kings of Kings and Lords of Lords, he would no doubt haue forborne this clause: for what followeth thereof, but that in this point they are like Sathan, who by a tyrannicall inspiration would take vnto themselves both the one and the other, as Gratian himselfe expresseth in his Decrete.*

D. 96. C. Cum ad verum.

32. PROGRESSION.

How Pope Nicholas flattered and iustified Basilus in the murder of the Emperour Michael, by his fauour to encrease his owne authoritie in the East.

Nicholas hauing sent away this goodlie dispatch to Michael by his Legats, *Dionate* Bishop of Ostia, *Stephen* Bishop of Nepete, and *Marinus* a simple Deacon, died; and his Legats arriued at Constantinople at the instant, when *Basilus*, whom *Michael* had associated in the Empire, had traiterously murdered him, to take the Empire wholly into his owne hands: and much about that verie time it was, that *Nicholas* also departed this life, about the end of the yeare 866, or as other say in the yeare 867. After *Nicholas* succeeded *Adrian* the second, elected by the Clergie and people, without once calling the Emperours Lieutenants to the election, though then present in the Citie: And when the Lieutenants complained thereof, answere was made, That it was done in no contempt of the Emperour, but onely to shun an inconuenience hereafter, in attending and expecting his

An. 866.

his embassadors, if they should happen to be away. *Sigonius* sayth, For feare least that by staying for the Kings embassadors for the choise of a Pope, there might some wrong right accrue vnto the King. *Anastasius* saith it was to prouide for time to come, least that by this meanes they should grow to a custome of staying for the embassadors: which yet the Emperour, troubled at that present, what with the Sarafens abroad, what with secret practises at home, was faine to swallow. Meane while it came to passe, that *Basilus* offered himselfe to receiue the holic Communion, but was put backe by the Patriarch *Photius*, who declared vnto him, that hauing killed a man, and him an Emperour, with his owne hand, he had made himselfe vnworthie so much as to come into the Church. *Basilus* to be reuenged of this affront, resolved to call a Synod, and by his embassadors requested *Nicholas* to be present at it. The embassadors finding *Nicholas* dead, and *Adrian* in his roome, deliucted their message vnto him, who knew well how to make his profit both of this murder, and of the rage and choler of *Basilus* (as *Boniface* the third, one of his predecessors, had done before him, in the case of *Phocas*) it being naturall to all things to receiue their encrease in the same manner as they had their beginning: and therefore he continued those Legats before named, which *Nicholas* had sent. The particular clauses of *Adrians* letter to *Basilus* are worth the noting, He (saith *Adrian*) which holdeth in his hand the power and authoritie of Kingdomes, hath from heauen set vp thy Empire at this time in earth, by which the Apostolike See might come to the end of that worke which it hath long since begun &c. Thou art another *Satan*, who hast barked to the words of God thy father, and hast not forsaken the law of thy mother: and so goeth on, justifying his proceedings against the Patriarch *Photius*, who for his murther had barred the Emperour from the communion of the Church: all which tended onely to procure a Synod to be called by the meanes of the Emperour, wherein his Legats, as he said, should preside, which to that day they neuer could get to doe in anie Generall Councell. And this is that Councell which they called the eight Generall Councell, wherein *Photius* was deposed, and *Ignatius* restored. And with what violence these things were carried, it may appeare by the verie preface, wherein the Patriarch *Photius* is reamed *Lucifer*, and Pope *Nicholas* another *Elias*. But the carriage of this Councell is worth the obseruation, being such as it is described by *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, one of the embassadors, which was this: Pope *Adrian* had giuen instructions to his embassadors, taken from *Nicholas* the first, wherein was contained, what he would haue belceued and decreed concerning the primacie of the Bishop of Rome, and the adoration of Images; with strict charge to admit none to the Councell, who had not first set his hand to Articles drawne to these two effects; which was so exactly put in execution, that whosoeuer would not ser to his hand, was repelled from the Synod: and so was it no hard matter to carrie a cause, where there was no aduerse part to contradict him. And it is scarce credible, what absurdities these good Legats committed, or let to passe, onely that they might obtaine what they desired, making no scruple of anie blasphemie: wherefore they got this Decree to passe, That none might write or speake against the Pope of Rome, vnder paine of Anathema: That if anie Generall Councell should assemble, and question should there happen to arise concerning the Church of Rome, the Church her selfe should be reuerently consulted thereupon: That they should receiue her answere, and doe accordingly, without passing anie bold sentence or decree, in preiudice of the soueraigne Romishes of old Rome: and this is the 21 Canon. And further note, that this is the first Generall Councell wherein the Popes Legats presided: which they mention

Sigon. de Reg. Ital. lib. 5.

Anast. in Nico. 1.

Miss. sui.

Anast. in Adrian. 2.

concl. vniuers. 8. sub uult. Can. 21.

R

almost

almost in euerie line, ſo great need had this wretched Emperour to ſeek their fauour. And theſe you ſee were the meanes they vſed to ſet forward their authoritie in the Eaſt: neither were thoſe anie better which they vſed in the Weſt, namely in our Fraunce, where beſides the continuall jarres which they alwaies maintained in the race of *Charlemaigne*, they euer cheriſhed thoſe Biſhops, who were moſt engaged in them; namely the Archbiſhop of Bourges, vpon the controuerſie which he had with *Hincmar*, and which was debated in the Synod at Troies in Champaine; alluring him by the profer of a Pall; and *Aſtard*, though not yet prouided of anie Biſhopricke: to make them ſure on his ſide againſt *Hincmar*, the defender of the Liberties of the French Churches, whom himſelfe in his letters commendeth for his ſanctitie of life, *The renowne of thy ſanctitie* (ſaith he) *is neuer without commendation*: and againe, *Persuade your ſelfe* (ſayth he) *that we beare as great loue vnto you, as if we had conferred together a thouſand times &c.* and yet ceaſed not to perfecute him with all extremitie and violence.

OPPOSITION.

But to returne to this, falſely ſo called, the eight Generall Council; notwithstanding that *Baſilius* were verie deſirous to oblige *Adrian* to him, yet would he not forgoe his right in calling the Council: for in the Preface thereunto he vſeth theſe words, *The diuine bountie* (ſaith he) *hauing committed vnto vs the ſterne of the vniuerſall ſhip* (meaning thereby the Church) *we haue ſpeciall care aboute all other things to breake the tempeſts of the Clergie*. Neither was this anie controuerſed point betwene them: for the Biſhops themſelues there aſſembled in the ſixth Actiō ſay; *That the Emperour crowned of God hath called this holie Generall Council*. And in the ſeventh, *He hath vſed all diligence* (ſay they) *to ſummon thither the Legats of the other Patriarchs, and hath ſo farre preuailed as to make it a Generall Council*. And Pope *Stephen* himſelfe in his letter to *Baſilius*, wherein (ſayth he) *hath the Church of Rome offended*? Hath not ſhe, according to the ancient cuſtome of the Synods of Conſtantinople, *as thy commaund ſent thither her Legats*? And thus much for the calling of it. As for the manner of proceeding, *Anaſtaſius* telleth vs, That the Biſhops hauing committed that groſſe fault, in ſetting their hands vnauſedly to the Articles, came weeping to the Emperour, and told him, That by their ſubſcription they had put the Church of Conſtantinople in ſubjection vnder the Church of Rome: That all the Decrees of this Council ought to be reuiſed, that they would take out their bookes againe, that otherwiſe it was impoſſible to recover their loſt libertie. So that they got ſome part of their bookes againe, notwithstanding the anger of *Baſilius*, who ſtood wholly for the Church of Rome. But the miſchiefe was, that the Popes Legats forecaſting this inconuenience, had gotten into their hands the papers of the moſt principall among the Biſhops, wherein they vſed the helping hand of one *Sypon* the archmiſter, and of *Anaſtaſius* himſelfe. And hence it is, that the Grecians no waies hold this Council as Generall, ſaying, That all things therein were carried by oppreſſion and violence, and therefore they call the Council of Florence, held ſix hundred yeares after, the eight vniuerſall Council, and that other a Provinciall onely, and called, not vpon anie queſtion of faith, but onely to bring in the authoritie of the Pope for the depoſing of *Photius* in fauour of the Emperour. And our *Aimonius* ſpeaking of this Council, according to the judgement, no doubt, which men had of it in Fraunce in thoſe daies, ſpeaketh in this wiſe, *Hauing* (ſayth he) *aſſembled a Council, which they that were at it called the eight vniuerſall Council, they*

To. 4. part. xi.
editio. Venet.
apud Binnium,
part. 2. fo. 3.
pag. 886, 892,
900.

Te imperante.

Jouerius in
litat. de oſſa.
Synodo.

- A they tooke away the ſchiſme, concerning the depoſition of *Ignatius*, and the election of *Photius*, reſtoring *Ignatius*, and pronouncing *Anathema* againſt his competitor. In this Synod they decreed concerning the adoration of Images, otherwiſe than the Orthodox Eaſters had aunciently defined: beſides ſome thing which they there decreed in fauour of the Pope, in regard that he had concurred with them in the adoration of Images: ſome things alſo did they ordaine contrarie to the auncient Canons, and ſome things contrarie to their owne Synod, as he ſhall eaſily perceiue that will but take the paines to read this Council: yet was he a Monke that ſpake theſe words. And ſhall *Baronius* be admitted to ſay, that this was one of thoſe old doting Frenchmen, which could not away with Images? yet can none of all theſe things be found now in the Tomes of the Councils. And *Bartholmew Caranza*, a Iacobin, ſayth, That he found the Latine copies of this Council ſo falſe, that he knew not which to chuſe, and that he could not find anie Greeke copie to correct them by: ſo that the caſe thus ſtanding, they may put anie thing vpon vs. *Baronius* to proue vnto vs that this is one of the Generall Councils, telleth vs, That the Popes were wont at their election to take an oath for the obſeruance of the Generall Councils, amongſt which this is reckoned the eight in order. But who ſeeth not that they did ſo for their owne proper intereſt? and yet can he not pardon the Cardinall *Julian*, who preſided in the Council of Florence, as Legat to the Pope, for that vpon the reaſons vſed by *Marc* Biſhop of Ephesus, he conſented to haue this Council diſcarded, *I will free you* (ſaith he, ſpeaking to the Greeke Biſhops) *of this feare, there ſhall no one word of this Council be recited &c.* And againe, *we care not for this Council*: whereas, ſaith *Baronius*, *to goe from this Council were to caſt away both ſword and buckler of the Church of Rome*. In which Council yet there were but 107 Biſhops, and all corrupted by *Adrian* and *Baſilius*.

Now in ſtead of repreſſing the impietie of this Emperour, they made good vſe of it; for, to make it yet more euidently to appeare, that they aimed at no other marke but onely at the greatneſſe of the Clergie: in the 14 Canon it is thus ordained, *That Biſhops ſhould not goe forth to meet Princes, and that when they happened to meet with them, they ſhould not alight from their Mules or Horſes: That Princes and Emperors ſhould hold them as fellowes and equal to themſelues: If anie Biſhop ſhall line baſe and meanely, or ruſtically after the old faſhion, that he ſhall be depoſed for a whole yeare: if the Prince be cauſe of his ſo lining, that he be excommunicated for two yeares.* And the 17 Canon forbiddeth Princes and Emperours to be preſent at Synods, unleſſe it be at generall Councils. And the 22 diſableth them and all Laies whomſoener to be preſent at the election or promotion of anie Patriarch, Metropolitan, or Biſhop, vnder paine of excommunication: whereby no doubt the Popes Legats thought they had ſhut the Emperours of the Weſt cleane out of their Conclaues, vſing one Emperour as a rod alwaies to ſcourge the other. As for the point of Appeals to Rome, they could not effect it: for the 26 Canon is plaine, *That who ſo findeth himſelfe aggriued with his Biſhop, ſhall appeale to his Metropolitan, and from the Metropolitan to the Patriarch, à quo litibus finis imponatur, who ſhall make a full end of the controuerſie*: and therefore meant not to run to Rome, as *Nicholas* would haue had them. And it was euen at the inſtant when the Articles were offered them to ſubſcribe, that they made their proteſtation againſt them.

In this Synod there appeared yet another notable ambition of the Popes: for the Bulgarians being formerly Painims, receiued Chriſtianitie in the time of *Nicholas*, who ſent them Biſhops for their inſtruction. *Michael* their Prince ſent his embaffadors to the Synod, who comming before them, *That we may not* (ſay they)

Aimoni. Monachus, l. 4. c. 23.
Baron. vol. 10.
an. 869. art. 59.
62, 63.

seeme to erre in our owne opinions, we desire to be informed by you, which supplie the places of the Great Patriarches, to what Church we are to belong. The Popes Legats replied presently, That they ought to belong to the Roman Church. The Bulgarians requested, That the matter might be resolved and agreed vpon with the Legats of other Patriarches there present. The Romanists replied, That there was no more to be done with them: and therefore, without euer putting it to the Synod, pronounced absolutely, That they must belong to Rome. The Easterne Bishops put this question to the Bulgarians, *When you first tooke the country, said they, from whom tooke ye it? and the Priests which you found there, were they Greekes or Latines?* They answered, *That they tooke the country from the Grecians, and that they found there none but Greeke Bishops.* Whereupon the Easterne Bishops inferred, That they were doubtlesse ordained at Constantinople, and so consequently should belong to that Church. Thereupon the Legats replied, That Churches were not bounded by the diuersitie of tongues: That kingdomes and Sees differed in their jurisdictions: That they had the presumption on their side, who had giuen them their first Bishops: That all Epirus, Thassalie, and Dardania, had bin euer belonging to their jurisdiction. The Easterne Bishops on the contrarie, demanded vpon which of these they would principally stand. In the end the violence and pride of the Roman Legats ouerswayed, who told the Synod, *That the Church of Rome held not that Council for a competent Iudge of her controuersies, who was her selfe, by speciall prerogatiue, to iudge of all other Churches: That, decree they what they lusted, it should be, as little regarded, as it was lightly enacted: That from this present time, they, by the authoritie of the holie Ghost, pronounced a nullitie in whatsoever they should decree, vntill the See of Rome had determined thereof.* And so the holie Ghost, who was to Preside in the Councell, Resided onely in their persons. And they farther adured the Patriarch *Ignatius*, by the authoritie of the Apostles and of *Adrian*, who had restored him to his See, nor to suffer Bulgaria to be taken from them. Who made them a doubtfull answer, telling them, *That he was neither so young as to be lightly deceiued, neither yet so verie a dotard, as to do that himselfe which he found fault withall in others.* And there rested this contestation betweene them, being questionlesse a great scandall to the consciences of these poore conuerted, who saw at first that these men sought not the enlargement of Christs kingdome, but of their owne jurisdiction; and iniurious to the Emperour, who offended with these proceedings, though dissembling it, tooke no order for their passe and safe-conduct into their country: So that hauing been certaine dayes at sea, they fell into the hands of the Sclauons, who stript them of all that euer they had, took away the original of the Councell, with the subscriptions of the Bishops, and left them nothing but the copie of *Athanasius*; and had peradventure lost their liues, but that some of their companie escaping, the Sclauons feared the matter might come to light, and they one day receive the like measure. The issue of all was, That doe *Adrian* what he could, the Bulgarians put out the Latine Priests, and sent for others in their roomes to Constantinople; and so remained they in obedience to that Church. Whereupon they grew so odious to the Popes, that they called that sinne condemned from heauen, after their name, *Bulgarie*, thereby to make them odious and abominable to all men. And this was the end of *Adrians* enterprises in the East.

33. PROGRESSION.

Of the attempts of Pope Adrian both vpon the Clergie, and also vpon the kings of France.

LET vs now see whether he sped any better in the West. *Hincmar* Bishop of Laon, nephew vnto *Hincmar* Archbishop of Reimes, the most learned Bishop of France, had surrendered certaine Church goods into the hands of *Charles* the Bauld, to bestow them vpon a certaine Norman captaine, from whom he would needs shortly after take them away againe; and because the Norman would not resigne them, but into the hands of the king from whom he had them, therefore *Hincmar* excommunicated him: for which, in a Synod held at Vernons, he was reprobud, and sharply censured: he thereupon appealed to Rome, but they refused to grant him any letters dimissorie; yet he continued still in his stubbornnesse, vntill at length there was assembled another Councell at Attigni, consisting of ten Prouinces, where he was againe condemned; and thereupon promised to submit himselfe to the good pleasure of the king, and of *Hincmar* his Metropolitan and vncle: and yet vnder hand signified the matter vnto the Pope, procuring him to euocate the whole cause to Rome, and himselfe to be serued with Proccesse to appeare there at a day, making the best of his owne cause to *Adrian*. Whereupon *Adrian* wrote vnto king *Charles*, who yet would not license the other to goe to Rome: and then did *Adrian* write him that bloudie letter, calling him *Tyrant*, *periuiced*, *perfidious*, and a *spoiler of the Church goods*: and what not? And for conclusion, as well to him as to *Hincmar* the Metropolitan, *We*, saith he, *by authoritie Apostolike will and commaund, That thou cause Hincmar of Laon, and his accusers, to come before our Clemencie, to the end that we may pronounce our sentence of his cause.* And wee shall see anone how well he was obeyed. But not long after he made a farre more violent attempt vpon him. The Emperour *Lewis* hauing, as we have already said, quietly swallowed the election of *Adrian*, made without calling his Lieutenants to it, made the Pope to like well of him, and gaue him an appetite to trie his authoritie somewhere else. It came to passe about this time, that *Lotharius* king of Lorraine died, and *Charles* king of France, and *Lewis* of Germanie, both vncles to the deceased, intending to succeed in his inheritance, *Adrian* set vp *Lewis* of Italie, Emperour; thundering more violently than euer had done his predecessor, wrote to all Kings, Barons, and Prelats of France, namely, to *Hincmar* of Reimes, *That none should presume to invade or take vnto him the kingdome of Lotharius deceased, nor yet his subiects and vassals, because, saith he, it appertaineth to the Emperour Lewis, his spirituall sonne, by right of inheritance, and ought to fall vnto him by the others decease. And if any officer shall presume the contrarie, he declareth him Anathema, no longer to be called a Christian, and to dwell for euer with the diuells, if he be a Bishop, and hath in any sort consented therunto, or winked therat, declareth him to be no longer a Pastor, but an hireling, and as one that hath no care of his sheepe, deprived of his Pastorall dignitie and honour.* Yet *Charles* hearing of the death of *Lotharius*, removed into Lorraine, and being received by the Barons and Prelats there, as their lawfull king, was crowned at Metz, by *Hincmar* Archbishop of Reimes: So that *Adrian* pursuing his point, charged him by his Legats, vnder paine of excommunication to forbear; and *Hincmar* to pronounce the censures of the Church against him, and to separat himselfe from him, and not to say so much as *Good morrow* to him. And this

this was a great way gone in a little time. But let vs see what answer our French A made hereunto.

OPPOSITION.

Hincmar.

Epist. ad Adria.
Extant etiam
apud Baron. an.
861. art. 93. &
sequent. to. 10.

Hincmar therefore, Archbishop of Reimes, answered him, That as touching Hincmar of Laon, He had no power, without expresse order from the king, to send him, or any other Bishop of his diocesse, to Rome; or to any other place; much lesse the Bishops of other Provinces: and that himselfe, without leaue from the king, might not offer to set foot out of the realme. The kings answer, though it be long, as taking vp, after his owne account, foure leaues of paper, and therefore not fit to be inserted into this discourse, yet shall it not be amisse to alledge the chiefe points, and principall causes thereof; which are as followeth: We read, saith he, in the booke of Paralipomenon, That the children of Israel went forth to battell with a quiet mind, because they were not to fight in malice or enuie for reuenge, but with a desire, & in hope of peace. And we let you to know, you which by letters your (little befitting the authoritie of a king, much lesse the humble modestie of a Bishop) haue disgraced vs by reproches, that you make vs write vnto you otherwise than we would; to the end that you may perceiue that we are a man, though subiect to mens passions, yet one that walketh in the Image of God, not void of common sense, raised to this kinglie throne by the grace of God, and by right of succession to our father and grandfather: and which is more than this, a Christian, a Catholike, an obseruer of the Orthodox and true Religion, brought vp from our cradle as well in knowledge of the Scriptures, as in the vnderstanding of good and wholesome lawes, both Ecclesiasticall and Ciuile, not accused either Legally or Canonically in any Episcopall audience, much lesse convicted of any publike and notorious crime; who yet haue not bene able to preuaile so farre by our honourable letters, as to receiue any reasonable answer from you, nor yet to haue that respect and due regard as was wont to passe betweene your predecessors and ours, &c. In the entrance of your letters you commend indeed our wisdom, but presently you charge vs (in shew more fairely, in effect more grievously) with murmuring, repining, & grutching against your Fatherhood, with sundrie other reproaches and imputations. In your former letters you called vs Tyrant, periured, and spoiler of Church goods, whereas we haue neither confessed any such thing against our selfe, neither by any course of law haue any such crimes bene proued against vs: And in this other which you haue sent by Aitar, one of our Bishops, you accuse vs of murmuring and mutinie. For our owne part, we would not beleuee that those letters came from you, because the holie See hath euer bene wont to correct euerie man according to his qualitie and ranke, with good sobrietie and discretion: Now if we haue spoken euill, beare witnesse of the euill; but if well, why grow you into such choler against vs? Abraham could say vnto God, and Godooke it not in ill part, Wilt thou destroy the iust with the wicked; and yet you grow much offended, when we tell you, That you ought not to pronounce any man guiltie of a crime, without either confession of the partie, or conuiction by course of law, much lesse vnto a king as a priuat person, and condemne him as convicted. You are not ignorant, how great a sinne it is, to say vnto his brother, Racha; how much greater to say so to a king, both by the doctrine of the Apostle, and by the practise of Dauid in the person of Saul, though a reprobate from God? And yet in your letters you aduise vs, to receiue ioyfully, and with an humble heart, all that commeth from the Apostolike See of Rome: Is it your meaning then, that we should so well relish these tearms of Tyrant, periured, and perfidious person: or must we needs say of you with the Poet, Quicquid calcaeris, Rosa fiat, wheruer you tread red Roses grow? Or may we not rather say with the Prophet, Woe be to them which call that sweet which is bitter, &c. Or if we should hold our peace and winke at this, should wee not confesse our selues

A felues fallen from this royall dignitie, and from the communion of the Catholike Church, &c. Write you vnto vs things befitting our calling and yours, and then will we, as you did, receiue them with a willing and a thankfull mind. As for your letters, at least those which come vnto vs in your name, they euer charge vs with some fault, without either prooff, or inquiry: yet the Apostle giueth you a rule in these cases; Argue, obsecra, increpa, Argue, beseech, repara, in all patience and doctrine. And saint Augustine saith, That the Apostle would not that we should stand condemned another upon suspicion, neither yet should we run to extraordinary prooves, but rather after the law of God, and order of the Church; at her confessing of himselfe, or conuicted by his accuser. And afterward coming to the matter concerning Hincmar of Laon, You write, saith he, vnto vs in your letters, in this manner, We will and command by a Apostolike authoritie, that Hincmar of Laon appeare before our clemanitie, and that his accuser appeare also with him, &c. a stile not used heretofore by your predecessors, when they wrote to ours. And although we perceiue, that you goe about to bring into the Church of God, in stead of the cleere light of simplicitie and humilitie, the thicke mist of the pride of this world; yet will we haue a better opinion of your will and proceeding, considering a bad man, as a man may doe, that in hast which upon better consideration should well be done againe. But where doth your Secretarie find, That the Apostolike See may commaund a king, who by his office is a correcter of the faultie, a chastiser of offenders, and by all law, both Ecclesiasticall and Temporal, a reuenger of crimes committed, to send a offender to Rome, condemned already by due course of law, and according to the Canons, for his disorders, and one who before his depriving was conuicted before three severall Synods, to haue endeavored the disturbande of the common peace and tranquillities: and since his depriving hath persisted in his obstinacie, by himselfe and others, &c. Know therefore, saith he, as we haue already writtzen vnto you, That we Kings of France, and of royallie spring, are not to be reckoned as Vicedomes and Vicegerents of Bishops, but Lords of the Earth. And so goeth hee on to proue by the testimonies of holie Scriptures, out of the mouth of our Sauour and his Apostles, and by the sayings of Augustine, Leo, and of the Synod of Rome it selfe, what is due from all men, and from Bishops themselues, to the royall dignitie. And, saith he, if you search your offices, you shall find, that our ancestors neuer received any such commaunds from your predecessors; not Theodorick and Theodobert from saint Gregorie, when he wrote for Vrcisin of Turin: But if, saith he, it be true (to wit, that he was deposed contrarie to the Canons) we intreat you, that of your owne accord, in reuerence of the Church and regard of equitie, you would be pleased to grant our request. Neither used he any other stile when he wrote to the Exarch, who yet was inferior to our ranke) in the cause of Blondus Bishop of Ortana, whom the Exarch held prisoner at Rauenna: We cannot beleuee, saith he, that your Excellencie holdeth him there, without some probable cause: and therefore it is fit his cause should be heard in a Synod, to see whether his fault be such as may deserue deprivation, to the end we may put another in place. Thus spake he of Bishops not yet deposed for their crimes, and therefore iudge, whether in the case of one which hath bene legallie and orderlie deprived for his enormities, by the iudgement of a Synod, he would haue commaunded vs as you haue done, Nec eum nostra fretum potentia Romam mittamus, That by our power we should send him to Rome. Saint Augustine saith vnto Ianuarisus, All these things which are not contained in the holie Scriptures, nor ordained in the Councils of Bishops, nor confirmed by generall custome, I thinke fit they should be taken away. Wherethen did your Scribe find this law, which neither the Lord hath written with his owne fonger, nor inspired, saith hee written, which he neuer ordained in the hand of a Mediator, which no Patrimo euer commaunded, no Christian euer proposed, nor any Church-man hath decreed, by which he commaunded

Non Vicedomi-
ni, sed terrę do-
mini.

me to be a favourer of a man condemned, and excommunicated by the Church; Me, I say, A
 a King established by God, girt with a two-edged sword, a revenger of the wicked, and de-
 fender of the good, when he bids me send Hincmar to Rome, one that hath broken the
 lawes, disgraced the Priesthood, and wronged the Royall Dignitie, a troubler of the State,
 a periwred person, a mutiner, a scourge of his Church, sacrilegious, scandalous to the coun-
 trey wherein he lucth, not caring to crosse one of his deeds with another, nor to doe con-
 trarie to his owne hand writing: and who seeth not that this law was vomited out of the
 bottome of hell it selfe, &c. But the holie Scriptures chalke vs out the way which we must
 walke, against such lawes: Christ, the power and wisdom of God, saith, By me Kings
 raigne, and by me Princes decree iust things. The holie Councels also shew what is to be
 done, namely, that of Afrike, &c. Likewise the Emperours, Valens, Gratian, Valentinian, B
 Iustinian, and others. Which lawes ought to be obserued, not onely by other Bishops, but
 also by the Popes themselues: which Leo the Pope writing to Leo the Emperour well ac-
 knowledged: so did Gelasius to Anastasius, as by their words may and doth appeare. And
 therefore, saith he, we hold vs to that: for the Lord telleth vs by his Prophet, That the
 lips of the Priest shall preserve knowledge, and man shall seeke the law at his mouth. And
 therefore you may not suffer any man in your name to write that to vs which is not con-
 tained either in the holie Scriptures indited by the wisdom of God; or at least in the ho-
 lie Canons published by his spirit. For the Prophet saith to the Priest which commandeth,
 Thou shalt declare to them that which thou hast heard of me: Of me, saith he, not of thy
 selfe: and they are blamed who speake of their owne mind; because he that speaketh of him-
 selfe, seeketh his owne glorie. Let no man in your name write vnto vs, visions, threats
 of excommunications, contrarie to the beaten way of the Scriptures, the writings of the
 Fathers, the sacred Lawes and holie Canons: For you know, and so doe we, that what soeuer
 is repugnant to this, is void and of none effect. It was said to S. Peter (saith S. Leo) To thee
 will I giue the keyes, &c. The right of this power passed to all the Apostles, and this de-
 cree to all the chiefe of the Church, &c. and consequently this prerogative of Saint Peter
 is common to euerie one which iudgeth according to the equitie of Saint Peter: For when
 it is said, Vbicunq; as no place is excepted, so likewise is no Bishop which iudgeth accord-
 ing to the equitie of Saint Peter: As on the contrarie no Bishop is commended which
 iudgeth contrarie to the same, He should haue said, no not the Bishops themselves D
 of Rome. And whereas the Pope gaue order, That together with Hincmar should
 come a competent accuser, to haue the whole cause reuiued in his presence,
 Although, saith he, this be grounded vpon no reason, yet if you thinke Hincmar to be law-
 lesse, and if your Emperour my nephew will be consent, that I shall passe through Italie to
 Rome, I will not faile to be there, so soone as by the grace of God I shall be able to set my
 realme in some good order against the Painims. And because my selfe accused him in open
 Synod, I will be there in person, a competent accuser against him in many causes: and we
 will bring so many and so great accusers of all sorts with vs, that we will very sufficient-
 ly proue, that he was lawfully and orderly accused and conuicted. To conclude, because you
 haue ouershot your selfe in what is already past, we now entreat you for the honour of God, E
 and in reuerence to the holie Apostles, that from hence forward you send no such mandats
 either to vs or to our Prelats, or to the great men of our kingdome: least we be enforced to
 dishonour them, and those which bring them. Which we tell you of beforehand, for the
 honour of your priuiledge, because we desire to be obedient vnto you in all things that are
 fitting, as vnto the Vicar of Saint Peter. But you must also take heed, that you driue vs
 not to take that course which is both approued and commended in the first generall Coun-
 cell, concerning the Apostolike authoritie, and in the Synodall Epistle of Saint Gregorie
 to the foure Patriarches, and the foure precedents Epistles (all which treat of the orde-
 ring

A ring and limiting of Ecclesiasticall powers and jurisdictions:) which we would not
 insert into these our letters, till we might see whether we may bend you so mitigate the ri-
 gour of your commaunds: For looke what is sent vnto us in the name of the Seo Aposto-
 like, according to the holie Scriptures, and the preachings of our auncestors, and the De-
 crees of the Orthodox Fathers, we know we ought to follow: But what euer commeth be-
 sides, come it from whom it will, we know how to reiect and to controll it: Last of all, if
 in this answer there be any thing misbecoming me or you, you haue forced me thereunto.
 Such were the letters which passed betweene king Charles the Bauld, and Adrian
 the second, though he had giuen him not long before some hope to make him
 Emperour, though any other would giue him bushels of gold: offering him indeed an
 B Empire, but as he did in the defart, vpon condition, That he would fall down and
 worship him. And this Charles was he which, a few yeares before, first made a
 breach vpon the liberties of the French Synods, when about the yeare 853; ha-
 uing held a Synod at Soissons, two or three yeares after he sent the Acts thereof
 to Benedicte the third, thinking onely to gratifie him, and neuer considering vnto
 what consequence his successors might draw the same. Our French Bishops writ
 much after the same maner, & vpon the same argument, vnto Adrian being assem-
 bled in Synod at Doufy: wherein they call him *Prime Sedis Papam*; complaining,
 That they were vtterly mistaken, and casting the fault vpon his multitude of other
 C busineses, that he had not more maturely considered of their Acts, which were
 in all points agreeing with the holie Canons.

As for the Excommunication which Adrian thundered out against this Charles,
 we could wish we had his owne Epistle in answer to it; but Hincmars the Arch-
 bishop of Reimes we haue, who receiued command from the Pope to pronounce
 it, and we will here produce the principall clauses thereof. And first of all, hauing
 complained of many grieuous reproofes and menaces receiued, he declareth vn-
 to him, That he had imparted the tenor of his letters to the great ones and Pre-
 lats of the kingdome; and which was more, had caused them to be openly read
 in an assemblie of Bishops of France and Lorraine, and had shewed Lewis king of
 Germanie the aboue mentioned letter, wherein he was commaunded by Adrian,
 D to excommunicat by his authoritie, all those who attempted any thing vpon the
 kingdome of Lotharius deceased: I vnderstand, saith he, that like letters haue beene
 sent to the glorious king Lewis, and to the great ones and Bishops of his kingdome, which
 you, who are his naturall borne subiect, should best know. But coming afterwards to
 the matter, he letteth him to vnderstand, That he is informed by diuers, that the
 two kings had agreed to diuide this kingdome equally betweene them; without
 which the people had long ere this beene vp in armes: That therefore hee know-
 eth not what to doe, seeing he must either disobey his commaund, or disallow of
 the treatie and accord made betweene the two kings. That whereas he saith, That
 no man better than himselfe knoweth the great wrong which Charles doth herein;
 E he plainly telleth him, That in case he did know, yet would hee not therevpon
 doe any thing, seeing that Charles confesseth no such matter of himselfe, neither
 standeth he legally or canonically conuict thereof: But rather protesteth, and ma-
 ny there are which beare him witness, That this part of the kingdome of Lor-
 raine, was by the consent and assent as well of the Bishops as of the great ones of
 the Empire, giuen him by his father Lewis, and confirmed to him by oath by his
 brother Lotharius. That therefore he taketh that Canon of the Councell of A-
 frike to be spoken to him as well as to all other Bishops: whereby men are for-
 bidden to lay a crime to a mans charge, which he is not able to euict by proofes:
 because,

Baron. vol. 10.
an. 871. art. 79.

An. 853.

Qui de regno
eius est.

because as *S. Augustine*, who was there present, saith, *Manie things are true, which yet a Judge may not beleue without sufficient proofes*: That he hath no power to put anie man from the Communion for a crime, neither confessed by the defendand nor proued by the informer: That otherwise they should make themselves both judges and accusers, which were not lawfull; alledging for his authoritie the rule of the Apostle, and the practise of the Church, with sundrie places out of *Augustin, Gelasius, Boniface*, and others. And whereas he is charged by him as a partaker or rather author of this vnjust inuasion, because he held his peace, and stirred not as he was commaunded, his answer is, That *Adrian* should remember that it was written, *The cause which I vnderstood not, I searched out with diligence*: and that *Gregorie* sayth, That God, to whose eyes all things are open, yet in the verie case of Sodome sayth, *I will goe downe and see*, to teach vs to be well informed before we beleue a fault. And whereas he commaundeth him to seperate himselfe from *Charles*, and not to bid him so much as *Good morrow*, whereas yet he desireth to be receiued to the Communion of *Adrian*, that this toucheth him to the heart: and that manie men of great fort, both secular and Clergie, now met at Rheimes, hauing heard this commaund, say, that the like was neuer heard of to be sent from Rome, though in their dayes there had bene warres before this time, not onely betweene confederat Kings, but also betweene the brothers, and betweene the father and the sonnes: That for his owne part he must needs thinke, that this displeasure is befallen him for his other sinnes, seeing it fareth better with some others, who haue not doubted to call *Charles* into the kingdome of Lorraine: That for the rest, the Parliament of that kingdome sayth, That Popes and Bishops excommunications are no titles to claime kingdomes by: That the Scripture teacheth, that this right belongeth vnto God, by whom Kings reigne, and who giueth them to whom it pleaseth him: That the Pope cannot be King and Bishop all at once: That therefore he should doe well to leaue the disposing of state matters vnto them, and not commaund them to take a king from a farre off, who cannot be at hand to helpe vpon all occasion against the Painims; this being a yoke which the Popes neuer before layed vpon the neckes of their ancestors, and such as themselves could not beare, seeing they were commanded in holie Scripture, for their heritage and libertie, to fight while the breath was in their bodie: That one needeth not to tell them, that a Bishop who excommunicateth a man contrarie to law, loseth the power which he had of binding: That none can take heauen from anie man, saue onely from him which loseth it by his sinne: That for earthlie respects none can take away the title of a Christian, or lodge with the diuell him for whom Christ died, to free him from the bondage of the diuell: That therefore if the Pope desire peace, he should do well to seeke it by quiet means, because they neuer meane to make it an Article of their Creed, That they cannot come to heauen vnlesse they will receiue for their King him whom he shall appoint them here in earth: And (saith he) *manie such like inconueniences they shew vnto vs, as murders, seditions, warres, all which will ensue, if we goe to infringe the accord, alreadye made betweene the Kings; not sparing to vtter threats against your selfe, which I will not rehearse, and such as if God giue them leaue, they purpose to put in execution: neither can we excommunication, nor the sword of anie humane tongue stay the King and his Barons from the course they haue set to run.* Thus it pleased this great Prelat to let the Pope vnderstand his mind, as in the words, and vnder the name of the Great ones, which he could not handsomely doe in his owne. Last of all concerning himselfe, That being in the kingdome of *Charles*, and in the chiefe

Descendunt & videbo.

- A Citie of his diocesse, whether the king and all the princes of either kingdome vsed to resort, he might not offer, like an hireling, to leaue his flocke, and to goe hee knew not whither: And that therefore he would attend vpon the king and such as were about him, to the end he might passe his time in quietnesse with his flock: and that the king saith, His predecessors haue had this power, which hee will not forgoe for any excommunication whatsoever: and that therefore it behoueth the Bishops, himselfe especially, to consider how they carrie themselves towards the king, seeing that *Augustine* expounding that place of the Apostle, saith, *That the Apostle teacheth, that euery soule must be subiect to the higher power, and that we must giue to euery one that which belongeth to him, tribute to whom tribute, custome to whom custome appertaineth, &c.* This letter thus written, with the aduise and counsell of all the Bishops assembled at Reimes, was sent to *Adrian*, who died the yeare following 872, and so the quarrell ended.

34. PROGRESSION.

How the Pope conferred the Empire vpon Charles the Bald: and of the donation of Constantine.

- AFTER *Adrian* the second, according to *Platina* his account, succeeded *John* the ninth (according to those who reject the three-Pope, *John* the eight) in the yeare 873, and in the yeare 875 died the Emperour *Lewis* without issue: wherefore *Charles* of France and *Lewis* of Germanie began to stirre, and Italie her selfe was not quiet, one calling *Charles* the Bald of Fraunce, and others *Charles* the Grosse, sonne to King *Lewis*; and some there were who faine would haue established the Empire in Italie; and these were the Earles of Tusculana, who at that time stricke a great stroake in Rome. He of France was first in a readinesse, who euer since the dayes of *Nicholas* the first had entertained secret intelligences in Italie: he therefore sent embassadors to *John*, with great presents and greater promises, assuring him, That vpon condition he will set the Crowne of the Empire vpon his head, he would protect the Church from all wrongs, and leaue the Seignorie of Rome wholly in his hands. *John* who could better brooke a foreiner than a neighbor, and a stranger than a domestlike Emperour, who peraduenture would haue dimmed his light by a greater lustre, bid him come and welcome, and at his coming to Rome receiued and crowned him Emperour. From that day forward (saith *Sigonius*) the title of the Empire began to be a mere feoffment of the Popes, and the yeares of the Empire to be reckoned from the day wherein they received their consecration from the Popes. But a certaine Author of that time addeth farther, That *Charles* of France coming to Rome renewed his covenants with the Romanes, gave vp into their hands the rights and customes of the kingdome, with the reuenues of manie Monasteries, giuing them moreover the countreies of Samnium and Calabria, with all the townes belonging to Beneuent, with the Duchie of Spoleto, and the two Cities of Tuscanie, which the Duke was wont to hold, *Arrezzo* and *Chiusi*: so that he, who before that time commaunded in Rome for the Emperour, was now become as subiect vnto them, quitted them from expecting the presence of his embassadors, at the election of their Popes. To be short (saith he) he accorded what euer they demanded, as commonly men vse to be liberall of what they haue ill gotten, or feare they shall not long keepe. That which made *Charles* the more pliant to the Pope, was, that *Lewis* of Germanie inuaded him in his owne person in France, and sent his sonne *Charles* the Grosse to crosse his signes

An. 873.

Sigon. de Reg. Ital. lib. 5.

Aimoni. li. 5. c. 32. & 33.

Sincerum Pontificis beneficium.

Eutropij Continuator.

signes in Italic. But (saith that Author) *this is certaine, that from that day no King or Emperour euer recovered the state and Port of a King in Italic, for want still either of skill or of courage, and by reason of the great contentions and daily zealousies among them.* Here the Historians and *Sigonius* himselfe obserueth, that whatsoever the Emperours, predecessors of *Charles*, gaue vnto the Pope, yet they euer referued to themselves the Proprietie, Soueraignetic, and Lordship, euen ouer the Exarchat and Duchie of Rome it selfe: which rule began now to faile in *Charles*, though his successors sometimes redemanded their auncient prerogatiues and rights: also that vntill this time the Empire euer passed as hereditarie from the father to the sonne, and the suruiuor euer seised of the Empire by the death of the deceased. So *Charlemaigne* succeeded *Pepin*, so after *Charlemaigne* succeeded *Lewis*, after *Lewis*, *Lotharius*, and after him *Lewis* the second. So also vnto this time their crowning and sacring by the Archbishops of Milan for the kingdome of *Lumbardie*, and the Bishops of Rome for the Empire, serued onely for pompe and solemnitie. But this Pope *Iohn* tooke aduantage of the present necessitie of *Charles*, and performed this ceremonie in farre different tearmes, as well in a Synod at Rome, as afterward at Paris: where hauing commended *Charles* the Bald, and spoken as much honour of him as *Adrian* the second had villanic and wrong; and told the people, that this was formerly reuealed from heauen to *Nicholas* the first, trencheth smooth, *And for this cause* (sayth he) *haue we in the presence, and by the suffrage of all our brethren and fellow Bishops, and of all the Senat and people of Rome, chosen him, and approued of him &c. and according to the auncient custome haue with all solemnitie advanced him to the scepter of the Romane Empire &c.* and at his vnction abused the words which the Prophet had once vsed vpon our Sauour Christ, *We annoint him* (saith he) *with oyle without, to signifie thereby the vertue and force of the inward vnction of the holie spirit, with which the Lord God hath annointed this his Christ aboue his fellowes, in imitation of the true King Christ our Lord, so that what he hath by nature, this purchaseth by grace.* It came to passe that *Charles* was no sooner returned into France, but presently the Earles of *Tusculana*, chiefe of whom was *Marquesse Albert*, confederated themselves against this *Iohn*, assisted by *Formosus* Bishop of Port, and others: So that the yeare following 877 he was faine to send the Bishops of *Fossebrona* and *Senogallia* vnto him, to entreat him to repasse with a power into Italic, as well against the Earles of *Tusculana*, as against the *Saracins*, and for his greater encouragement assembled a Synod at Rome, where he cursed all those who in deed or word should oppose against the election or consecration of *Charles* to the Empire. But the mischiefe was, that passing the Alpes he fell sicke of a feauer, for which he tooke a certaine powder of *Sedechias* a Jew, his physition, whereof he died. It is worth the remembrance which *Rhegino* reporteth of this *Iohn*. *Adalgisus* had kept the Emperour *Lewis* the second prisoner at *Benuento*, whence he could not get free, but vnder deepe oaths. *This Lewis* (saith he) *came to Rome, and there calling an assemblie in the presence of the Pope, complained of the tyrannie and wrong vsed vpon him by Adalgisus, whereupon the Senat proclaimed him a Tyrant, and enemy to the State, and grew to open hostilitie and defiance with him.* Yet remained there a scruple in the Emperors conscience, by reason of his oath: *Iohn* vnderooke to remoue it, and his successors since that time haue often followed his example. *Pope Iohn* (saith he) *by the authoritie of God and of S. Peter, absolved the Emperour from the oath with which he stood obliged, assuring him, that what euer he did or said so saue his life, needed not to trouble him, and that it might not be called an oath which he tooke, though with neuer*

Rhegino in
Chron.

E

so

A *so manie curses vpon himselfe, if it were contrarie to the weale publike* (O how should the verie Heathen haue made him blush in the like case!) *By these and the like remonstrances* (saith he) *the Emperour was encouraged to make fresh warres vpon him: yet fearing least his subiects* (more religious than the Pope) *should reckon him a forsworne and periured Prince, he went not himselfe in person, but sent the Queene against him.* These were euen in those dayes the deuises of the Court of Rome. We haue manie times alreadie spoken of that goodlie donation of *Constantine*: and it should seeme that it was forged at this time during the canuassing for the Empire betweene the two *Charles*, the Bald and the Groffe, the vnclie and the nephew, when the vnclie pursued so hotly the fauour and furtherance of the Pope: and we haue a great Author for it: For not to speake of the stile, which fauoreth wholly of this age, *Otho* the third, Emperour, in that Patent which we find taken out of the Treasurie of the Popes Charters, in a certaine chamber of the Cordeliers of *Affisa*, before mentioned, speaking of this donation, *These are* (sayth he) *meere inuentions forged by the Popes themselues, by whose direction Deacon Iohn, sur-named Long-fingers, wrote a graunt in letters of gold, and in the name of Constantine the Great hath published a packe of lies, as if they had beene graunts of great antiquitie.* Now if you will know when this *Long-fingers* liued, *Trithemius* telleth you, that it was in the time of *Charles* the Bald, and *Iohn* the seuenth, and he wrote the life of *Gregorie* the first in foure volumes; and *Platina* himselfe sayth, that he was afterward created Pope, vnder the name of *Iohn* the ninth. So that it is no great wonder if *Baronius* in his third Tome, to qualifie the hainousnesse of this deed, sayth, That this donation, because it was translated by *Deacon Iohn* out of a corrupt Greeke copie, is therefore doubtfull rather than to be approued: but in his twelfth Tome he flatly calleth it a forged, bastard, and counterfeit deed. And the same *Otho* speaking againe of this donation, sayth, *That they are lies when they affirme that anie Charles euer gaue that to S. Peter which belonged to the Emperour: For we answere* (saith he) *That this Charles* (meaning the Bald) *could not lawfully dispose of anie thing by way of gift, seeing that before such graunt made he was alreadie routed in the field, and put from the Empire by a better Charles* (meaning the Groffe:) *wherefore he gaue what was none of his owne to giue, but that which he possessed by violence for the present, and had no hope long to keepe.* And of this routing of *Charles* you may read farther in a French Chronicle now lately published by *Pitham*. And farther, this good Prelat *Iohn* learnedly setteth downe the admirable vertue of the Pall or Mantle, when he sent him to *Wilbert* Bishop of *Colen*, hoping by his commendation to raise the market, *The vse of this Pall or Mantle* (saith he) *among other rare qualities hath this speciall vertue, that so soone as it is bestowed vpon anie man, presently it taketh away all imputation of faults formerly committed: not that the mantle doth purifie from sinnes, but because the care of him which bestoweth it ought to be such, that he will not bestow it but vpon one that is cleare from them alreadie: and therefore he from whom this gift is taken away, i. to whom it is denied, is but an imperfect man, and perfect can he not be on whom this holie aid is not bestowed for a confortatiue.* But seeing that it is now indifferently bestowed vpon all, where is that care, and consequently that vertue which is pretended?

Johannes Digi-
torum.

Johan. ep. ad
Willibardum
episc. Coloniens.

Aimoni. lib. 5.
c. 32. 33.

OPPOSITION.

Charles enjoyed but a while this benefit of the Pope, in which time yet he made a great breach in the imperiall authoritie. We read in *Aimoni*, That he appointed a Synod at *Pontigon*, by the aduise and counsell of *Iohn* Bishop of *Tuscany*, and *Iohn*

S

Bishop

Bishop of Arezzo, the Legats of Pope Iohn, and Ansegisus of Sienna, by the authoritie Apostolike, and his owne ordinance. Thus they began, contrarie to the auncient custome, to joyne the Emperour and the Pope together. In this Synod Charles by vertue of a Decretall Epistle of Iohn, went about to constitute and appoint Ansegisus Primat, with this authoritie which followeth, *That so often as the profit of the Church should require, whether for the calling of a Synod, or for the dispatch of other Ecclesiasticall affaires in France and Germanie, he should present the Popes person, and should acquaint the Bishops with the decrees of the See Apostolike, and should report unto the Pope what had beene done or not, by vertue of them, and upon great and important causes should consult the said See.* Our Bishops requested, that since the letter was directed vnto them, they might haue a sight of it; which the Emperour refused to graunt, being such perhaps as he was ashamed to shew it: he vrged them only to say what answere they made to these Apostolike commaunds, and their answere was, *That they willingly obeyed thereunto, provided that no Metropolitan be thereby prejudiced in his rights contrarie to the Canons, and the decrees of the Popes themselves, aunciently pronounced according to the Canons.* And though the Emperour and the other Legats pressed them verie earnestly for the primacie of Ansegisus, yet could they get no other answere from them; only one Frotharius Bishop of Bordeaux, who had skipt from Bordeaux to Poictiers, and from Poictiers to Bourges, through the meere fauour of the Prince, made such answere as he thought would best please the Emperour: who much offended with the answer of the others, said, *That the Pope had committed his place in the Synod vnto him, and that he would make them vaile bonnet to him.* And thereupon taking the Popes Epistle, folded vp as it was together with the Legats, deliuered it to Ansegisus, and presently caused a rich chaire to be set before all the Bishops on this side the Mounts, next vnto Iohn of Tuscanie, which sat next about him on the right hand, and bad him sit there, about the other Bishops, though his ancients; the Archbishop of Rheims protesting openly, that this was contrarie to the Canons. But the Emperour persisted in his purpose: and when the Bishops a second time requested a sight or a copie of the Epistle, they could not obtaine it. Our Bishops not long after met againe without the Emperour, where were great debates betweene them, because of certaine Priests, who out of sundrie parishes had recourse to the Popes Legats; and so this meeting broke vp likewise. A third time also they assembled in the same place, whither the Emperour sent vnto them the Popes Legats, newly come ouer, which brought from the Pope vnto the Emperour a scepter and a staffe of gold, and to the Empresse gownes and bracelets, all set with pearle. These when they came rebuked the Bishops, for not appearing the day before: but they holding them alwaies to the Canons in their answeres, made them giue off hot words; yet the Legats still vrged them to accept of Ansegisus for their Primat: they answered in generall termes, That they would obey the Popes decrees as their predecessors had done the decrees of his predecessors. So that the Emperour came thither in person and in great state, clothed after the Greeke fashion, with a crowne vpon his head, accompanied with the Legats, all attired after the Romane fashion, and there made Iohn Bishop of Arezzo openly to read, *Quandam scedulam ratione & authoritate carentem, A certaine paper without authoritie or reason: which done, there were certaine Articles dictated, and set downe in writing, without consent of the Synod, each crossing the other of them, without profit, reason, or warrantie: and therefore (saith the Author) we haue thought fit to omit them:* and at last, after manie complaints, as well of the Emperour as of the Legats, concerning the Primacie of Ansegisus, he went away, hauing done as much

A at the end of the Synod as he had at the beginning. So much was this Prince ouertaken with this fatall Cup, more dangerous to him than was that other of Sedechias, of which he died; so obdurate was he against his owne good, hauing his eyes dazed with vaine shewes, and colourable illusions for the present: on the contrarie, so cleare-sighted were our Bishops of France in these affaires, descrying a farre off how great a ruine would one day ensue of this small-seeming breach made vpon the liberties of their Church.

35. PROGRESSION.

B That Pope Iohn was the first which graunted Indulgences for the dead.

AFTER the death of Charles, the Earles of Tusculana got the vpper hand in Rome, and in the yeare 878 clapt Pope Iohn vp in prison, for excommunicating them: but Iohn by the helpe of his faction found meanes to escape, and came by sea into Prouence, whence he was conducted to Lewis, surnamed the Stammerer, sonne to Charles the Bald, who then lay at Troy: where he assembled a Synod of French Bishops, and made them to confirme and ratifie the excommunication which he had hurled out before against his enemies; and there also was Formosus in person deprived of all Church dignities, and oath taken of him neuer to returne to Rome, or to his Bishopricke: but about all, they two bound themselues, the Emperour to assist the Pope against his opposites, the Pope to crowne him Emperour; which he did in Fraunce, with great solemnitie: and so they parted. Iohn at his returne found the Sarasens at Rome gates, and shortly after had tidings of Lewis his death, so that now he was faine to cast about againe, and to take a new course; which was, to cast the Empire vpon Charles the Grosse, King of Germanie, who was the first that entred Italie with his armie, (and this was the third whom he had crowned Emperour) vpon promise, That he should protect the Church from all her enemies, especially from the Sarasens: but vnder the generalitie of enemies were principally comprehended the Earles of Tusculana. And not long after, in the yeare 882, died Pope Iohn, who besides that which hath beene already said, left other goodlie examples behind him: for we learne by a certaine Epistle of his to Charles the Grosse, That he adopted for his sonne Prince Bafon, to ease him of his worlddie cares, that he might the more freely attend vpon the seruice of God. Whereas S. Peter in the execution of his charge neuer needed a Prince for his coadjutor, much lesse a swaggering captaine. Also he was the first that euer presumed to graunt Indulgences to those which were already dead, or hereafter should die in battaile against Painims and Infidels: his words are these, *Being demaunded by our Bishops of Fraunce, whether those which were already, or hereafter should die in defence of the Church, might haue indulgence and pardon of their sinnes, we answere boldly (saith he) By the goodnesse and mercie of our Lord Iesus Christ, that the Rest of eternall life is provided for them.* If so, what need then of so manie Suffrages of Saints, Requicims, and oblations euer since? And he proueth what he had said by the example of the theefe vpon the Crosse, which went streight to Paradise: and yet to make the world beholding vnto him concludeth in this manner, *We (saith he) by the intercession of Saint Peter the Apostle, who hath power to bind and to lose in heauen and in earth, Quantum fas est, so farre forth as we may by law, doe absolve them, and commend them to God by our prayers.* The mischief was, that whosoever would not doe whatsoeuer he

would haue them, was censured to be disobedient to the Church, and consequently a Heathen man and a Publican; and therefore all Martyrs, whofoever happened to die in their quarrell against such Christian Princes or States whatsoever: and so did he meane it, of all those who assisted him against the Earles of Tusculana. And this is the point wherein *Baronius* should haue noted *the wisdom of the flesh in John*, by reason whereof he sayth, that he was punished of God, and forsaken of all the Princes whom he had flattered, or rather (as we say) abused.

O P P O S I T I O N .

Pope *John* during his abode in France, produced a certain Patent, as of a donation made by *Charles* the Bauld to the Pope, of the Abbie of *S. Denis*; which was thought to haue bene forged by the Bishops *Frotharius* and *Adalgarius*, to take the said Abbie by this meanes out of the hand of *Gaufrin*. But, saith the Author, *Hoc argumentum sicut factio & non ratio, imperfectum remansit, i. This claime, as sauouring more of faction than of reason, remained in the suds*: neither was any thing effected therein, notwithstanding the authoritie and presence of the Pope. Likewise when it came to our Bishops eares, that the Pope there present had giuen his consent, That blind *Hincmar* Bishop of *Laon*, in despite of *Hincmar* Archbishop of *Reimes*, should sing Masse, that is, should be restored to his charge; presently the Metropolitans and Bishops of other Prouinces, to shew that he was not to hold his restitution as from the Pope, came suddenly and brought him into the Popes presence (without expecting any order from him) attired in his Priestlie robes and ornaments, and thence carried him singing to the Church, and there made him giue his benediction to the people, and all in a full Synod.

This was the end of that variance and strife betweene the two *Hincmars*, the vncl and the nephew; he of *Laon* appealing to the Pope from his deposition, the other refusing to admit of such Appeale; borne out a while by our kings in the defence of our Church liberties, forsaken afterward by *Charles* the Bauld and his sonne, both stooping at the lure of the Empire, and yet he still persisting in his cause with the other Bishops euen to this last Act. Which yet *Baronius* vseth for an argument to proue his purpose, and maketh a myracle thereof. Here he runneth out vpon *Hincmar* of *Reimes*, filling whole pages with this discourse: and yet, poore man, what euill had he done? onely this, That he would not, saith *Baronius*, accept of the Popes Decretals farther than they agreed with the holie Councils. Which is, as he saith, *Proferri pariter & diffiteri, i. To sup and blow all in a breath*: Would God there were no greater sinne in the world. And what, I pray you, hath our Colledge of *Sorbona* taught else now so many yeares? Yet *Baronius* afterward giuing his judgement of him, *If*, saith he, *we will weigh him in an indifferent ballance, for his knowledge in the Canons, Planè dixeris eruditissimum, You would say, he was exactly skilfull in them, although sometimes he fauour them too much, in preferring them before the Decretall Epistles of the See Apostolike*. And what wonder if a Council be preferred before a single man? And as touching his knowledge in *Diuinitie*, saith he, *we find him to haue bene most exquisitely learned therein, as may appeare by that which he wrot against the Heretike Godescalcus, concerning Predestination*. And thus much for our Westerne part of the world.

In the East, *Nicholas* the first and *Adrian* the second laboured to make their market of that treacherous murder of *Basilius*, by deposing *Photius*, and restoring *Ignatius*, all to gratifie and to content the Emperour: in so much that *Adrian*, what

with blowes, what with money, got in the end Appeales to be made from thence to *Rome*, though the Synod neuer assented thereunto. But *John* who succeeded them, by an act of his, vnawares dashed all which they had done. *Ignatius* restored to his See, gaue not that content to all as was expected; the Emperour *Basilius* also found him not so pliant to his humor as he hoped; neither yet Pope *John*, because he would not let go the Churches of *Bulgaria*, as he desired, whereupon he menaced him with a flash of Excommunication. *Ignatius* happening shortly after to decease, *Basilius* affected to restore *Photius*; and because he was deposed by authoritie from *Rome*, sent vnto *John* to restore him to the communion of the Church, and consequently to his See: and the rather to moue him, proposed to him great reasons, and no lesse promises withall: That by this meane he should make a final end of quarels in the East: That the Bishops themselues which were ordered by *Ignatius* and his faction, thought it fit and necessarie: That otherwise new troubles would daily arise in the Church: That if he would giue way thereto, he would furnish him with a nauie to gard the coasts of *Tuscanie* and *Campania* from the *Saracens*, and would make *Photius* surrender the Churches of *Bulgaria* into his hands. Ambition, or rather, because *Baronius* will haue it so, *the wisdom of the flesh, enemie to God*, carried away this good Prelat, in such sort, that contrarie to his owne oath, contrarie to the judgement and sentence giuen by two of his predecessors (namely, of *Nicholas* the first, whom they call another *Elias*) he restored *Photius*, whom they had stiled *Lucifer*, and set him vpon his throne: who yet, as he affirmeth, since his deposition had shewed no token of repentance, many of desperat rebellion, in despite of the Synod, erecting altar against altar, and both made and maintained a rent and schisme openly in the Church: So indifferent is euerie point vnto these men, so it serue for their priuat interest. And by reason of this weakenesse, saith *Baronius*, was this *John* called a woman, and a she Pope: thinking by this meanes to make vs take *John* for *Jene*, of whom we haue already spoken.

Photius was no sooner set in his See, but presently he called a generall Council at *Constantinople*: he produced certaine letters of *John*, true or false, (*Baronius* saith they were false and counterfeit) by which he difannulled the former, called the eighth general Council, held vnder *Basilius*; & caused this his Synod to beare the name of the eighth Oicumenicall Synod. And indeed this is that Council which *Zonaras*, a Greeke Monke, putteth in this place, and alledgeth by this name, with all the Actions and Sessions thereof, in his Collection of the Synods. In this Synod were present three Legats from Pope *John*, namely, *Paul* and *Eugenius* Bishops, and *Peter* a Cardinall Priest, who were so trimmed by *Photius*, as appeareth in the Acts, as neuer were Popes Legats in all their liues. First it is noted, That there were in this Council three hundred and eightie Bishops, whereas there were onely one hundred and two in the other. Secondly, *Nicholas* the first and *Adrian* the second were there condemned as Masters of misrule, and causers of all euils; and Pope *John* for amends highly commended. Thirdly, for the Churches of *Bulgaria*, the Legats were put ouer to the Emperour, as being a question of confines and borders of the Empire. Fourthly, it was enacted, and that by their consents, That whomsoeuer the Pope did excommunicat, the Patriarch might not receiue, nor the Pope those which were excommunicated by the Patriarch. Whereby all Appeales from thence to *Rome* were abolished, for the purchasing whereof Pope *Adrian* was content to make himselfe a consort with a murderous Parricide. And last of all, whereas the Pope had straitly char-

Idem an. 879. art. 72. Iohann. ad Photium Epist. 250. Baron. an. 881. art. 9. & sequent.

ged his Legats to Preside, *Photius* in their presence euer tooke his place first. And this is the reason why *Baronius* so bestirreth his stumps, crying out, This Councell was forged by *Photius*, that indeed there was neuer any such: Whereas yet, besides the Canons thereof, which we find in *Zonaras* and *Balsamon*, he himselfe produceth the verie same Acts in Greeke, taken out of their Vatican: telling vs farther, That this Councell being brought afterward to *Iohn*, he condemned it, and disauowed his Legats. Well then, it appeareth that they suffered things to passe which the Pope disliked: what other things but those which are contained in those Acts? Whereupon ensued fresh excommunications against *Photius*, and the rent made worse betweene the East Churches and the West.

Besides this, Historians here obserue, That vnder this *Iohn* the cite of Rome was diuided into two factions, one depended of the Earles of Tusculana, who sometimes by force, sometimes by briberie, brought in their friends or kindred to the Popedome: Whiles our French Peeres were at variance betweene themselues, and were withall ouerlaid by the Normans, who so often set foot in France, that at last they tooke vp their habitation there. Hence, say they, ensued corruption of good discipline, simonie, and decrees of Popes crossing and abrogating each other. And indeed after *Iohn* succeeded *Marinus*, or *Martinus*: This was he which was chiefe author of clapping vp *Iohn* in prison, *Malis artibus Pontificatum adeptus*, saith *Platina*, Aspiring to the Popedome by indirect courses; who presently restored *Formosus* to his Bishopricke, absolving him from his oath. After *Marinus* succeeded *Agapit*, alias, *Adrian* the third, brought in by the same faction: And now also died *Charles* the Grosse, Emperor, and with him the Empire of the French, and the honour of *Charlemaigne* his race in Italie. And the Italians themselues confesse, That during the Empire of the French in Italie they flourished in multitudes of people and stateliness of buildings, in ciuile policie and discipline; but aboue all, that they grew glorious in sanctitie of religion, and Imperial dignitie: And that when the Scepter was once translated in other hands, though of Italians, yet their government decayed, the Church vanished, the times grew so filthy and abominable, as the like had not bene scene in any precedent age: Wherefore from hence forward let vs prepare our eyes to behold nothing but corruption of life and manners, and to behold this Mysterie of Iniquitie past her height and exaltation, and growing to the West of her declining.

36. PROGRESSION.

- 1 The Edicts of *Adrian* the third, and what successe they had.
- 2 Of the factions in Italie about the election of the Pope.
- 3 Of the barbarous inhumanitie of *Pope Stephen* towards the dead corps of *Formosus* his predecessor.

An. 885.

A *Adrian* the third therefore in the yeare 885 making benefit of the occasion, being partly persuaded by the Romane Princes, by whose helpe he was promoted to the Popedome, and partly moued for his owne commoditie, ordained two decrees, by which he seemed to set at libertie the Church of Rome and all Italie; and so much the rather, because the Normans with their ordinarie outrodes and incursions held the French and the Germanes busied to defend their owne countrey: the first Edict was this, That in creating the Pope the authoritie of the Emperour should not be required; for the attaining whereof the Popes had long before

Platina in Adriano 3. Sigon. li. 5. de regno Ital.

A bent their wits, and spent their best endeouers: the other, That the Emperor *Charles the Grosse* dying without sonnes, the kingdome, together with the title of the Empire, should be translated to the Princes of Italie, which not manie yeares since *Albertus* Marques of Tuscan, chiefe leader of the Tusculans, and promoter of *Adrian* to the Popedome, strived to attaine vnto. The one and the other were pernitious both to the Church and Commonweale; and both, though projected and resolved on before the death of *Charles* the Grosse, yet were they both within and without, at home and abroad, as we haue scene before, opposed. *Berengarius* therefore Duke of Friuli, and *Guido* Duke of Spolere, whilest they both strived to attaine to the kingdome of Italie, they diuided it into two factions; of which two that of *Guido* was more strong, though lesse just (saith *Sigonius*) being upheld by the authoritie of *Pope Stephen*, who succeeded *Adrian* the third. Wherefore after certaine battels fought betweene them, in which he had the victorie, in the yere 891 he crowned him at Rome, but yet vpon condition, That he should confirme those donations which were pretended to haue bene giuen by *Pepin*, *Charles*, and *Lewis* the first. This *Stephen* grew so proud and insolent, that he made a Decree yet extant in *Gratian*, That whatsoever the Church of Rome doth ordaine or decree, must be for euer, and irrenouably obserued of all: For how much the lesse sanctitie, learning, and vertue, there is in them, by so much they thinke they must bee the bolder to strengthen their commaunds with authoritie and power. In this time *Stephen* the sixth died, whereupon the Roman factions began to reuiue. The Tusculans chose one *Sergius* of their owne house and familie; the other *Formosus*, who by *Iohn* had before bene excommunicated, a man commendable for his learning, but yet had received some impeachment of credit, hauing sworne, That he would neuer seeke after the Bishopricke of Rome: notwithstanding he wanted not sufficient colour to doe it, because he was discharged of that oath by *Pope Marinus*. *Guido* in the meane time tooke part with *Sergius*, notwithstanding that *Formosus* possesse the See, *Sergius* being by force expeld. This whole Papacie therefore was spent in nothing but laying of plots, and continuall rapines, sometimes the one getting the vpper hand, sometimes the other, vntill *Formosus*, wearied with those molestations that were brought vpon him by *Sergius*, who was supported by *Guido* and his sonne *Lambert*, resolved with himselfe to bring *Arnulphus* the king, duke of Bauiers, sonne to *Charlemaigne*, and nephew to *Charles* the Grosse, out of Germanie; who with his armie entred by force into the cite of Rome, and was by *Formosus* annointed and crowned Emperour, and as *Sigonius* reporteth, enforced the people of Rome to take this oath: I protest before God and all the Saints, and swear by the holie Sacraments, so long as I live to be subiect to the power of the Emperour *Arnulphus*, and neuer to fauour the part of *Lambert*, or *Engultrude* his mother, and to doe my best endeouour that they neuer obtaine any dignitie, or oppresse the cite by any seruitude. And by this meanes chased *Sergius* out of Rome. But not long after, when he besieged *Engultrude* the mother of *Lambert*, she a woman not equall in strength, betooke her selfe to subtilties, and secretly by one of his seruants, whom she corrupted with money, gaue vnto him a stupifying potion; which when he had taken, he was suddenly overcome with sleepe, and after three dayes awaking, when hee neither vnderstood, nor could fitly expresse what he vnderstood, and rather lowing like an oxe, than speaking like a man, leauing the warre, he retired himselfe into Lombardie. About the end of December died *Formosus*, after whom succeeded *Boniface* the sixth, and fiftene dayes after *Stephen* the seventh succeeded him, being advanced thereunto by the faction of *Sergius*, hauing taken heart by the departure

Simon. l. 5. c. 15. Martin. Polon. in Hadrian. 3.

An. 891.

D. 19. c. Emi. nuer. 6.

Sigon. de regno Ital. li. 6.

of *Arnulphus*. Then was it easie to discerne with what spirit they were ledd: for he was no sooner setled in his See, but hee thought of nothing so much as to deface and blot out the memorie of *Formosus*; whereupon he commaunded his bodie to be digged out of his sepulchre, and his carkasse to be placed in the Popes chaire, adorned with his Priestlie garments, and there in the midst of a Synod assembled, himselfe and his A&S to be condemned. The writers of that age affirme (a thing horrible to be spoken) that this wicked man, ignorant of all good learning, vied this taunting speech to the poore dead corps: *When thou wert Bishop of Port*, saith he, *why with a spirit of ambition didst thou usurpe the Roman Catholike seat? And thereupon disrobing him of his vestments, he commaunded three of his fingers to be cut off, wherewith he was wont to blesse the people, and the bodie to be cast into Tiber; and he degraded all those that had taken Orders of him, & himselfe gaue them new.* Hereupon *Luitprand* a Deacon of the Church of *Paui*, who then liued, was exceedingly moued with this execrable deed. *Onuphrius* calls into question the truth of this storie; which is to ouerthrow all antiquitie, as in the case of Pope *Ioue*. The author of the *Annales* of the Abbie of *Fulden*, saith thus, *Next Boniface succeeded Stephen, in name Apostolicall, but in truth a most infamous man, who after a strange maner caused Formosus, his predecessor, to be taken out of his graue, and assigning an Aduocat to answer for him, deposed him, and commaunded him to be cast out of the place that was appointed for the buriall of the Popes.* And it is a Monke that speaketh it. *Sigonius* is of more credit, who describeth all the circumstances of this fact, and reports the A&S of the Councell of *Rauenna*, published by *John* the tenth in these words: *The Synod celebrated by our predecessor Stephen the sixth, in which the carkasse of Formosus the Pope is drawne out of the sepulchre, and as it were brought to triall (a thing neuer heard of before) we utterly abrogat, and by the sentence of the holie Ghost wee forbid any such thing to be done hereafter.* He addeth, That he denounced the coronation of *Arnulphus* to be void, and that he annointed *Lambert* for Emperour in his place, because he tooke his part, And *Baronius* himselfe acknowledgeth the same; onely (as we doe) he attributeth that to *Stephen* the seventh, that others doe to *Sergius*: *This man, saith he, being frantike, did not that which was lawfull to doe, but what his owne furie carried him vnto: for it was not an error in faith, but a violent tyrannie in fact.* These are his owne words. In the meane time, in the yeare 897, *Romanus* succeeded *Stephen*, who presently calling a Councell, condemned the condemnation of *Formosus*, and the A&S of *Stephen* against him. The like doth *Theodorus* the second, and *John* the ninth, or according to others, the tenth, who succeeded one another. But this man more solemnely in a Synod of seuentie foure Bishops which he held at *Rauenna*, where demanding euerie mans opinion seuerally, he cancelled the A&S of *Stephen* and his Synod, pardoned the Bishops and Priests that gaue assistance therein, who excused themselues, That what they did, they did by compulsion: forbidding that *Sergius* and his followers, who had digged *Formosus* out of his graue, should be restored, and condemning both them and *Stephen* himselfe, as violaters of sepulchres. He pronounced *Formosus* the lawfull Pope, although he were first chosen, saith *Onuphrius*, without the Roman Clergie: and those Bishops that *Stephen* deposed he restored, and declared the coronation of *Arnulphus* the Emperour to be void, and ratified that of *Lambert*, as being done by *Stephen* for the good of the Church. This he did in fauour of *Lambert*, whose power he feared both in *Italie* and in *Rome*: by meanes whereof that law was renewed, That from thence forward the Pope should not be consecrated but in the presence of the Embassadors or Lieutenants of the Emperour, contrarie

Luitprand. li. i. cap. 8.

Platina in Formoso. Et ibi Onuphrius Leo Ostiensis li. i. cap. 48.

Sigon. de regno Ital. li. 6.

Baron. an. 897. art. 2.

An. 897.

to that which *Adrian* the third thought he had established. The A&S of this Councell are to be found among the Canons of the Church of *Modene*, saith *Sigonius*. This ordinance neuerthelesse was shortly after broken; for *John* being dead, and *Benedict* the fourth chosen in his roome, he was consecrated without the authoritie of the Emperour, by the faction of the *Tusculans*: And these things reach to the yeare 900.

An. 900.

OPPOSITION.

The verie impietie thereof had bene sufficient to restrain this fatall Progression, if the Christian Church had not bene fencelesse, so as no other Opposition should haue needed; but what the spirit of God foretold in the Scriptures, cannot be prevented: for euen the Popish Histories doe witness, That the Clergie of *Rome* were growne to that passe, and so ambitious in those dayes, that they made no conscience to obtaine the Popedom by fraud, by force, or by corruption, it being an ordinarie practise for the successor to reuerse the A&S of his predecessor, thereby reuenging the delay of his owne aduancement: whereof we need no other author but *Platina* himselfe. But what thinke we did the Christian world then say, when they saw one Pope dig another out of his graue, degrade those Bishops which another had consecrated, the A&S which one made by another disallowed, all ordinances, vocations, missions, and the whole administration renoued and vtterly abolished; and one Synod to contradict and ouerthrow another, and yet both the one and the other boldly and peremptorily vsing these words, *Per sancti Spiritus iudicium edicimus, interdicimus, &c.* We say, and vsay, commaund, and forbid, by the sentence of the holie Ghost? The Spirit of God then, if you beleue them, must be contrarie to it selfe, and so must the truth. And neuerthelesse they sticke not boldly to affirme, That whatsoeuer the Church of *Rome* doth appoint or ordaine must be for euer and irrenocably obserued of all. *Luitprand* being greatly offended with the fact of *Formosus*, ingeniously acknowledgeth the error of *Stephen*: *Most holie Father*, saith he, *hereby you may know how wickedly he dealt* (that is to say, to abrogat all those ordinances that were made by *Formosus*) *because they that receiued the Apostolicall benediction of Iudas before his treason, were not after it deprived thereof, except it were by their owne sinnes: for that benediction that is giuen by the Ministers, is not infused by that Priest that is seene, but by him that is inuisible, Iesus Christ our Lord.* *Bellarmino* goes about to salueth the matter, saying, That he degraded not those that were ordained by *Formosus*, by a formall decree, but that onely *de facto*, he made them to be reordered: *A commaund*, saith he, *that did not proceed of ignorance, but of hatred against Formosus.* But yet wee find by their owne Authors, that this was done by the authoritie of a Synod celebrated at *Rome*, and by an expresse Decree. But if such tergiversations may serue turne, what wickednesse is there that cannot be defended? This Heresie of *Stephen*, yea of the Councell of *Rome*, was it but small, when *Stephen* in his Synod declared *Formosus* neither to be, nor to haue bene Pope, who, I say, made himselfe the Head of the Church, being deceived in his knowledge of the Head of the Church? let any man looke into his conscience, and his knowledge, whether he fell into a light Heresie, or no. But here he will follow *Sigebert* for his Author, That notwithstanding the contradiction of the greater part, *Stephen* the sixth degraded those that had been ordained by *Formosus*. And is he not therefore so much the more an Heretike, by how much the more obstinat he was to be ordered by the counsell of his brethren? But *Sigebert* in the yeare 902 peremptorily affirmeth, That all his ordinances were

Platina in Stephan. 6.

D. 196. Enim vero. Luitprand. li. i. c. 8.

Bellarmino. l. 4. de Rom. Pont. c. 12

An. 902. Sigebertus in Chron.

An. 903.

to be made void, and did other things against him, horrible to be spoken: This then was a decree: and in the yere 903 speaking of the Synod held by Pope John at Rauenna, the Archbishops of France being present, *Before them* (saith he) *was the Synod burnt which Stephen had made for the condemnation of Formosus*. This decree was concluded in the next full Synod, and in the yere 900 he affirmed, *That by this occasion this question had bene for manie yeares disputed in the Church, not without great scandale, the one part iudging the consecration of those that Formosus had ordained to be nothing, the other by a more holie counsell iudging them to be of force*. This was a question of law, not of fact; and consequently the solution of Bellarmine altogether void.

Baron. 10. 10.
an. 897. art. 4.
an. 900. art. 2.
3. 4.

Truly *Baronius* speaking of these times, is stricken with a kind of horror, and calls them *infelicissima & luctuosissima ecclesia Romana tempora*, *The most vnfortunat and lamentable times of the Church of Rome, worse than the persecutions of the Pagan Emperours, Heretikes, Schismatikes*. But he layed the fault vpon the Tusculan princes, then powerfull in Rome, as if the other part had yeilded Popes more holie, and as if both the one and the other had not entred by theft, and consequently come in at the window, and not at the dore. *When* (sayth he) *the Church of Rome suffered the Princes of Tuscanie to beare rule, whether by money, or by armes, ouer the people and Clergie of Rome, they thrust into the Chaire of Peter, the throne of Christ, men monstrous and infamous in their liues, dissolute in their manners, and wicked and wil-lanous in all things; and then the Queene of Nations* (so he calleth the Church of Rome) *being robbed of the garments of her glorie and joy, sits in heauinesse, mourning and lamenting*. Let the Reader here note what helpe they giue vs to argue against the perpetuities of their pretended succession, when by his owne confession he here spake of ten Popes that did immediatly succeed one another: but he addes, that God would haue it so, to giue the world to vnderstand, that the Church as a Commonwealth dependeth not vpon the wisdom or vertue of those which gouerned, but from the efficacy of the promise of God, which makes it firme and constant for euer. Why then should it seeme strange, that there should be anie interruption in this personall succession? For hath he euer seene families continued by monsters? And when they happen in the Church, as he acknowledgeth, is not the mercie of God to be acknowledged therein, which euen of stones raiseth seed vnto *Abraham*, and beatech downe Antichrists, sitting in the seat of Christ, with the breath of his mouth? Moreover *Baronius* acknowledgeth, that whilest *Stephen* digged vp the carkas of *Formosus*, *the Church of Latran, the chiefe seat of the Pope, by the diuell was vterly ouerthrowne to the ground, from the Altar to the gates, euen that* (saith he) *in which Pope Stephen kept his residence*. Which is an argument vnto vs, that we are admonished by this destroying Angell, that we are hereafter to seeke here the rubbish of the Church. Neither let vs forget, that *Stephen* for his wickednesse was strangled in prison, and neuerthelesse *John* the tenth, his successor, calls him *Stephen of happie memorie*, in the acts of the Councell of Rauenna, which (*saith Baronius*) was done in reuerence of his predecessor. We may rather say, because all impietie was with them pietie, that vertue and vice were with them onely measured by commoditie.

Ibid. art. 6.

Baron. vol. 10.
an. 904. art. 4.

Theophil. in
Matth. c. 16.

But at this time *Theophilaet* the Archbishop of the Bulgarians, the onely man in that age famous in Diuinitie, who expounding these words, *Vpon this rocke I will build my Church*, made no mention of the Pope of Rome, because (saith he) *Peter* confessed him the Sonne of God, the Lord sayth, *That that confession that he made should become the foundation of the faithfull; in such sort, that euerie man that would build the house of faith, must necessarily put this confession for his foundation, &c.* Yes (saith

- A (saith he) *euerie one of vs being made the house of God is the Church, insomuch, that if we be built vpon this confession of Christ, the gates of hell nor our sinnes shall preuaile against vs*. And to proue that he vnderstood not this priuiledge to belong to the Church of Rome, but to euerie Christian that is the house of God, and the Church, vpon these words, *To thee I will giue the keyes of heauen, &c.* he saith, *The keyes that bind and lose, forgiue and aggrauate our sinnes: For they that like Peter are thought worthie Episcopall grace, haue power to lose and retaine sinnes: for though it were onely said to Peter, To thee I will giue: yet that power was once giuen to all the Apostles, when he said, Whose sinnes ye remit shall be remitted: for that word* (I will giue) *signifieth a future time, that is, after the resurrection*. And therefore to shew that he thought the keyes not to be attributed more to *Peter* than the rest of the Apostles, he sayth vpon the Epistle to the Galathians, *Paule showed himselfe to be equall to Peter*. Manie the like places there are in this Author, though he were one of those that came last, and of those (as we haue said elsewhere) whose writings some haue taken care to corrupt, the better to accommodat them to the controuersies of the times.

Ioh. 10.

Theophil. ad
Gal. c. 2.

37. PROGRESSION.

- C *Of the miserable estate of Italie through the wickednesse of the Popes, and the wilfulnesse of the people. Of Theodora and her daughters, three famous harlots, that ruled the Popes and the Citie of Rome at their pleasure. Of the abhominable and wicked life of John the thirteenth.*

HERE we enter into an age which is renowned onely for this, That in the state of Italie there was nothing but confusion, in the Church darknesse, and in the Popes idlenesse, and a headlong licentious libertie to commit all sinne: that it was no maruell that *Baronius* began his Historie with these words, *An yron age barren of all goodnesse, and a leaden age abounding with all wickednesse*. For as touching the State: the Emperour *Lambert* hauing bene traiterously slaine, as *Berengarius* (a Prince commended for his great vertue) thought he had ouercome all his affaires, *Benedict* the third, prouoked by the Marquesse *Albert*, called *Lewis* the third, the sonne of the Emperour *Arnulph*, against him, and crowned him at Rome; but *Berengarius* surprised him vpon the sudden at Verona, and hauing taken him, pluckt out his eyes, and setled himselfe in the Empire for manie yeares: notwithstanding his prosperous successse was interrupted by the faction of the Popes, assisted by the power of the Marquesse *Albert*, then arbitrator at Rome. The Hungarians on the other part, and the Saracens without resistance troubled all Italie. Neither were there wanting malecontents who called in strange Princes, *Rodulph* K. of Burgoigne, *Hugh* K. of Arles, who as it were by turnes entering Italie with their powers, crowned themelues at Rome, but yet with condition to ratifie the pretended donations; and because they had need of the Popes helpe, were content to remit much of their authoritie, and yet sped neuer the better. And as touching the Church, it was easie to iudge in so great a perturbation of all things how pale the face of it was, especially in Italie, where all this while there was not a man of fame that appeared, nor action that had anie shew of care in it of the Church: in such sort, that they that haue writ the Historie, thinke they haue sufficiently commended a Pope, when they haue reported him

An. 904.

Sigon. de Reg.
Fial. l. 6.
Platina in Be-
nedict. 4. &
Leo. 5.

him to haue done nothing, so naturall a thing was it for them to haue done euill. A
In the yeare 904 *Benedict* the fourth died, and contrarie to all law (say they) *Leo*
the fift succeeded, who after fortie daies was depofed by his chapleine *Christopher*,
& nouo exemplo, by a new example, saith *Sigonius*; *malis artibus*, by deceit and cunning,
saith *Platina*, fetled himselfe in his place: *Sergius* the third being now twice
driuen from the Popedome, made friendship with the Marquesse *Albert*, and so
supplanted him, and placed himselfe in his throne, and then at his owne pleasure
inueighed against the memorie of *Formosus*, and pronounced his Acts to be void;
infomuch that *Bellarmino* laboured no lesse in the justifying of him, than of *Stephen*.
Then was there no more question either of the election of the Clergie, or of
the consent of the people. Here (saith *Platina*) consider how much these haue degener-
ated from their ancestors, for they like holie men contemned such dignities as were free-
ly offered them, and betooke themselues to prayer and preaching: these with corrup-
tion and ambition seeking the Popedome, and hauing gotten it, laying aside all diuine
worship, no otherwise than cruell tyrans exercise their malice one against the other, that
with the better securitie they might afterward follow their owne pleasures, when there
should be no bodie of power to bridle their sinne. *Anastasi*us in the yeare 911 succee-
ded *Sergius*, and him *Landus* in the yeare 913, and him succeeded *John* the eleu-
enth, the Archbishop of Rauenna, commendable only in this, that they liued
not long, *God* (saith *Platina*) taking them out of the world as so manie monsters. But
Sigonius without malice speaks thus of *John*, That the Clergie and people being as-
sembled together for the choice of the Pope, there was nothing done in this election ac-
cording to law: for *Albertus* the Marquesse, at the persuasion of *Theodora* his mother
in law, not out of the Church of Rome, but of Rauenna, nor by the voices of the Clergie,
but his owne riches, nominated for a successor *John* the Archbishop of Rauenna. *Luitprand*
who liued in those times speaks somewhat louder, He obtained (sayth he)
the Popedome by such horrible wickednesse, contra ius fasque, against all law both di-
uine and humane. *Theodora* an impudent harlot obtained *Virago*-like the Monarchie
of the Cisie of Rome, who had two daughters, *Marozia* and *Theodora*, not onely equall
unto her, but farre surpassing her in their lasciuious life, of one of these, namely *Maro-
zia*, Pope *Sergius* had in adulterie *John*, who after the death of *John* of Rauenna got
the Popedome (that is to say, the twelfth, of whom we shall speake hereafter) and
by the Marquesse *Albert* her husband she had *Alberick*, who afterward vsurped the
principalitie of Rome. *Theodora* surprisid with the beautie of this *John* (that is to say
the eleuenth) who then had some charge in the Church of Rauenna, did not onely en-
tice, but forst him to lye with her. These things whilest they were thus impudently car-
ried, the Bishop of Bologne dying, this *John* was chosen in his place: at the last *Sergius*
dying, to the end she might not be too farre from her paramour (for Rauenna is distant
from Rome two hundred miles) she caused him to leaue the Archbishopsricke of Rauenna,
and to vsurpe, proh nefas, the Popedome of Rome. This Historie in *Luitprand* is set
downe more amply, and with words more scandalous, which I willingly spare to
deliuer. This is that *John*, who (as *Frodoardus* reporteth) to gratifie *Rodulph* the
King, created a child of fiue yeares age Bishop of Rheims: whereupon *Baronius*
thus crieth out, Thou see'st, gentle Reader, by the authoritie of what Pope this was first
brought into the Church of God (if he may be called a Pope) that is by *John* the tenth,
(whom *Platina* calls the eleuenth) than whom there was no man more wicked, whose
entrance into the Chaire of Peter was most infamous, and his departure most execrable.
Now *Marozia* her daughter hauing lost her husband the Marquesse *Albert*, not
knowing how to liue a priuat life, married her selfe to *Guido* Duke of Tuscan,
with

An. 911.
An. 913.

Platina in
Christoph. 1. &
sequ.

Luitprand. l. 2.
c. 13.

Luitprand. l. 2.
c. 13.

Frodoard. Hist.
Rhemens. l. 4.
c. 19.
Baron. vol. 10.
an. 925. tit. 9.
c. 11.

A with purpose to get into his hands the gouernment of Rome, which *Albertus*
had: and because Pope *John* withstood it, she perswaded her husband to take him
out of the way, who afterwards hauing caused his brother to be slaine in his sight,
cast *John* into prison, and smothered him with a pillow. *Guido* shortly after died,
and *Marozia* still greedie of gouernment, made a motion of marriage with *Hugh*
King of Arles, assuring him the gouernment of the Citie of Rome: who being
called from elsewhere into Italic, came and married her, and with speedie jour-
nies comming to Rome, was admitted without anie resistance. But he being o-
therwise a wise Prince, it so fell out, that when *Alberick* by the counsell of his mo-
ther, with lesse dexteritie than was fitting, brought water vnto him to wash his
hands, he gaue the young man a box on the eare; to reuenge which contumelie,
the youth in a furie presently went to the Romans; and perswades them to sedi-
tion against *Hugh*; whom he assaying in the castle, droue him to such a strait, that
he was enforced to leape ouer the wall: Whereupon *Alberick* both renews the
name of Consull in Rome, and made himselfe a Consull, changing the whole
order of the gouernment; and in such sort altereth the State, that from thence
forward for a long time the election of the Popes depended vpon him and his:
so to *Leo* the sixt, the succassor of *John* the eleuenth, in the yeare 928, he substitu-
ted *Stephen* the seuenth, but according to *Onuphrius* the eight: and in the yeare
930, *John* the twelfth, the bastard sonne of Pope *Sergius* the third and of *Maro-
zia*, gotten (as is said before) in adulterie, and consequently his brother by the
mothers side, whom *Sigonius* (not vnfitly) saith, *federe iussus* was commanded to
take the See: and againe in the yeare 935 he constituted *Leo* the seuenth, succes-
sor to *John* the twelfth. And whereas King *Hugh* in the yeare 938 had caused
Stephen the eight to be nominated in the place of *Leo* the seuenth, the faction of
Alberick by a ciuile tumult wounded in such sort his good name, that being a-
shamed to shew himselfe publikely, he died with discontent: in whose place *Mar-
tin* the second, *alias Martin* the third, succeeded: whose place foure yeares after
Agapete the second held: who also about the yeare 956 dying, the Consull *Albe-
rick* was of such power and authoritie, that he caused *Octauian* his owne sonne
to be chosen Pope, though young of yeares, and a child in manners. This man
according to *Platina*, was *John* the thirteenth, according to *Onuphrius* the twelfth.
Here *Baronius* searcheth into the age of *Octauian*, because the Emperour *Otha-
com*ming into Italic, was wont to say, He is but a child, and therefore may hereafter
easily be changed by the example of good men: When he had held the Seat eight
yeares, his natiuitie being cast, concluded, that notwithstanding he had beene
the eldest sonne of *Alberick*, which he was not, yet he could not be about eigh-
teene yeares of age. Iudge now Reader what Father of fathers he was, to gou-
erne (saith he) the spirituall regiment of all the Christian world, and so he pronoun-
ceth him an untimely birth, which the tyrannie of Rome had brought forth, excelling
in power, confounding euerie thing with warres, daring and subuerting all things; in
such sort, that by no meanes he could be said to be a lawfull Pope, in whose election there
was no law obserued, but all things carried by force and feare: he that wanted yeares to
be a Deacon, seemeth as a vice playing the Popes part vpon a stage. After all this, saith
Baronius, by common consent it was agreed, that he should be tolerated, rather than by
Schismes to trouble the Church of God: and note withall, that not long after he pre-
ferreth him before those, that were solemnly chosen in a full Councell. But it is
not amisse to heare what *Luitprand*, an eye-witnesse, saith of both the *Johns*, that
it may the better appeare how farre the impudencie of this Seat had proceeded.

T

To

To *Iohn* therefore the twelfth, besides what I haue already alledged of him, and of *Marozia* his mother, he hath these verses, where she inuicteth *Hugh* by the marriage of her to the Principallitie of Rome.

*Quid ueneris facibus compulsa Marozia senis,
Coniugis ecce tui spectas tu suavia fratris,
Nubere germanis satagens Herodia bimæ &c.*

Reproaching his incest; and againe,

*Aduenit optatus cum bos tibi ductus ad aram
Rex Hugo &c.*

Moreover, he bringeth in *Alberick* exhorting the Romans to shake off this infamous yoke, with these words, *Is the dignitie of the Citie of Rome so besotted, as to be obedient to the government of a strumpet? What thing more base, more abominable, than to yeeld to the incest of a woman?* For *Theodora* his mother had made *Iohn* the twelfth, her favorite, Pope: and as for *Iohn* the thirteenth, he describeth his life, not with his owne, but the words of the best of the people of Rome: witness *Raincria*, a widow of one of his souldiors, to whom he gave the government of many Cities, the keeping of the Crosse of gold, and the Cups of S. Peter. And witness *Stephana* his loue, who died in the deliuerie of that child which she had lately conceived by him; and if all things should hold their peace, the Palace of Lateran, sometimes the lodging of Saints, now a common brothell-house, cannot conceale his good friend the sister of *Stephana*, his fathers concubine. Witness the absence of all women, besides the Romanes, who durst not visit the Churches of the holie Apostles, to doe their deuotions, because that not many dayes before they had heard of married women, widowes, virgins, that had been forced by him. Witness the Churches themselves, where the raine doth not onely fall by drops, but overfloweth the whole altars. These hainous crimes were objected against him, whereof he was afterward accused and conuicted, as by little and little shall appeare; insomuch that *Platina* could not conceale, That from his youth he was polluted with all manner of wickednesse and uncleannesse. Neither doth *Onuphrius* dissemble it: and as for *Siggnius*, His Popedome (saith he) as the entrance was shamefull and villanous, so it had a sorrowfull end, with the great offence of the whole Church, and the molestation of all Italie; which a certaine tempest that rise this yeare did portend, wherein a stone of huge greatnesse in the thunder fell from heauen, which ouerthrew many Churches, and slew some of their Priests. *Robwinke* the author of *Fasciculus temporum* entring into this age, crieth out, *Alas alas, ô Lord God, how is the gold darkened, the good colour thereof changed! what scandales read we of in these times, euen in the Apostolike Seat? what contentions, emulations, seelds, enuyings, ambitions, intrusions, persecutions? O miserable times in which holie men languish and decay, and truth it selfe is banished from amongst the sonnes of men &c.* These eight Popes successiue following one the other, held their Seat but a small time, I can report nothing of them that is notable, because I haue found nothing but matter of scandale in them, by reason of such a contention in that holie Apostolike Seat of one against another, as hath not formerly bene heard of. For *Stephan* confirming the Acts of *Iohn* the eighth, condemneth *Formosus*, and declareth his Acts to be of no force, and disgraced his dead bodie, and cutting off two of his fingers, commaunded his land to be cast into *Tiber*, shewing himselfe thereby ungratefull towards him that had made him Bishop of *Auagnia*. But *Theodorus* shortly after disalloweth the Acts of *Stephan*, and approued those of *Formosus* &c. And so of the rest. He affirmeth, that *Sergius* the third beheaded *Formosus* being dead, and adorned with priestlie garments; but *Platina* speaks more mildly, saying, that he proceeded against him

*Platina in 10-
han. 13.
Sigon. lib. 7.
de Reg. Ital.*

*Platina in vita
harum Pontifi-
cum.*

A him by course of law, and condemned him to lose his head, as if he had bene alieue. But yet to all these he leaues a marke of reproach, when he saith of *Formosus*, That he was raised to the Popedome rather by gifts than by vertues, of *Stephen* the sixth, by money and corruption; of *Roman* the first, that he enuid the honours of all others; as they use to doe that are polluted with all kind of wickednesse; of *Theodore* the second, that he followed the steps of his seditious predecessors; of *Christopher* the first, that he cast *Leo* into prison, which could not be done without great sedition, and the utter destruction of manie; of *Iohn* the eleventh, that he was a man of warre rather than religion: and this he speaks perhaps (seeing as much as we see) more mildly than was fitting. Of this he rest in these times he spake more generally, Consider I pray (saith he) how much these haue degenerated from their ancestors, for they like holie men contemned dignities when they were freely offered them; giuing themselves to prayer and the studie of diuinitie; but these, seeking the Popedome by briberie and ambition, and gaining it, laying aside all diuine worship, like cruell tyrans exercised their malice the one towards the other, glutting themselves afterward the more securely with their owne pleasures, when there were none that had power to punish their insolencies. For (saith he) the Pontificall dignitie first increased without riches, among so many enemies, and obstinate persecutors of the name of Christ, by learning and holinesse of life, which are not attained but with great labors and much vertue: shortly after, so soone as the Church of God began to grow wanton with wealth, her worshippers being turned from austeritie of life to wantonnesse, this licence to sinne begot vnto vs (there being no prince to punish the wickednesse of men) these monsters, by whom the most holie Seat of Peter by ambition and briberie is rather occupied than possessed. This saith he, describing the liues of the Popes of this time, insomuch that we need no other witness. What then shall we say, if *Cardinall Baroni*, notwithstanding his sceleret robe, hath bene ashamed of this foule wickednesse, when he knew not how to begin without a Preface, wherein he confest to the Reader, that he was now to see *abominatouem desolationis in Templo*, foretold by *Daniel*, and afterward by our Sauer himselfe: What then should the faithfull doe, but by the commaundement of our Sauer, *ad montem fugiamus*, and let vs depart from *Babylon* and her uncleannesse, when againe we acknowledged that these Popes were *proh pudor & proh dolor* (saith he) like horrible monsters intruded into this Seat, venerable to the Angels themselves? And how many evils (saith he) haue proceeded from them, and strange accomplished tragedies? whereby it is come to passe, that the Church without spot or wrinkle hath bin sprinkled with ordures, infected with stench, polluted with willowes, darkned with perpetual infamie. Of *Sergius* namely, &c. of *Theodorus* his harlot, after he had quoted the place of *Luisprand*, he saith, Hast thou heard gentle Reader the lamentable state of this time, when *Theodora* the elder, a noble harlot, obtained the Monarchie in the Citie of Rome; and by this word they commonly understand the Church. But how came so infamous a woman to so great dignitie, saith he? This harlot was a noble woman of Rome, and of a great house, and of excellent beautie and wit, who by her adulterer Pope *Sergius* sibi Monarchiam peperit. She obtained this Monarchie. And note here the succession; This wicked woman by this art obtained the dominion, and to continue it to her posteritie prostituted her daughters to the Popes; to the inuaders of the Apostolike Seat, & to the Marqueses of *Tuscany*, by which means the Empire of these harlots so much increased, that at their pleasure they removed those that were lawfully created, and thrust into their places men polluted with all manner of wickednesse; and of this miserable estate of the Church, which God permitted (saith he) to be dishonored as the pleasure of wicked persons, let vs say with S. *Iohn*, of the great whore, her Empire spreadeth it selfe through the whole world.

Dan. 9.
Baron. an. 900.
art. 1, 2, 3.

Baron. to. 20. an.
908. art. 5, 6, 7.

O P P O S I T I O N .

Now if *Luitprand*, Deacon of the Church of *Paugia*, dare speake so freely as we haue heard before, it is not to be doubted but that others elsewhere doe at the least mutter something: For to see a curtsan, of all others in the world the most infamous, to raigne at *Rome*, and to raigne ouer the Popes, and to create Popes at her pleasure, what is it but to present vnto themselves the mother of fornications, as it were by an Epitome? And this was neuerthelessse in those times when the mariage of Priests was condemned for an Heresie, insomuch that against married Priests there could be found no law too seuer, nor punishment too painefull. At this time also there was much contention about the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, that by how much lesse they beleued *God* in heauen, by so much the more carefull they were to affirme him to be in the bread, in the Priests hand, in his words, in his nods; and that by these means, when it pleased them, they could make him appeare vpon the earth: so that, as the *Apostle* speaketh, Dishonestie followeth infidelitie, and corruption in manners, impietie.

Italie now being wearied with these monsters, is first at last to thinke of a remedie, especially being elsewhere troubled and disquieted with the oppressions of young *Berengarius* and his sonne, insupportable to men of all conditions. But the kings of the race of *Charlemaigne* being extinct in *Germanie*, and the *German* chusing kings of their owne nation, they had recourse vnto *Otho*, the sonne of king *Henrie*, duke of *Saxonic*, who then raigned there, greatly renowned for his vertue and justice. And some say, That *John* himselfe, partly intreated by the chiefe Lords of *Italie*, partly wearied by the *Berengarians*, sent Legats vnto *Otho*, *John* a Deacon, and *Aso* the Secretarie, to entreat him to come and succour the Church; it may be vnder this pretence, to demaund justice against himselfe, as it appeared afterward. But howsoeuer it was, they both made peace with *Otho*, and as they promised him being come to *Rome*, the Empire; so he for his part sweareth, with all the power he had to exalt the Church of *Rome*, and *John*, the ruler thereof. Moreover, he promiseth, that he will neuer be actor or author in any thing that may detract from that honour he hath, and to restore whatsoeuer shall fall into his hands that belongs to *Saint Peter*, and to giue in commaund vnto him, to whom he shall commit the gouernement of *Italie*, to sweare that he shall neuer assist the Pope, and defend the dominions of *Saint Peter* with all his force. Which being done, *Otho* came to *Rome* in the yeare 961, being magnificently receiued of all, and there bindes himselfe by oaths to the Pope, and the Pope to him; *Otho* restoring vnto him, according to his promise, whatsoever of his he had gotten into his power, and shortly after returned to *Paugia*. There was in the oath that *John* made to the Emperour, taken vpon the corps of *S. Peter*, this claue, That he would neuer giue assistance to *Berengarius*, and *Adelbert* his sonne: neuerthelessse he no sooner saw *Otho* departed, but presently he sent to *Adelbert*, and spareth not to promise any thing vnto him against the Emperour, who neuerthelessse being come at his request, in such sort astonished him, that hee had abandoned *Rome*, and retired himselfe vnder the protection of the *Sarasons* at *Fraxinet*. This new and incredible thing the Emperour would not easily beleue, but sent to his most familiar and trustiest friends in *Rome*, priuily to enquire the truth thereof: Whereupon the best of the citizens did assure him, That he should not any way doubt thereof, yea faithfully beleue, Thus the diuell hated not more his Creator, than *John* the Pope the most sacred Emperour, albeit he deliuered him from the hands of *Adelbert* his enimie. Wherefore they paint out the said *John* in all his

colours,

A colours, as before is said in *Luitprand*: For they say, There is not greater discord betwene the Wolfe and the Lambe, than hatred in him towards the Emperour, who the better to commit his wickednesse without punishment, had need of an *Adelbert* for his defender. The Emperour, who staid all this while at *Paugia*, resolued to returne againe to *Rome*, purposing by the way to chastise *Berengarius*. But *John*, who doubted of somewhat that might sinisterly ensue, gaue to vnderstand by his Legats, That heretofore he had bene carried by the heat of youth, but he was now resolued to be wiser, and propoundeth withall certaine complaints, for which the Emperour yeeldeth to make him satisfaction: yet all this will not content him, but still referueth matter of malice and mischief. And hereupon procured *Adelbert* to come, and honourably receiued him into *Rome*. The Emperour in the meane time drawing neere, The greater part of the noblest and chiefeest *Romans* tooke by force the castle of *S. Paule*, and thither inuite the Emperour, and gaue him pledges. Whereupon the Pope together with *Adelbert* incontinently fled from *Rome*. Then *Otho* being receiued into the citie, they promise him loyaltie and faith, adding moreover, and firmly swearing, That they would neuer chuse any Pope, or ordaine any without the consent and election of the Emperour *Otho*, and the king his sonne. Finally, within three dayes following, at the request of the Bishops and the people of *Rome*, there assembled a great Synod in the Church of *S. Peter*, where the Archbishops sat with the Emperour; that is to say, for *Englested* Patriarch of *Aquilea*, being then sicke in the citie, *Rodolphus* a Deacon, *Walbert* of *Milan*, & *Peter* of *Rauenna*: of *Germanie* also and *France*, many Archbishops, and diuers Bishops: of *Italie*, all the principall and chiefe Bishops, euen to the number of thirtie and more, besides the Suffragans themselves of the Bishopricke of *Rome*, and all the Priests, Cardinals, and Deacons, and other officers of the *Roman* Church; and also all the principall and chiefe persons in the citie of *Rome*, which are all feuerally named by *Luitprand* in his Historie: And therefore *Lambert* of *Schaffnaburg* calleth it The Great Synod. In which the Emperour omitted not any thing that belonged to the forme of law; and a generall silence being made, hee began and asked before all the Fathers, why *John* auoyded so great an assemblie, whom it most concerned, and according to the duetie of his charge ought principally to be there? Then the *Roman* Bishops, that is to say, the Bishops Suffragans, Cardinals, Priests, Deacons, and all the people, answered: We maruell greatly that your sacred wisdom will demaund this thing of vs, which neither the *Iberians*, *Babylonians*, nor the *Indians*, are ignorant of; so openly hee manageth his diuelliſh affaires, as no couerture or cunning he useth therein. The Emperour answered, It seemeth fit vnto vs, that some speciall accusations be declared, and then the rest to be decreed by common counsell. Then *Peter*, a Cardinall and Priest, stood vp and affirmed, That he saw him celebrat the Masse, and not communicat: *John* Bishop of *Narmie*, and *John* a Cardinall, testified, They saw him giue Orders to a Deacon in a stable among horses: *Benedict*, with other Deacons and Priests, say, They knew that he made Bishops for money, and that he had created one of the age of ten yeares a Bishop, in the citie of *Tudertina*: And for sacriledge we need not search farre, because we may know more by the eye than by the eare: For adulterie, they say, They were not eye witnesses, yet they certainly knew the widow of *Ranierus*, and *Stephana* his fathers concubine, and *Anna* a widow, with his neece, to be defiled by him; and that he made the holie Palace a stewes, and common brothell house. Moreover, he put out the eyes of *Benedict* his spirituall father, who soone after died; slew Cardinall *John*, a Subdeacon, after he had cut off his genitors; he exercised burnings, and violent outrages, being armed, and a sword by his side; that he used to carouse in wine a health to the diuell, which all, as well the Clergie as the Laitie, with one

T ij

woyce

Luitprand, l. 6.
c. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10,
11, 12, & vsque
ad finem.

Luitprand,
l. 6, c. 6.

Lambertus
Schaffnaburg.
an. 963.
Luitprand.
l. 6, c. 7.

voyce did confesse: That playing at dice they say, he vsed to call vpon the name of Iupiter A
and Venus, and all the diuels, to helpe him: That he celebrated Masses in no fit houre,
and neuer made any signe of the crosse. But for as much as worthie men are often in-
ueyed against, and through enuie and malicious detraction falsely accused, the
Emperour againe conjureth them, That they propound nothing against him
that is not plainly to be proued. To this the whole Synod cried out, *Quasi vnus*
uir, as if but the voyce of one man; If this unworthie Pope Iohn hath not committed
more shamelesse, and more abominable acts than these that are here exprest by Bene-
dict the Deacon, we desire holy Saint Peter the Prince of Apostles, neuer to absolue vs
from the snares of our finnes, who by his word shutteth the gates of heauen against the un-
worthie, and openeth them to the iust and righteous, but that we may be accursed and set B
upon the left hand as the last day. Neuerthelesse the Synod requested the Emperour,
That letters might be sent vnto him, to come to purge himselfe: which were pre-
sently dispatched, both in the name of the Emperour and the Archbishops; wherein
briefely were exprest the crimes whereof he was accused. Whereto he answered,
directing his letters, *Omnibus Episcopis, To all the Bishops: We heare say, that yee meane*
to create another Pope; which if yee doe, I excommunicat yee by the omnipotent God, that
yee haue no power to ordaine any, nor to celebrat the Masse. In the meane time that this
letter was in reading, there arriued the Archbishop of Treuers, and other Bishops
of Lorraine, Liguria, and Emilia, with whose aduise and counsell both the Em-
perour and the Synod returned him this answer: *If he came not, nor had any other* C
lawfull cause to alledge (being he was neither to passe the seas, nor had any bodily infirmi-
tie, nor yet a verie long iourney) they made light account of his excommunication, and that
they would returne it vpon himselfe, because they might iustly doe it. Iudas, say they,
who betrayed & sold our Saviour Iesus Christ, receiued of him, with others, the power to bind
and vnloosse, &c. and so long as he continued honest among the Disciples, he was able
to bind and vnloosse: but afterward, when through the venom and corruption of cou-
etousnesse he became an Homicide to destroy life, whom could he more eye or vntye but him-
selfe, whom most wickedly he strangled with an halter? Surely by this it plainly ap-
peareth, that the pretended seat of Saint Peter is no impediment to be a Iudas.
The Emperour, who all this while complained not of any iniurie offered by him D
particularly vnto himselfe, seeing him sufficiently charged by others, declared
now vnto them with great moderation, How that he hauing taken an oath vpon
the corps of Saint Peter, did neuerthelesse combine and arme himselfe with *Adel-*
bert against him; intreating the Synod to consider thereof: whose sentence was,
That a strange Vicer ought to be burnt with a strange searing yron; and it was fit to drine
away this monster of the Church, a scandall to the whole world, and some good and vertu-
ous man to be put in his place. This sentence was approved by the Emperour, and all
with one voyce chose *Leo* the eighth in place, as they say, of this *Apostol Iohn*; the
Emperour allowing the same. These things fell out in the yeare 963; but not
long after, such things being set in order as did most concerne them, the Emperour E
with *Leo* called another Synod at Rome: in which it manifestly appearing to all,
that there was no other cause of these tumults, than the neglect of the law and in-
stitution ordaind by *Charles* the Great, and quite abrogated by *Adrian* the third,
labouring more, saith *Sigomius*, for the dignitie, than the tranquillitie of the Church;
whereby the Popes were chosen by vnlawfull suits and briberies: a law was made
for the restitution thereof, and that bridle which the Popes and Clergie of Rome
had studiously shaken of, they were enforced againe to admit. We read in the De-
crees of *Gratian* this Canon, D. 63. repeated also by *Sigomius* in his Historie: Ac-
cording

Sigom. l. 7. de
reg. Ital.

D. 63. c. in
Synod. 23.

A
According to the example of holie *Adrian*, Bishop of the Apostolike Sea, who granted to *Charles* Sigom. l. 7. de
(the most victorious king of the French and Lombards) the dignitie of the Patritij, and the regno Ital.
administration of the Apostolike See, and the inuesting of Bishops; I likewise, *Leo* Fosculus
Bishop, and seruant of the seruants of God, with all the Clergie and people of Rome, consti- Anno 964.
tute and confirme, and by our Apostolicall authoritie grant and giue vnto the Lord *Otho*
the first king of the Germans, and to his successors of the kingdome of Italie for euer, the
authoritie and power to elect and chuse a successor, and to ordaine and appoint the Bishop
of the Soueraigne Apostolike See: and furthermore, that the Archbishops and Bishops
shall take their inuestiture of him, but their consecration where they ought, except those
whom the Emperour hath giuen or granted to the Popes and Archbishops: And that no
B
man hereafter, of what degree or religion soeuer, shall haue any power in chusing or or-
dayning either *Patricius*, or Bishop of the Soueraigne Apostolike See, or any Bishop,
without the consent of the Emperour, and that without any corruption or money;
and that hee bee *Patricius* and King. If any therefore who soeuer, enterprise or at-
tempt any thing against this rule and Apostolicall authoritie, wee iudge him excom-
municat, and if he be not penitent therefore, perpetuall exile, and euerlasting torment.
The summe of this Canon with *Gratian* is thus, The election of the Bishop of Rome by
right belongeth to the Emperour. And *Theodore* of Nyem, who liued vnder *Iohn* the
23, affirmeth, That he had seene the Letters Patents at Florence, from whence it
was taken, reserued for the priuiledge of the Imperiall dignitie. And also *Krantzius* K. antizius l. 4.
with this clause verie perfectly relateth vnto vs, That this Councell ought to be inui- c. 10. Saxonię.
olably obserued, vnder the paine of excommunication of the Vniuersall Church. In so much
that it was necessary to put againe in force the law of *Charles* the Great, to bridle the
monstrous lasciuiousnesse of the Clergie: Which law neuerthelesse as they obedi-
ed it vnwillingly, so vpon euerie light occasion they were ready to abrogat it; so
impatient were they of all good discipline. For so soone as the Emperour had
dismissed his forces, they recall *Iohn*; who assembled another Synod, deposeth *Leo*,
cancelleth his Acts, condemneth the Synod holden by him, forbiddeth it to be
called a Synod, but *Prostibulum fauens adultris, A stewes in fauour of adulterers*; and
as many as *Leo* had Ordered, hee degraded; whom, to the end they might sig- Siebert.
nifie to the world, That they had receiued nothing from *Leo*, hee commaunded Anno 963.
them alwayes to haue this word in their mouthes, *My father had nothing, and gave* Luitprand.
me nothing. At the last, vpon a certaine night, as *Pope Iohn* lay with another mans wife l. 6. c. 11.
without the citie of Rome, he was so stroken of the diuell, that within eight dayes follow-
ing he died of the same wound. And here the Author crieth out, O eternall God, how
different are these from those of former time! O the bottomlesse depth of the iudgements
of God, who can find them out! Some say, he was slaine by the husband of the said wife.
And then the Romans, contrarie to their oath, chose one *Benet*, without the con-
sent of *Otho*, or his sonne. Wherewith the Emperour being much offended, be-
sieged the citie, and tooke it in despite of the Romans, dispossessing *Benet* not onely
E
of his Poppedome, but degraded him of his Priestlie Orders, after he had acknow-
ledged his offence, & reestablished *Leo* the eighth. By which occasion it so came to
passe, that *Leo* to render some gratuitie to the Emperour, made a resignation for
euer, both to him and to his successors, Emperours and Kings of Italie, of all the
donations granted to the Church of Rome; whether by any manifest deed, or
any Imperiall Patent, or in any other manner whatsoeuer, by *Charles* the Great,
Pepin his father, *Aribert* king of Lombards, or *Iustinian*: taking as it were to wit-
nesse the books of the holy Euangelists, many reliques, the holy crosse, the hose, & vnseamed
coat of our Lord, the bodie of holie Saint Peter, with many profound oathes taken before
him

him and his Cardinals, and by the consent and auctoritie of all the people of Rome, as well the Clergie as the Laitie, of all degrees, and of euerie Prouince, being present, and confirming the same. In this resignation are specified severally all the Prouinces, Isles, Cities, Townes, Castles, which are recited in the donation of the Emperor *Leo*, without any exception: and also many others which were not there named. And all this, saith he, take and possesse for the use of your Court and militarie affaires, so make warre, and to fight against the Paimims, and against the rebels of the Roman Empire: Adding besides, That if any will attempt to hinder the effect thereof, let him know, That by the law *Iulia* he incurreth the punishment of high treason, and purchaseth to himselfe the displeasure of *Saint Peter*, &c. At the last, after a solempne Fiat, Fiat, all Archbishops, Bishops, Cardinals, Priests, and Deacons, and all the principall officers of the Court of Rome, besides the Consuls, Exconsuls, Senators, and others that might adde any strength to the auctoritie of this Bull, subscribed name by name. All this, besides what is found in diuers auncient libraries, with that other before spoken of, is wholly related by *Theodore* of Nyem the Popes Secretarie, whatsoeuer *Baronius* cauilleth to the contrarie. For whereas in this Charter there were nominated foure Bishops of Italie, which in the Synod the yeare before were called by other names, that is to say, of *Alba*, *Prenefte*, *Tiburina*, and *Nerni*; is it any wonder, if among so many Bishops that were at this Synod, foure should die within the space of a yeare, and in the middle of so many confusions change their place? *Fasciculus temporum* seemeth to haue seene both the one and the other, who briefely, like himselfe, saith thus: *This Leo* ordained, That no Pope should be made without the consent of the Emperour, in malice towards the Romans, who by force thrust in their owne friends and kindred. Also he resigned to *Otho* and his successors all the donations of the Church made by *Iustinian*, *Charles*, and others, to the end he might defend Italie from all invaders thereof. This he addeth of his own opinion, That holinesse was departed from the Popes, and come to the Emperours, in those times. And these things reach to the yeare 964. Neither is it to be omitted, That this *John* the thirteenth, alias the twelfth, who hath held vs too long, and whom *Platina* calleth *Sceleratissimum hominem, vel potius monstrum*, A most wicked man, or rather a monster, was, according to the saying of *Onophre*, the first who changed his name, and gaue example thereby to others to follow him, whom I wish in many things, and euen in the worst, they had not too much imitated.

An. 966.

Now according to this order, *Leo* the eighth being dead in the yeare 966, the Romans sent *Afon* chiefe Secretarie, and *Martin* Bishop of *Sutrie*, to *Otho* into Germanie, to consult vpon the election of a successor, who presently dispatched away *Ogier* Bishop of *Spire*, and *Linson* of *Cremona*, to Rome: in whose presence the people and Clergie nominated *John* Bishop of *Narnie*, the sonne of one *John* a Bishop, the which, according to *Platina*, was the foureteenth of this name, according to *Onophrius*, the thirteenth: But not without tumult of the Romans, who impatiently bearing a strange yoke, cast him into prison, and enforced *Otho* to returne into Italie to reforme their disorder. But he, in fauour of this *John* by him created, and to get the greater good will in Italie, gaue vnto him, saith *Reginon*, the citie and territorie of *Rauenna*, and many other things taken away from the Bishops of Rome by *Berengarius*. *Sigonis* addeth, That he confirmed by a new Charter the old donation of *Pepin*, *Charles*, & *Lewis*, but without author: For of this verie time we will vse no other witnesse but himselfe, for writing to the yeare 973, thus he saith: Though Italie were possess'd by a King, and he an Emperour, and by the Pope, yet there was not in both of them the same auctoritie; the Pope had Rome and *Rauenna*, and the other territories, rather

Supplimentum
Reginon. anno
967.
Sigon. l. 7.
De regno Italie.
Otho 3. in Di-
plamate Dona-
tionis quod Af-
sy Seruatur.

Ather by auctoritie than Empire, because the cities acknowledged the Pope as Prince of the Commonwealth, the King as the chiefe Lord, and gaue vnto him tribute and obedience; and the Popes forces consisted in his holie execrations, which the Christian kings did then greatly feare. What thing then is more plaine than this, to giue vs to vnderstand, That the auctoritie of the Pope consists onely in matters spirituall? After *John* succeeded *Benedict* the sixth, by the verie same law of *Leo* the eighth, and auctoritie of *Otho*. But *Otho* being dead, and his sonne much troubled in the warres of Germanie and France, the Romans returned to their former naturall conditions; and vpon the death of *Benedict*, strangled (as is said) by Cardinal *Boniface*, being encouraged by one *Cincius* a citizen of Rome, they created *Donus* the second for successor, & presently *Boniface* the seuenth, the murderer of *Benedict*, *corruptis comitijs*, as the Author saith, whom *Benedict* the seuenth thrust out of the seat, through the fauour of the Tusculan Earles. So much was this seat swayed by theft and corruption. Wherefore *Otho* the second came into Italie, and vsed extraordinarie seueritie to repress these inconueniences; and yet there wants not those that would persuade vs, that they were Martyrs: but the author of *Fasciculus temporum* maketh a fit distinction of them: They were slaine, saith he, as in the Primitive Church, but they were no Martyrs; the punishment all one, but the cause different. *Otho* died, and not long after *Benedict*, and *Peter* Bishop of *Paulia* succeeded, who was, saith *Platina*, *John* the sixteenth, who being scarce warme in his seat, *Boniface* the seuenth (before expelled, through the helpe of a great masse of money which by sacriledge he had gathered together) cast him into prison, & there died he of famine or otherwise, within eight moneths following; into the possession of whose vacant chaire he was admitted by the Romans: who neuertheless left it soone after through sudden death, to *John* the sixteenth, the sonne of a Priest; and this *John* the sixteenth left it to *John* the seuenteenth, that the saying of *Platina* may here be found true, That (to the great good of the Christian Commonwealth) these monsters, while mutually they banded one against another, they liued not long. *Boniface* the seuenth is noted by him, *malarum artium*, to attaine to the Popedom by wicked means, sacriledge, corruption, and tyrannie: and also *John* the sixteenth to be prodigall to his kindred and friends of all things, both diuine and humane, without any respect of the seruice of God, or the honour of the dignitie of the See of Rome: Which error, saith *Platina*, he hath left by tradition to his posteritie, that it continueth euen to our times; inasmuch that the Clergie of this age desire not the Popedom for the seruice and worship of God, but that they may satisfie the gluttonie and auarice of their brethren, kindred, and familiar. And so of the rest. At length one *Crescentius* a citizen of Rome, *Otho* the third being farre distant, dared to attempt the government of the citie, the people distasting a strange Empire: *John*, who loued better a Lord farre off, than neere at hand, rather forraine than domesticall, inuiceth *Otho*; who was afterword the third, to come into Italie, and promised to crowne him Emperour: But *John* dying before *Otho* arriued at Rome, *Otho* by his auctoritie created at *Rauenna*, *Druna* Pope, of the house of Saxonie, his kinsman, then in his companie, and sent him to be created at Rome. This was *Gregorie* the fifth, who likewise in the yeare 996 receiued him; and crowned him with *Marie* his wife in the citie of Rome. But so soone as *Otho* was returned into Germanie, *Crescentius* made chiefe Consul, taking courage to himselfe, expelled *Gregorie*, as not chosen by the people, but by the onely auctoritie of the Emperour, and created a certaine Greeke, Bishop of *Plasance*, with the consent both of the Clergie and people; no lesse rich, saith *Platina*, than learned; whose name hath bene concealed, because hee was unlawfully created. Where-

Fasciculus tempo.

An. 996.

Whereupon *Gregorie* flyeth to *Otho*, who from Germanie returneth with his armie into Italie, entrencheth Rome, and assaileth *Crescentius* in the castle, taketh this *John* the eighteenth, putteth out his eyes, and reestablisheth *Gregorie*. This *Gregorie* (saith *Martin*, and after him *Platine*) who in fauour of him established a law to continue for euer, That it should onely appertaine to the Germanes to chuse the Prince, who is called *Cesar*, and King of the Romanes, but yet not held for Emperour, till he were crowned and confirmed by the Bishop of Rome. But *Onuphrius* sheweth by good arguments that they are deceived; attributing to *Gregorie* the fist that which belongeth to the tenth. And *Baronius* after a long disputation comes to this, That the Electors of the Empire create him not, but that the Emperours should be chosen by the Princes of Germanie, without anie necessitie to goe to Rome to consult thereon. And these matters reach to the yeare 998. As for the affaires of Rome and Italie, euerie man may judge, what their miserie might be among these frequent mutations of Popes, being neuer almost without murther, sedition, ciuile warres, and forreine forces.

Baronius notwithstanding attesting and detesting all these disorders (the cause whereof he could neither dissemble nor ouerslip the Historie) could not endure that the Emperor in a solemne Synod of the Church (whereof *Luitprand* describeth all the circumstances) should bring matters to a better state; but thought it more tollerable that the Church should sticke in the depth of all filthinesse and gluttonie, than to be drawne forth by the hands of a lawfull Prince. This Synod (saith he) held at Rome, vnder the authoritie of the Emperour *Otho* the first, in the yeare 963, to depose this execrable *John* the thirteenth, whom he tearmeth a monster, was a false Synod, if euer were anie, wherein the Ecclesiasticall Law was neuer more wronged, more Canons violated, nor permissiue traditions, and iustice prostrate, trodden vnder foot, and oppressed with greater shame. But how forsooth? Because (saith he) that they hauing once acknowledged him for Pope, be it right, be it wrong, by freewill or by force (as he hath said before that nothing was lawfully acted in his election) they could assemble no Councell against the Pope without his consent. And hereupon he groweth verie testie and cholericke; a Priest fit to adore Antichrist in the Church, and carrie his traine after him. Now then after he had apparantly demeaned himselfe as a Tyrant and a ruffian in the Church, dost thou doubt whether he will be a suppresser of brothel-houses, or a supporter of them, or that he will recall those by whom he hath bene expelled, or be brought into order by Parliaments? And all that which besides he alledgeth is nothing but pedantrie. And the same saith he of the Councell of Lateran, held after the death of this miserable *John* the thirteenth, that is, they that were subrogated Popes in a solemne manner, after such a monster, were all vnlawfull; especially *Leo* the eight: neither doe we greatly labour therein, for whether of them are to be preferred, it matters not greatly; *John*, whom he tearmeth a monster, is the onely lawfull Pope.

But he could in no wise dissemble the cause; for that constitution of *Leo* in fauour of *Otho* and his successors, which we haue formerly alledged *D. 63*, vext him euen at the heart, whereof he fretteth and fumeth against *Gratian*, These things (saith he) he handled too vnadvisedly, this Synod was a counterfeit Synod, and this *Leo* the eight a false adulterous Pope. And to speake a truth, where shall we find a true and a lawfull one? Besides, what necessitie was it in him (saith he) to pronounee him King and Patricius, when *John* the twelfth had consecrated him Emperour? Verily, because he did not thinke he could be well consecrated by such a monster. And

Platina in
Gregor. 5.

Baron. an. 998.
art. 71.

An. 998.

Baron. an. 963.
art. 31, 32.

Dist. 63.

A And who did euer see (saith he) that the constitutions of Popes had commination of punishment, and yet what more frequent? Was it not decreed in that worthie Councell of Constance, that the execution should be left to the politike Magistrat? but he should haue rested himselfe vpon *Gregorie* the thirteenth, who approved this Constitution in a reformed decree by his silence, with notes added thereunto. But see what he elsewhere sayth, as a thing verie authentike to proue the right that the Emperours haue by the Popes permission to chuse a successor, To great *Otho* (saith he) this right was first graunted by the Bishop of Rome. These are his owne words, how then without shame dares he call it into doubt?

Baron. an. 964.
art. 23.

Baron. an. 996.
art. 41.

38. PROGRESSION.

Of the troubles that arose in France through the faction of Hugh, surnamed Capet, and Charles Duke of Lorraine: with the treason and treacheries of Arnulphus Canon of Laon.

HERE let vs now recite what past in these times in our France, which vpon the declination of the race of *Charles* the Great was diuersly vexed, vntill the progenie of *Capet*, either through others negligence, or their owne policie, had gotten the vpper hand; whereupon the kingdom of France, by the consent of all the States, was translated to *Hugh*, surnamed *Capet*, whose posteritie by the prouidence of God doth yet flourish. In the meane time *Charles* Duke of Lorraine entred into France to dispute his right by force of armes, and first worketh with *Arnulphus*, Canon of Laon, base sonne of King *Lothaire*, father of the last *Lewis*, by whose meanes he possessed the Citie, and taketh *Adalbero* Bishop thereof, and putteth him into prison, who soone after escaped and came to King *Hugh*, which was not done without slaughter and spoyle, as appeareth by an Epistle of *Gerbert* to the Emperor *Otho*, He tooke prisoner (saith he) his owne Bishop, circumuented by fraud, and with him the Citie of Laon, after much bloodshed and manie outrages committed. And writing to the Synod at Rheims, He became (saith he) a famous Apostate, and held a long time the place of the traitor *Iudas* in the Church &c. Neuerthelesse *Hugh* sought all meanes to draw him into his faction, hoping to benefit himselfe thereby; and *Adalbero* Archbishop of Rheims chauncing to die (appointing for his successor *Gerbert*, who was afterward Pope *Syluester* the second) he made him Archbishop, taking of him an authentike promise of fidelitie, written with his hand, sworne with his mouth, and subscribed of all the people and nobilitie of that diocesse, *Acceptis ab eo* (saith the Synod) *terribilibus sacramentis*, which the same *Gerbert* witnesseth. His intelligence neuerthelesse for all that continued with *Charles* of Lorraine, so that six moneths after he marching with his armie before Rhemes, was receiued into the Citie through the treason of the said *Arnulphus*, who neuerthelesse played his part by a Priest of his, named *Adalgare*, and the better to hide his villanie, was carried prisoner to Laon, with other French Lords that were then within the Citie. And of this second perurie saith *Gerbert*; He betrayed the Citie, he polluted the Sanctuary of God, ranaske all, and caused the people to be carried away captiue. And presently after (saith he) excommunicated his owne proper theses, and commanded the Bishops of France to doe the same. In the meane time so farre forth did he persist in his dissimulation, that for the space of eightene monethes, being carefully admonished by the Bishops of France to purge himselfe of so great a crime, at length being forsaken of his chiefest

Gerbert in ep.
ad Oibonem &
ad Wilderodonem
Episcopo
Argentinensium.
Synod. Rhemens.
c. 26.

Synod. Rhemens.
c. 25.
Gerbert. in epi-
stola ad Oibonem
& ad Wilderodonem
Episcopo
Argentinensium.

chiefest consorts, was not ashamed to submit himselfe to the Kings fauour, and tooke a new oath more strict than the former, and so was admitted to his table: and notwithstanding, returned soone after to the part of the said Charles. Hugh therefore as yet scarce seated in the kingdome, thinking to deale mildly with him, repaireth to John the sixteenth, and both by letters and embassages complaineth of the injuries done vnto him, and at the first was gently accepted. But the Synod sayth, *As the Legats of the Countie Herbert arrived, and had deliuered their presents vnto him, this man, as Platina tels vs (who prodigally bestowed vpon his kindred all things both diuine and humane that belonged to the seruice of God) altered his mind: insomuch that being wearied in waiting at the gates of his palace the space of three dayes, they returned, not doing anie thing; not onely not admitted, but forced to depart. But Hugh, who in the meane time had taken in the Cities of Rheims and Laon, and by the same meane got Arnulph into his power, caused a Nationall Councell to be held at Rheims in the yeare 991: Wherein Arnulph by his owne proper confession being found guiltie, was in a solemne manner deposed, and Gerbert, who was afterward Syluester the second, put by the King in his place, who had the charge to put in writing the Acts of this Councell, which also are now read by vs. The Pope then being inwardly moued, not so much for the judgement of Arnulphus, as offended at the lawfull libertie of the French Fathers, excommunicated those that had subscribed to the conclusion of this Councell, and straitly forbad Gerbert his Archiepiscopall function, in a Synod held at Moson, and threatened the Kings themselues with curses and excommunications. Insomuch, that it is a wonder that these men, infamous in Italie for so much wickednesse, should so impudently abuse our patience, and so boldly mocke vs with their Bulls in Fraunce, vnder the confidence (without doubt) of this our new, and yet but feeble Empire. But Gregorie the fift. proceeded in the same course, insomuch that Gerbert was constrained to forsake that part, and to liue vnder the protection of the Emperour Otho the third. But with what constancie neuerthelesse the French Bishops did entertaine the arrogancie of the Popes, it is now time to consider.*

OPPOSITION.

There assembled therefore in the yeare 991 at Rheims, vnder Hugh and Robert his sonne, the most famous Bishops of all the Prouinces, recited by name in this Synod, the Acts whereof were elegantly set downe by Gerbert, who was afterwards Syluester the second. And first of all they appointed for President Siguin the Archbishop of Sens, but the Custos and interpreter of all that was done, Arnulph Bishop of Orleans, because amongst all the Bishops of France he was most famous for his wisdom and eloquence. First therefore he proposeth vnto them how much it concerned them, truly and strictly to examine the fact of Arnulph Bishop of Rheims, his offence being such as came within the compasse of high treason; least (saith he) for one mans cause we should be accused of perfidious infidelitie, and men may iustly say, if the Bishops used iust lawes, and were faithfull to their Kings, why punish they not with their lawes so impure and corrupt a man? Doubtlesse the reason is this, They are willing to conceale the wickednesse of others, that they themselues might be bold to sinne without punishment. Whereunto Siguin Archbishop of Sens answered, That he would neuer endure that this pretended offence of treason should be discussed, except a promise were made (if he should be convicted) of pardon; for which he alledged the 31 Canon of the Councell of Toledo: whereunto the Bishops replied,

Synod. Rhe-
mens. c. 27.

An. 991.

Synod. Rhe-
mens. c. 1, 2.Synod. Rhe-
mens. c. 2, 3.

- A replied, That if that should take place, it is to be feared, that the secular people would not from henceforward attend spirituall iudgements, owing all iustice and obedience to their King. Secondly, there was produced the oath of Arnulph to the Kings Hugh and Robert, in expresse words, vsing that imprecation against himselfe which the Prophet did against the traitor Iudas, Psalm. 109, *Fiant dies mei pauci, & Episcopatum meum accipiat alter &c. Let my daies be few, and let another take my Bishopricks, or my Charge &c.* beseeching withall his brethren and sonnes (that is, his Dioceans) not to be backward in approuing the same vnder their hands and seales. Thirdly, the Priest Adalger was sent for, by whom he played that traitorous part at Rheims, who confessed the whole fact, and declared Arnulph the captaine and author thereof, yeelding himselfe to put his hand to the fire, and protesting that he was stricken with horror and feare of that curse which was pronounced against Arnulph and his followers, which is there recited in the selfesame words. And it is worthie the noting, that this was done, not by the authoritie of S. Peter, or the See of Rome, but by the authoritie (say they) and power giuen to the Apostles, and left vnto vs; and in like manner that which was pronounced vpon the fact of Laon, set downe in the selfesame stile. Siguin asked, Whether Arnulph from thenceforward abstained from the companie of those that were excommunicated? to which he answered, That he did quite contrarie, accounting them worthie of the communion of the faithfull. And hereupon were read the fourth Canon of the Synod of Antioch, the nine and twentieth and thirtieth of the Councell of Carthage, which doe manifestly condemne it. But yet neuerthelesse Arnulph Bishop of Orleans, the moderator of this businesse, requesteth, That it might be lawful for anie man to defend him, for his Clergie, for his Abbots; yea they are commaunded, vnder paine of the great Curse, with all fidelitie and libertie to speake in defence of his innocencie; which in the name, and by the consent of all, the rest was pronounced by Siguin. Whereupon there came presently forth John, a scholler of Auxerre, Romulfe Abbot of Sens, Abbe Rector of Florat, furnished with bookes, and confessing themselues to be vrged thereunto by the force of that curse that was layed vpon them, if they should omit anie thing that might make for his defence. Fourthly, to auoid the judgement of the Synod, they alledged a certain pretended Epistle of Stephen Archbishop of Mauritania to Damasus Bishop of Rome, and another of Damasus to Stephen, whereby they proue, That the causes of Bishops and other great affaires ought alwaies to be referred to the Bishop of Rome. They likewise alledged certaine articles out of the Epistles Decretals; by vs formerly confuted, whereby they would seeme to euict, That Arnulph above all things ought to be restored, and that without the knowledge and consent of the Pope nothing might be done in his businesse, who in all cases whatsoeuer was to be judged by him and none other. The Synod answereth and determineth out of the tenth Canon of the African Councell; *That if anie Clerke shall neglect the purgation of his owne cause for the space of one whole yeare together, that he is wenter afterward to be heard, or to be restored againe to his place.* Whereupon there were alledged manie examples, namely, that of Hildeman Bishop of Beauvais, Helbo Archbishop of Rheims, Crescon de Villarege, and others. Letters were there read sent both from Kings and Bishops, whereby John the Pope had bene aduertised of the whole matter, and entreated to pronounce sentence against this man, honoured with so great a dignitie by King Hugh, and that freely, and yet convicted of such heinous offences, and who being called to the Palace refused to come, being invited by the Archbishops and Bishops, answering that he owed them no such dutie;

Cap. 11. 12. 13.
& 14.Cap. 17. 18. 19.
& 20.

Cap. 23. 24.

and at the last was not onely intreated, but charged to doe that which was fit to be done concerning this other Iudas, to the end, that by his occasion the name of God might be no more blasphemed, and he from hence forward might not pretend cause of ignorance: our Bishops adding thereunto these words, *To the end we may know and understand why amongst all others we are to preferre your Apostleship*, iudging him consequently to be, or not to be, the successor of Saint Peter, as he should confirme or disallow their sentence, pronounced according to the Canons, which they thought was by no meanes to be called in doubt. But all this notwithstanding, he made little account of these letters, and a white horse given by Cont Herbert preuailed more than their Legation, who for the better dispatch of certaine *maledicta in reos*, demanded ten crownes, which he ought not to haue done, if they were not iust, for a thousand. And in the end they had no other answer but this, *That he for whose cause he had bene taken, should order this businesse as it seemed good unto himselfe*. It was not therefore without cause, that the Councell of Carthage, where were assistants 227 Bishops, and among the rest Saint Augustine, ordained, for a perpetual memorie, what we are to hold concerning the power of the Bishop of Rome: Which being all there read, they gathered from thence this conclusion, That all businesse were to be determined in those places where they had their beginning, and that there was no Appeale to be made to the Bishop of Rome. But for as much as the cause of Arnulph Bishop of Rhemes was not in question, whether it should be referred to Pope John or no, it seemeth good to Arnulph Bishop of Orleance, who directed the whole Synod, to repeat the businesse at large; whose whole Oration it shall not be amisse in this place to insert. *We honour, saith he, most reuerend Fathers, the Church of Rome, for the memorie of S. Peter; neither doe wee strine to withstand the decrees of the Bishop of Rome, but reseruing still the authoritie of the Nicene Councell, we haue had that Church euer in highest veneration &c.* But two things there are which especially we must foresee, that is to say, whether the silence of the Bishop of Rome or any new constitution of his, may be preiudicious to the lawes of the Canons, or the decrees of our Forefathers (he being silent) must hold their peace: And if a new constitution, to what end is it to make lawes, when all things are directed according to the will and arbitrement of one man? Doubtlesse you cannot but see, that if you admitted either the one or the other, you bring the state of the Church of God into danger, and so seeking lawes upon lawes, it will come to passe, that we shall haue no lawes at all; what then, shall we derogate from the priuiledge of the Bishop of Rome? no not at all. But if he be a man commendable for his learning, and of good conuersation, we are not to feare either his silence, or his new constitutions: But if either ignorance, or feare, or couetousnesse, shall make him wander out of the way (which almost euen in these times we haue seene, tyrannie preuailling at Rome) we are a great deale the lesse to feare either his silence, or his new constitutions. For that man that in the course of his life goes against the lawes, can no way be preiudicious vnto them. But O wretched Rome, who to our forefathers hast brought forth many excellent lights of the Church, and in our times hast yielded monstrous darknesse, infamous to all future ages. At other times we haue had illustrious Leos, great Gregories &c. what shall I say of Gelasius and Innocentius, who excelled with their wisdom and eloquence all worldly Philosophie? There is no long succession of those that haue filled the world with their learning. Rightly therefore was the Church of God committed to their gouernment and disposition, who in their liues and learning excelled all others: and yet neuertheless euen in the middest of this felicitie this priuiledge was withstood by the Bishops of Africa, rather fearing, as I thinke, those miseries that we endure, than the forme of gouernment. For what haue we seene in these our times? We haue seene a Iohn called

Oñz.

A Oñzian, wallowing in the sinke of all licentiousnesse, and Otho, whom he created Augustus, conspiring against him, &c. And here he reciteth summarily, all the wickednesse, disorders, murders, slaughters, reuenges committed by him and his successors vnder the raigne of Otho. There succeeded at Rome, saith he, in the Popedome, that horrible monster Boniface, who had not his peere in all manner of sinne and wickednesse, tainted with the bloud of his predecessors, &c. Is it reason, saith he, that infinit numbers of the Priests of God, famous in the world for their knowledge and godly conuersation, should be subiect to such monsters, full of infamie, void of all knowledge, both diuine and humane? What meaneth this most reuerend Fathers? Or by what vice is it come to passe, that the head of the Church of God, who hath bene mounted to so great a height, crowned with honour and glorie, should fall so low into such infamie and dishonour? It is our fault, our impietie, who seeke our owne, and not that which is Iesus Christs: For if in euerie one of vs that is chosen to a Bishopricke, it be carefully looked into that he be a man of grauitie, of honest life and conuersation, of exquisit knowledge in all manner of learning diuine and humane, how narrowly must we search into him that desires to be thought the Master of all Bishops? How then comes it to passe, that in so high a seat there should be placcd a man so base, as not thought worthie to haue any place among the Clergie? What then, most reuerend Fathers, doe you thinke of this man, seated in so high a throne, glittering in a garment of gold and purple, whom doe you take him to be? Doubtlesse if he be destitute of charitie (Si, pro quia, I say, if, where I should say because) and puffd up with knowledge, he is Antichrist sitting in the Temple of God, and shewing himselfe as if he were God: Or certainly, if he be neither founded upon charitie, nor eleuated with knowledge, he is as a statue or idoll in the Temple of God, of whom to seeke answers, is to consult with stockes and stones. And here, gentle Reader, content not thy selfe with that which Baronius answers, That they are not to denie their obedience to such Popes, because our Lord and Saviour, the eternall wisdom, refused not to obey a Carpenter, and his mother the virgin, for he was not ashamed to abuse these examples in fauor of those monsters; and to say a truth, neuer did Baronius more plainly shew his follie. Whither therefore, saith Arnulph, shall we goe for counsell? The Gospell saith, that our Saviour sought thirfe for fruit in one fig tree, and because he found none, he would haue it cut downe, but yet being intreated, he was content to expect a while longer: Let vs therefore expect our Metropolitans so long as we can; and in the meane time let vs seeke and search where the pasture of the word of God may be found. And certainly euen in this holie assemblie there are some that doe affirme, That in the Low Countries, and in Germanie, neere neighbours vnto vs, there are many excellent seruants of God, of singular pietie and learning: And therefore if the courage of our raring kings did not hinder it, we should rather seeke to them for iudgement, than from this citie, which being put to sale to as many as will buy, weigheth out her iudgements according to the pay. And if any shall say, according to Gelasius, That the Church of Rome hath power to iudge of the whole Church, and none of her; let him bring forth some one in the Roman Church, of whose iudgement no man can iudge, although the Bishops of Africa haue iudged this thing impossible: vnlesse perhaps, say they, some one doe beleene, that our Saviour had power to inspire the iustice of trial to one whomsoeuer it be, and would denie it to infinit numbers of Bishops assembled in a Councell. But for as much as in these dayes there is almost none at Rome (as the same goeth) that hath any learning, without which neuer thesese vix ostiarius efficitur, they will hardly make a porter, with what face dare they teach that which they neuer learned? And so examining all the Canons and Decrees alledged by the defendants, he sheweth them, That nothing hath bin done in prejudice of them, setting before their eyes many examples of the same case of one Aegidius

Baron. vol. 10.
an. 992. art. 20.
21. 22.

Archbishop of Reimes, deposed in the citie of Metz by the Bishops of France, and being confined to Strasbourge, *Romulph* was made his successour, because contrary to his faith giuen to king *Childebert*, he had joyned in friendship with *Chilperic*. And yet neuer thelesse, saith he, *Gregorie the Great*, an earnest defender of the priuiledges of the Roman Church, neuer spake word for, or against these. The same he affirmeth of *Hebbo* Archbishop of Reimes, deposed for treason by the BB. of France at Thionuille, &c. *What then*, saith he, *if our passage to Rome should by the swords of Barbarians be intercepted, or that Rome it selfe seruing a Barbarian, his courtoisnesse and ambition mouing him thereunto, in aliquod regnum efferatur (note efferatur) should be raised against any Realme, shall there be in the meane time either no Councils, or shall the Bishops of the whole world, to the hurt or ouerthrow of their owne kings, seeke for counsell, and the calling of generall Councils, at the hands of their enemies, especially seeing the Nicene Canon, which the Church of Rome acknowledgeth to be aboue all Councils and Decrees, hath ordained, That two Councils must be held euerie yeare, and withall forbiddeth any respect to be had to the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome? And to proue that the Churches were now in that state, that they needed not any more to haue recourse to Rome, To speake more plainly, saith he, and to confesse openly the truth, After the fall of the Empire this citie hath vndone the Church of Alexandria, and lost that of Antioch, and to say nothing of Africa and Asia, Europe it selfe is departed, discedit: For the Church of Constantinople is retired, and the inward parts of Spaine know not her iudgements. There is made therefore a departure, as the Apostle speaketh, not onely of nations, but of Churches; because the ministers of Antichrist, who is now at hand, haue already possessed France, and with all their force begin to presse vs too. And as the same Apostle saith, now the Mysterie of Iniquitie worketh, onely that he that now holdeth may stil hold, vntill he be taken away, so the end that the sonne of perdition might be reuealed, the man of sinne, who opposeth himselfe, and is exalted aboue the name of God and his seruice: which now begins to be discovered, in that the Roman powers are shaken, religion ouerthrowne, the name of God with oathes and blasphemies troden vnder foot, and that without punishment; and religion it selfe, and the seruice of God, contemned by the chiefe Priests themselues: and that which is more, Rome it selfe, now almost left alone, is departed from her selfe. By this his speech giuing them plainly to vnderstand, That then there was no respect had, nor is now to be had, of the Church of Rome, but as it shall be seene to flourish with men of worth and learning, at whose hands they were to seeke for counsell; and if such be wanting, then to seeke it elsewhere, in Flanders, Germanie, or the vtmost parts of the world, being tied to no particular place in the world. A matter formerly concluded by many other Churches, and therefore to be the rather executed by them, because they felt more neerely the tyrannie of Rome, now no more the seat of *Peter* (whose memorie they did honour) but of Antichrist himselfe. Intreating them for a conclusion, That since Rome had bene consulted by them, but yet no forme of iudgement from thence had bene pronounced, that they would aske counsell of the Canons, *By how many Bishops, a Bishop conuicted of a crime may be heard, and what sentence he is to receive, who refuseth to appeare to defend his owne cause.* Hereupon were read the tenth and seuenth Canons of the Councell of Carthage, to which the defendants of the partie accused yeelding themselues, the Bishop is sent for, and commaunded by the Synod to take his place: he presently either denying all, or endeouering to couer it, *Arnulph* Bishop of Orleans made him presently to blush, conuicteth him with his owne words, confronted him with his owne domesticall seruants, who were readie to go through fire & water to make good their testimonie. It was requested by*

Cap. 29. & 30.

- A by some of the Abbots, That he might haue libertie giuen him by the Synod, to make choyce of whomsoever he liked best to be aduised by; which was granted: Whereupon he maketh choise of *Sigwin* Bishop of Sens, *Arnulph* of Orleans, *Bruno* of Langres, *Godzman* of Amiens, in whose abtience many Canons were read that concerned this question. In the end being pressed, after many tergiversations, partly by the force of such proofes as were brought against him, partly by the pricke of his owne conscience, *Arnulph* of Reimes breaketh out into an open confession of his sinnes, with teares and gronings, confessing much more than they knew, and acknowledging himselfe vnworthie of his Priesthood. Whereupon the Bishops of the Synod were sent for, that being his owne witness and his owne iudge, he might before the multitude relate his owne cause. Wherefore, by his owne consent, nay himselfe desiring it, he was deprived of his Bishopricke; only there was a question of the forme, for which they searched the auncient Councils. And whilest diuers thought diuersly thereof, some pitying him for his race, some for his youth, and the Bishops themselues moued with the ruine of their brother, and that scandall that hereby fell vpon the Priestly dignitie, in came the Kings and Peeres of France, who putting themselues into that holy assemblie, thanked the Bishops for their iustice, and that zeale and care they had shewed in this their Councell for the good and safetie of their Princes, and withall desired to be further satisfied touching the whole course of their proceedings: which presently was performed by *Arnulph* Bishop of Orleans. And then the better to discharge the Synod of enuie and partialitie, the partie accused was brought in to pronounce his owne condemnation with his owne mouth; which he did in expresse words, requiring neuerthelesse *Arnulph* of Orleans, because shame stopped his owne mouth, to relate the whole matter at large: which hauing performed, he asked him, *Whether he would confesse that which he had hitherto spoken of him: which he affirming to be true, the Bishop of Orleans willed him to cast himselfe downe before his Lords and Kings, whom he had so haionously offended, and confessing his fault, to beg his life at their hands: who being bent to mercie, Let him liue, say they, for the loue of you, and remaine vnder your custodie, fearing neither yrons nor bands; vpon condition that he offer not to saue himselfe by flight.* Whereupon that heighth of honours that by degrees he had attained vnto, by degrees he put off, and resigning to the king that which he had received from him, and deliuering the ensignes of his Priestly dignitie into the hands of the Bishops, he recited with his owne mouth the forme of the deposition in the midst of this assemblie, according to the example of his predecessor *Hebo*; which was there read word by word, and by all the Bishops that were present subscribed, all of them saying vnto him, *according to thy profession and subscription cease from thine office.* Which being done, they discharged the Clergie and people from their oath they had made vnto him, that it might be free for euerie man to subiect himself to the authoritie of any other man. And here the Synod ended, which we haue thought good to repeat the more at large, that it might appeare with what grauitie, wisdom, moderation, circumspection, our Fathers of France haue proceeded in this businesse, all of them with one accord speaking by the mouth of *Arnulph* Bishop of Orleans; and withall what they thought and judged of Rome, and the Bishop thereof. Sixtye, Pope *John* hereupon waxeth angrie, and full of discontent, in so much that he threateneth his excommunications against the Kings. But *Hugh*, least his competitors should thereby take aduantage, sendeth him the whole course of proceeding in writing, and withall sends him letters to this effect. *We know we haue done nothing against your*

Cap. 30. & 31.
31. 33. 34. 35.
36. 37. 38. 39.
40. 41. 42. 43.
44. 45. 46. 47.
48. 49.

Cap. 49. & 50.

Cap. 54. 55.

Vij

Apo.

Apostolike See, and if you vouchsafe not to giue credit to vs that are absent, being present A
your selfe, learne the truth of those that are present. Grenoble is a citie situate vpon the
confines of Italie and France, where the Bishops of Rome were wont to meet the Kings of
France: If it shall so please you, you may doe the like, or if it shall content you better, to vi-
sit vs and ours, we will receive you at the foot of the Alpes with all honour, and follow you
with all due obseruances, both staying here and returning backe. This we speake from the
bottom of our hearts, that you may know and vnderstand, that neither we nor any of ours
wil refuse your iudgement. But John resolued rather to send Legats. And in the meane
time whilest these things were thus delayed, Gerbert (afterwards Pope Siluester the
second) writ an Epistle to Signin Archbishop of Sens, who to the Pope seemed
to fauour Arnulph, the man accused, and now condemned; Which Epistle was B
read at the end of this Synod: Your wisedom, saith he, should haue auoided the wilie
subtilties of craftemen, and haue hearkened to the voyce of the Lord, which saith, If they
shall say vnto you, Here is Christ, and there is Christ, follow them not: It is said that he
is at Rome, who iustifieth that which you condemne, and condemnes that which you take to
be iust; and we say, that it is God and not man that condemnes those things that seeme iust,
and to iustifie that which seemeth euill, &c. God saith, If thy brother haue sinned against
thee, goe and reprove him, &c. How then doe these that emulate vs say, That in the depo-
sing of Arnulph we were to expect the iudgement of the Bishop of Rome? Can they teach
vs, that the iudgement of the Bishop of Rome is greater than the iudgement of God, when
the first Bishop of Rome, and the Prince of the Apostles, tels vs, that we must rather obey C
God than men? yea the great Doctour of the world, Saint Paul, telleth vs, That if any man
shall preach vnto you any other doctrine than that ye haue received, though he be an An-
gell from heauen, let him be accursed. Thinke you, that because Pope Marcelline burnt in-
cents to Idols, therefore all the Bishops must doe so too? I dare boldly say, that if the Bishop
of Rome shall sinne against his brother, and being often admonished, shall refuse to heare
the Church, this Bishop of Rome, I say, by the commaundement of God, is to be accounted as
a Heathen or Publican: For by how much higher his degree is, by so much greater is his
fall. And if he shall therefore account vs unworthie his communion, or fellowship, be-
cause none of vs consent vnto him against the Gospell, yet he cannot therefore seperat vs
from the Communion of Christ. A Priest if by his owne confession, or other wise, he be not
conuicted, cannot be put from his office, especially since the Apostle himselfe saith, who shall
seperat vs from the loue of Christ Iesus? And againe, Sure I am, that neither life, nor
death, &c. The priuiledge then of S. Peter, saith Leo the great, is not in force, where soe-
uer iudgement is not executed according to equitie. And therefore we are not to giue occa-
sion to those that emulate vs, so thinke that Priesthood, that is euerie where one, as the Ca-
tholike Church is in all places one, should in such sort be subiect to one onely man, though
he be corrupted with money, fauour, feare, or ignorance; none may be a Bishop but onely
that is commended for such or the like vertues. Let the Canon Law of the Catholike
Church, the Apostles, the Prophets, the Canons ordained by the Spirit of God, and conse-
crated with the reuerence of the whole world, the Decrees of the Apostolike See, not dis-
agreeing from them, &c. Fare ye well, and depend not vpon holie mysteries. But Pope
John in the meane time hardly enduring these things, appointed a Synod some-
times at Rome, sometimes at Aix, where our Bishops (pretending that they were
not bound to goe forth of the realme) would not be found: at the last at Moulon
vpon the borders of France, where onely Gerbert, whom Hugh had nominated
Archbishop of Rheimes, appeared, and in the presence of Leo Abbot of S. Bo-
niface, the Popes Legat, many of the Bishops of Germanie and Italie assisting, he
defended the cause of the Fathers of France, in such sort, that the Legat durst not
 pro-

Gerbertus in
Epist. ad Signi-
num Senonens.

A proceed any farther, before he had consulted with the Pope, and therefore refer-
 red the determination thereof vnto another Synod at Rheimes; but yet in the
 meane time he forbad Gerbert to vse his Episcopall function, who not feareing to
 answer him to his face, told him, *That it was not in the power of any Bishop, Patriarch,*
or Pope, to remoue from the communion any of the faithfull, who hath not been conuicted,
or of his owne accord confessed the fact, or hath not refused to come vnto the Councell, but
of all these three was none that might hinder him, since he had neither confessed, nor was
conuicted, and had onely amongst all the Bishops of France appeared at this Councell. But
 in the meane time Gerbert went into Germanie to the Emperour *Otho* the third,
 with whom he had been formerly brought vp, who shortly after made him Arch-
 bishop of Rauenna; perceiuing wel that our kings not yet settled in their new king-
 domes, nor approued by all, did much feare to offend the Pope: and indeed he
 saw, that whatsoeuer our Bishops could alledge: to the contrary, in the second
 Synod at Rheimes that foresaid *Arnulph* was restored to his Bishopricke; which it
 is likely *Leo* the Popes Legat obtained, because *John* had confirmed the marriage of
 king *Robert*, as appeareth in a letter that *Gerbert* sent to queene *Adeleide*. Adde
 hereunto, That *Gerbert* would not hold the Bishopricke vpon such conditions as
 were proposed vnto him. But it seemeth by an Epistle of *Hughes*, which is read
 among the Epistles of *Gerbert*, that this marriage was that of king *Robert* with *Ber-*
tha the sister of *Rodolph* king of Burgonie, which afterward was dissolved by rea-
 son of a spiritual kindred joynd to that of their blood; it falling out many times,
 that circumstances ouerthrow the substance. This *Gerbert* could not bridle him-
 selfe, but that he must needs write an Apologie of the Church of France in an
 Epistle to *Wildered* Bishop of Strasbourge, wherein he proueth out of the auncient
 Canons of the Church the iust proceedings of our Bishops, in these words:
 The silence of the Pope, or his disimulation, or his new constitutions, are preiudiciall to
 the lawes established; but this is but a cauill of wicked men, &c. Thou sayest, that *Ar-*
nulph practising seditions, treasons, captiuities, the utter ouerthrow of his kings, the
 betraying of his countrey, contemning all lawes both diuine and humane, is neither to be
 deprived of the communion, nor by the power of his Prince to be cast out, without the com-
 mand of the Bishop of Rome. And the Apostle saith, That the Prince carrieth not
 the sword in vaine, but for the punishment of the wicked, and the preservation of the
 good. Fauour me all ye that haue promised faith and loyalty to your Kings, and haue a
 purpose to keepe it, who haue not betrayed, nor purpose to betray the Clergie, and people com-
 mitted to your charge, you (I say) who haue abhorred and detested such wickedness, fauor
 those that obey God, commaunding that the sinner listning not to the Church, should be
 held for a Heathen or a Publican, who crieth vengeance vpon you Scribes and Pharisees,
 which transgresse the commaundement of God to establish your tradition, &c. To the end
 that no man here charge vs of enuie derogating from the priuiledges of the Church of
 Rome, *S. Hierome* the Roman Priest telleth thee, If it be a question of authoritie; *Orbis*
 major est vrbe, the world is greater than a citie; and if one Priest be not sufficient, then
 let great Pope *Leo* come: The priuiledge (saith he) of *S. Peter* holdi not good, where a man
 iudgeth not according to the equitie of *S. Peter* &c. To what end are matters iudged and
 determined, if matters to be iudged are not thereby informed? Those 318 Fathers of the
 Councell of *Nice*, how made they eternall lawes, if it be in the power of one onely man to
 abrogate them at his pleasure? *Apitarius* the Priest is condemned by the Africans, and
 restored againe to the communion by the Romans: The Bishops of *Africke* writ to Pope
Celestine, That this was contrarie to the Councell of *Nice*: Our false accusers after the
 same manner say, That *Arnulph*, a chiefe Bishop, ought not to be iudged but by the Sou-
 raigne

Gerbertus in
Epist. ad Adela-
dam Reginam.

Gerbertus in E-
pist. ad Wildera-
done m Episc.
Argentincnsim.

raigne Bishop of Rome. And Saint Augustine saith of Cecilian the Metropolitan Bishop of all Africke, That if his accusers could overcome or vanquish him after his death, of that which they could not proue during his life, that after his death without retraction they would pronounce him accursed. Surely then it hath bene lawfull for vs to pronounce against Arnulph liuing, confessing, convicted, as against a Heathen and Publican; it hath bene (I say) lawfull for vs to follow the Gospell, the Apostles, the holie Councils, the Decrees of Apostolike men, so we disagree not from these foure, &c. Truly the Church of France is wholly opprest with tyrannie, and by those of whom a man should hope for helpe: But thou art, O Christ, the onely comfort of man. This Rome that was heretofore held for the mother of all Churches, is said now to banne the good, and blesse the wicked, to communicate with those to whom a man ought not to say, God speed, and to condemne the worshippers of thy law, abusing that power to bind and vnbina, which it hath receiued of thee. This Gerbert in the meane while, a Monke of the Abbie of Fleurack, not verie happie (as he saith) for his race, nor his plentie of wealth, yet esteemed for his wisdom and capacitie, of men of greatest worth and nobilitie.

An. 1000.

And here we come to the thousand yeare: But least any man should thinke that we, or such Authors as we haue alledged, should speake of the Church of Rome out of passion or discontent, it shal not be amisse to insert the judgement of Cardinal Baronijs himselfe, touching these times, who in the tenth tome of his Annales hath these words. *What was then the face, saith he, of the Roman Church? How foule was it, when strumpets, no lesse powerfull than vnclane and impudent, bare rule at Rome? At the will and pleasure of whom the Sees were changed, Bishopricks giuen, and that which was horrible and detestable to heare, their louers, false Popes, were thrust into the Seat of Peter, who were put into the Catalogue of the Popes of Rome to no other end, but to make up the number; and lengthen the time: For who can say that they were lawfull Popes of Rome; that by such strumpets were thrust in without law? There is no mention any where made of any Clergie chusing them, or consenting to their choyce. The Canons were silent, the Decrees of Popes forgotten, auncient traditions, and old customes in the election of the Pope, quite banished, holy rites and ceremonies extinct. Thus had lust and concupisence drawne all vnto it selfe, emboldened by the secular power, and carried by a furious desire of bearing rule. Then (as it appeared) Christ Iesus slept in the ship, a profound sleep, when with the blasts of winds so violent it was ouerwhelmed with waues: he slept, I say, not seeming to see these things, and suffering them to be done, in that no man tose vp to reuenge them: And that which seemed worst of all, there wanted Disciples to awaken our Lord with their cries, thus sleeping, yea quite contrarie, all lay snorting in a dead sleepe. What manner of Cardinals, Priests, Deacons, thinke you, were chosen by these monsters, since there is nothing so naturall, as for euerie thing to ingender his like? And who in the meane time can doubt, that they consented in all things to those by whom they were chosen? who will not easily beleue that they followed their steps? and who knowes not that they endeouored nothing more, but that our Lord should still sleepe, and neuer rise vp to judgement, neuer awaken himselfe to know and to punish their wickednesse? Now from this onely place let the Reader iudge by what law that succession of the Bishops of Rome, which they so much boast of, may be defended.*

We must not forget that Baronijs reprehendeth our Historiographer Glaber in one poynt, wherein neuerthelesse hee expresseth to the life the beleefe of our French Church. The Earle Foulke of Anjou hauing built a Church, went himselfe to Rome with a great summe of money, which he deliuered to Iohn the seuenteenth, to the end he would send a Legat to consecrate the place: Where-

unto

unto he agreed, and sent thither a Cardinall, with direction to doe whatsoeuer Foulke should commaund. But, saith Glaber, the Prelats of France bearing thereof, iudged it to be sacrilegious presumption, proceeding from blind ambition, &c. being a thing so vndecent, that he that ruled the See Apostolike, should be the first that did transgresse the Apostolicall and Canonical order, especially being aunciently confirmed by many authorities, *Multiplici autoritate*, that not any Bishop should presume to exercise any such power in anothers Diocesse, except it were at the request, or by the permission of him to whom it appertained; yea not excepting the Bishop of Rome himselfe, whose Diocesse they held not to be the whole world. But thus he proceedeth: *An innumerable multitude of people being gathered together, in a cleere and quiet day, to see the dedication of this Temple, a sudden tempest arose out of the South, which in a moment beat downe the Temple to the ground.* Which strange accident being spread abroad through the whole countrey, there was no man that doubted, that the insolent boldnesse of this presumption had made vaine the vow of Foulke, and was a manifest warning to all that were present, and to come, neuer to attempt the like. For though the Bishop of Rome for the dignitie of the Apostolike See, was had in greater reuerence than all other in the world, yet it was neuer permitted that he should transgresse in any thing the order of the Canonical gouernment. For as euerie Bishop and spouse of the true Church hath some vnitormitie in his seat with the Image of our Sauour, so generally it becommeth no man to doe any thing ouer boldly in the Diocesse of another. Now from the opinion of this Monke let vs know what the judgement of our Church should be.

Glaber, Historiar. lib. 2. c. 4.
Baron. 10. 10. an.
996. art. 21. 22.
23. 24.

39. PROGRESSION.

Of Inchantments and the art of Nigromancie, practised by the Popes to attaine the Popedome, and vsed by them for other wicked and unlawfull purposes. How the diuill deceiued Syluester the second, touching the time and place of his death.

Of Benedict the ninth his sacrifices to the diuill, who in the end strangled him in the forest: and of his strange apparitions after his death.

The Age that followeth mends but a little, and therefore a Carthusian noteth, That in the yeare 1000 we enter into a monstrous time, infamous for Magicke artes, and all maner of wickednesse; his words are these, and not without cause: *There began about the yeare of our Lord 1000, an effeminate time, wherein the Christian Faith began much to decline from her first virilitie, as appeareth in the prophesie of S. Hildegard, &c. men besaking themselues to sorceries, and inchantments; and the Priest was as the people.* After Iohn the seuenteenth succeeded Gregorie the fift, by countrey a Saxon, created by the Emperour Otho the third, and chosen out of his companie at Rauenna; who being sent to Rome to be consecrated, the Emperour not long after receiued the Crowne from his hands. But he had no sooner turned his face towards Germanie, but that Crescens a Consull constrained him to leaue the citie, and set vp against him another Pope; in such sort that at the request of Gregorie, Otho was enforced to returne to Rome, where he vsed much seueritie in punishing the authors of that sedition. But shortly after Gregorie being dead, Otho (the Clergie and people being assembled together) chose for his successor that Gerbert of whom we haue spoken so much before, who in his youth was his tutor,

Fascicul.
Tempor.
An. 1000.

tutor, and was called *Siluester* the second. A man, as appeareth by many of his owne writings (still kept in diuers Libraries) that had penetrated euen the depth of all profound learning, especially the Mathematikes; but yet blamed by many Authors (for eleuated spirits neuer keepe a measure in any thing) for that his studies extended to Nigromancie it selfe, by helpe whereof he made his way to the Popedome. A matter so little doubted of, by those that were best acquainted with the secrets of those times, that they constantly beleueed, that whosocuer affected the Popedome in those dayes, made profession of this art, and thereby attained thereunto. I should be ashamed to alledge it, but that *Martinus Polonus Vincent* of Beauuois, *Malmesburienfis*, *Anthonie* the Archbishop, *Henrie* of Herford, *Carthusianus*, *Platina*, *Stella*, and others, goe before me, and the most part of them doe absolutely affirme, That *Gerbert* had learnt this art in a booke which he stole from Seuille in Spaine, that he did homage to the diuill, and had in his closet a brazen head, by which the diuell gaue him answers: With whom consulting about the time of his continuance in that See, answer was giuen him, That hee should not die vntill he had celebrated Masse in Hierusalem; a voyage farre from his thought to haue euer vndertaken, and therefore he promised to himselfe a long life. But falling sicke of an ague at Rome, in the church of the holie Crosse called Hierusalem, whilest he was celebrating Masse in Lent, by a strange noyse of diuels, he perceiued his death was at hand, and began to see the doubtfull meaning of the Oracle. Whereupon being moued with the horror of his finnes, he discovered it to some of the Cardinals, and desired them, that for a satisfaction his car-kasse after his death should be put into a chariot drawne with two horses, and there buried where the horses of their owne accord should draw him. Which desire of his being performed, it fell out, that the horses carried him to the church of S. Lateran, where the Cardinals buried him. And his sepulchre, say they, by the noyse and raling of the bones, and the sweating of the sepulchre, did presage, a long time after, the death of the Popes. This historie neuerthelesse by some in these dayes is called into doubt, and especially by *Baronius*, because there is no mention made of any such matter by *Glaber* and *Dishmarus*, but quite contrarie he is commended by them for his almes-deeds and charitie towards the poore. But the Monke of Malmesburie speakes thereof, as of a matter beyond all controuersie, and describeth all the circumstances; yea he affirmeth, That he had an auncient book by him wherein the names of all the Popes were registred, which saith, That *Siluester* ended his life after a base and villanous manner. And *Cardinall Benno*, another of that time, speaking of him, hath these words: *Gerbert*, shortly after the yere of our Lord 1000, ascending from the bottomelesse pit, by the permission of God, possessed the See foure yeres, who changing his name, was called *Siluester* the second; and by those selfesame means which he had deceiued others (which was the answers of the diuels) he likewise deceiued himselfe, being surprisid by the iust iudgements of God with a sudden death. And afterwards he proceedeth in the historie as before. *Benno* addeth, That he had for his disciples *Theophilact* and *Laurence*, who sacrificed vnto diuels, and that betwixt them and diuers others, after his death, there was much contention by the selfesame arts, who should attaine to the Popedome, and that his successors a long time after made it their profession; which hereafter we shall speake of more particularly. *Baronius*, though in horror of the miserable end of *Siluester* he call it into doubt, yea he giueth but a hard judgement of him, to the end he might both begin and end that Age with the publike abomination of that See. Before his Popedome he painteth him out to be a courtier among courtiers, with which profession he began, that by

Martinus in Chron.
Galfridus in Supplement.
Sigiberti Malmesburienfis l. 2. Hist. Angl.
Anton. Archiep. tit. 16. part 2. scil. 18.
Vincent. l. 24. c. 98.
Henric. Erford in Chron.
Plat. in Siluester.
Iohannes Stella ibid.

Benno Card. in vita Hildebrandi.

A *his garrulitie, flatterie, detraction, and double heart composd to dissemble, and to deceiue, he might excell all others.* But being come to his Popedome, he affirmeth that of him which he would haue vs beleuee of all the rest, That he was no way tranfubstantiated by his chaire: But to say the truth, saith he, he was verie unworthie of that See, but such indignities the church of Rome was constrained to endure, because the Roman Bishops were elected by secular Princes. In the meane time he would not see, that better were not chosen by the elections and factions of the Clergie. *Sergius*, successor to *Siluester*, made this Epitaph, wherein he acknowledgeth him to haue bin created by *Otho* the third.

Baron. an. 991. art. 6. 7. & 992. art. 3.

An. 999. art. 2.

B *Post annum Romam mutato nomine sumpsit, Obtulit hoc Caesar tertius Otho sibi.*

After a yere he ruled Rome with changed name, Otho the third, then Caesar, gaue the same.

And whereas *Sigonius* affirmeth, That *Otho* the third at his request renewed the Donations which are said to be of *Pepin*, *Charles*, *Lewis*, to the Church of Rome; as he alledgeth no Author, so it is easily refelled by the testimonie of *Otho* himselfe: For in that donation, whose letters patents are kept in the Popes register at Asisij, he giueth onely eight counties to *Siluester* his master, as before wee haue noted; by which donation he excludeth all the rest, and withall the palea of *Constantine* he reiecteth, and acknowledgeth not that of *Charles* and *Lewis*, and makes as little account of that of *Caluus* himselfe. Adde hereunto, that not without the dishonour of the See, this donation is said to be gotten by *Siluester* by the seruice of the diuell. *Iohn Sicco*, a Roman, succeeded *Siluester* in the yere 1003, according to *Platina* the nineteenth, who continued onely fiue monethes, and yet in that short time it is said that he brought to passe, that the election of the Roman Popes should belong onely to the Roman Clergie, without the consent of the people, whereby the authoritie of the Cardinals was greatly encreased; alledging these words, *The people are to be led, not to be followed.* An order neuerthelesse ill obserued a long time after. *Stella* likewise attributeth vnto him the Feast of all Soules, first inuented by *Odilon* Abbot of Clugnie, the obseruation whereof *Iohn* afterwards imposed vpon all. *Iohn* the twentieth, called *Fasannus*, succeeded him, and presently *Sergius* the fourth; neither of them prayse worthe in any thing. Afterwards followed *Benedict* the eighth, *Iohn* the one and twentieth, *Benedict* the ninth, *Siluester* the third, *Gregorie* the sixt, which bring vs to the yere 1045, and were all of one stampe, created by the factions of the Earles of Tuscanie, and if we may beleuee their owne writers, all infamous for the art Magicke. *Cardinall Benno* speaking of *Hildebrand*, who was *Gregorie* the seventh, saith, That he had learnt of his masters the doctrine of the diuels, of *Theophilact*, whose surname was *Benedict* the ninth, of *Laurence* the Archbishop of Amelfis, and of *Iohn* Archpriest of S. *Iohn* Port Latine, who was named *Gregorie* the sixt. Particularly of *Theophilact* or *Benedict* the ninth, he saith, That he sacrificed to diuels in woods and mountaines, and by the art Magicke won vnto him the loue of women: The bookes that were found in his house, after he had ended his wicked life in a bad manner, witnesseth the same. He was alwayes assisted by *Laurence* the Prince of Inchanters, who gloried much amongst the Bishops, Cardinals, and Senators, that he had such a disciple. In the end, saith he, he was strangled by the diuell in the forests, his Archpriest banished, and *Laurence* enforced to run away. In all

Othone 3. Diploma Donationis quod Assisij seruatur in Archivis Ecclesie Romanae.

D *ill obserued a long time after. Stella likewise attributeth vnto him the Feast of all Soules, first inuented by Odilon Abbot of Clugnie, the obseruation whereof Iohn afterwards imposed vpon all. Iohn the twentieth, called Fasannus, succeeded him, and presently Sergius the fourth; neither of them prayse worthe in any thing. Afterwards followed Benedict the eighth, Iohn the one and twentieth, Benedict the ninth, Siluester the third, Gregorie the sixt, which bring vs to the yere 1045, and were all of one stampe, created by the factions of the Earles of Tuscanie, and if we may beleuee their owne writers, all infamous for the art Magicke. Cardinall Benno speaking of Hildebrand, who was Gregorie the seventh, saith, That he had learnt of his masters the doctrine of the diuels, of Theophilact, whose surname was Benedict the ninth, of Laurence the Archbishop of Amelfis, and of Iohn Archpriest of S. Iohn Port Latine, who was named Gregorie the sixt. Particularly of Theophilact or Benedict the ninth, he saith, That he sacrificed to diuels in woods and mountaines, and by the art Magicke won vnto him the loue of women: The bookes that were found in his house, after he had ended his wicked life in a bad manner, witnesseth the same. He was alwayes assisted by Laurence the Prince of Inchanters, who gloried much amongst the Bishops, Cardinals, and Senators, that he had such a disciple. In the end, saith he, he was strangled by the diuell in the forests, his Archpriest banished, and Laurence enforced to run away. In all*

Cacontorpius in Prologo in 4. sent. q. 10.

An. 1045.

Cardin. Benno in vita Hildebrandi.

all other things he was so ignorant, that he had a Colleague consecrated with him to doe the seruice: For which cause *Onuphris* himselfe calleth him a man of nothing; and yet neuertheless by certaine intermissions of times hee reigned ten yeares and somewhat more. Many Authors report, and among the rest *Petrus Damianus* the Cardinall; who liued neere about those times, That *Benedict* after his death appeared to a certaine Hermit neere to a mill, in a most horrible shape, being in bodie, head, and taile; like to an Asse; and being asked why he so appeared, he answered, Because I liued in the Popedome like a beast, without reason, without law, & without God. This *Damian* neuertheless being a great champion of the Popes, as shall be shewed in his due place. The Cardinall *Beno* saith also of *Siluester* the third, That the Church of God by his occasion was strangely torne and troubled with ciuile waies, and infinit murders. But *Waltramus* being guiltie of his owne insufficiencie, and perceiuing the Emperour comming to Rome, resigned the Popedome to the Archbishop of S. Iohn Port Latine, for 1500. pounds of gold. And *Glaber* sayth he was chosen Pope being a child of twelue yeares of age; but *Baronius* saith, of ten yeares. *Platina* therefore thus speaketh of them all: The Popedome was then come to that passe, that he that excelled all others in bountie, and ambition, I say not sanctitie of life and learning, was onely able to obtaine that dignitie, the best sort of men being oppressed and reiected. I would to God, saith he, this had not bene the custome of the world in our times, but these are but small matters in respect of those we shall see, if God preuent it not. Of *Siluester* he expressly saith, he entered not by the gate, but by the posterne, like a theefe and robber. And yet these were the men that managed the affaires of the Church, and therein did beare rule at their owne pleasure, euen to the vttermost bounds of the earth; yea they disposed of kingdomes and Empires according to their own lusts, that that Prophecie might be fulfilled, That they should make drunken the kings of the earth with the wine of their cup. And therefore *Benedict* the ninth (according to *Glaber*) was not afraid to make this Decree, That no man should be said or held for Emperour, but whom the Pope should chuse, and for his honestie and sufficiencie should thinke fit for the Commonweale, and to whom he had committed the Imperiall Ensigne, that is, saith the same Author, a golden globe or apple, which he caused to be made of purpore, enriched with many pretious Jewels, with a crosse fastened on the top thereof. The Empire likewise being vacant by the death of *Conrade*, he offered it by his Legats to *Peter* king of Hungarie, with a Diadem whereon was this inscription:

Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa Coronam.

The Rocke gaue Rome to *Peter*, the Pope to thee the Crowne.

For such Princes as were farthest from them were fittest for their purpose, but yet euer with that condition that they should confirme their donations. But lets now see what the Church thought of these confusions.

OPPOSITION.

All this we haue learnt from none other but Monkes, for they were the onely writers in these times, and therefore their testimonie must needs be beyond all exception, being taken as it were out of their owne bosome. *Glaber* therefore the Monke of Clugnie, and writer of these times, in his historie dedicated to *Odib* the Abbot, brings in the Emperour *Henrie* the second speaking to the Archbishops and Bishops assembled together, in these words: All Ecclesiasticall degrees from the Pope to the Porter, are oppressed with the price of their owne damnation, and in all according to the word of our Saviour, spirituall theft is verie cruell. The Author ad-

deth,

- A deth, And this iniquitie was not onely sprung up among the Bishops of France, but was farre worse in Italie; for all Ecclesiasticall offices were at that time as vendible as other wares in a market place. The Bishops astonished and confounded herewith, had no other refuge but to his mercie. He for their comfort gaue them this answer; *Goe your wayes, saith he, and what you haue unlawfully received, endeour to vse lawfully;* and so he made a law for the repressing of such sales. Of the See in particular he saith, The See of Rome, which is held by right to be the vniuersall Church of the whole world, had for the space of fiue and twentie yeares bene miserably sicke of this aforesaid pestilent disease; for there was chosen to that See an infant of twelue yeares of age, against all law and equitie, whom gold and siluer had more commended, than age or sanctitie of life: who as he had an unhappie entrance, so he had a worse departure. The foulness of his conuersation it is a shame to relate. In another place the aforesaid *Glaber* saith, At that time the whole gouernement both of the secular power, and Ecclesiasticall religion, consisted in the person of a child: For the finnes of the people that saying of *Salomon* was then verified; Woe be to the earth: For the vniuersall Pope of Rome, who was then chosen by the Romans, was the nephew of two that were his predecessors, *Benedict* & *John*, a child of ten yeares of age, and that by the helpe of a great summe of money: who being often reiected, and dishonestly received againe, ruled with no power. And as wee haue partly touched before, the rest of the Prelats of the Church in those times, preferred gold and siluer before merit. Out and alas, of these the Scripture speaketh plainly, or rather the mouth of God himselfe, *Principes extiterunt & non cognoui*. He speaketh likewise of *Siluester* the third. He telleth vs in another place, That the auarice of Rome was growne to such a height, that it contended with ambition; in such sort that about the yeare 1024 certaine Legats being come from the See of Constantinople to Rome, with wonderfull rich presents as well of the Emperour *Basilus* as the Patriarches, to intreat that by the consent of the Pope the Church of Constantinople might be taken for the vniuersall Church of the East, as the Roman of the West; there wanted but little but that *John* the one and twentieth had yeilded thereunto, And the Greekes, saith the Author, with a dagger of gold had broken a wall of yron: For he addeth, That though auarice for a time might be called the Queene of the whole world, yet she had placed at Rome her insatiabie couch: for they had no sooner scene the glorious lustre of those riches the Greekes brought vnto them, but their hearts were wholly bent to deuise new fraudes and deuises, how they might priuily yeeld vnto that that they desired. But the businesse being come to the cares of diuers who opposed themselues against it, the Greekes departed not doing any thing. *William*, an Englishman, and Monke of *Malmesburie*, sets before our eyes how bad the state of all things was at Rome in these times, speaking thereof as of a publike robbrie: What shall I say, saith he, of that citie that was heretofore the habitation of sanctitie? It is now the place where theeues & robbers walke in open market place, a wicked and a craftie generation. If any man come to Rome, with the danger of his life, to visit the Churches of the Apostles, he falls into the hands of these kind of people, and seldome or neuer returnes without the losse either of his goods or his life. Vpon the bodies of the holie Apostles and Martyres, vpon the holie Altars, swords are drawne, and oblations are no sooner offered but their hands are vpon them, who take and spend them in banqueting with their whores. Such a tempest of euills troubled the Popedome of *Gregorie*, which could not be remedied with Excommunications, the Cardinals themselues withstanding him the whole time of his abode in that See. *Rolwinck* in his *Fasciculus Temporum* speakes of the pluralitie of benefices which in those times grew to be verie common, and so continued afterwards: Of the lamentable ambition and simonie of the

X

Pre-

Martinus in Chron.
Platina in *Benedicti*, 8.
Petrus Damianus in libro qui inscribitur *Gratissimus*.

Herman contra *traclius* in Chron.
Waltramus de inuestitura.
Glaber Hist. l. 9.
Platina in *Siluestri*, 3. & alijs.

Glaber l. 1. in fine.

An. 1047.

Glaber Hist. l. 6. c. 5.

Glaber li. 5. c. 4.

Glaber li. 4. c. 5.

An. 1024.

Glaber li. 4. c. 1.

William, *Mat.* *mesb.* l. 2. de *Ge.* *lis* *Regum* *Anglor.*

Fasciculus *Temporum*.

Prelats, notwithstanding there were found many writings of the Fathers, that bewrayed A how much they had in detestation these abuses. Note also that there were some poore Clergie men, and Docters, that reprehended the pluralitie of benefices, and the pompe of the Clergie, vntill occasion was giuen them to part stakes with them, and to tast the benefit of such pluralities, and then couetousnesse blinded them too. It is written of a great learned Master that solemnly disputed against the riches and pride of Prelats, as being altogether unlawfull to liue in such a fashion: which the Pope being giuen to vnderstand, merily answered, Let vs bestow vpon him some good Priorie, and such and such benefices, and he will be quiet ynough; which was speedily done, and so presently he changed his opinion, saying, Vntill now I neuer vnderstood this matter, &c. But he compareth the state of the Church in these times to those of Hieroboam, when he set vp the golden calves in Israel. Many holie men, saith he, did commonly affirme, that the same was to be feared in the Ecclesiasticall State, and now we see it performed in many parts of the world. The Clergie, who should possesse nothing but that which in reason was competent for them, nor intermeddle with the affaires of the Temporallie, will take vpon them to possesse and to gouerne all things; and therefore as S. Bernard saith, such as obserue no order hasten thither where dwellesh eternall horror, &c. Good Reader take heed thou follow not this dangerous custome, neither excuse thy selfe with the Popes dispensation, but follow the counsell of those that are in the heauens aboue with God, leaſt with the golden calves thou burne in hell fire. In the meane time, in the yeare 1046, the Emperour Henrie the second, taketh his journey into Italie, partly to take possession of the Empire, partly at the perswasion of diuers, to procure some remedie against those confusions which had bene brought into the Church by three Popes, Benediēt, Siluester, and Gregorie, the one troubling and contending with the other, and within the walls of Rome making barricadoes one against the other, Siluester at S. Maria major, Benediēt at the palace of S. Lateran, and Gregorie at S. Peters: whereupon these verses were sent by a Hermit to Henrie.

An. 1046.

Otho Frisingens.
l. 6. c. 31.
Gregor. Hemburg. in admonitione de usurpat Paparum Roman.
An. 1461.
Herman. contra. & Carthusian. & Sigibert in Chron.
Platinus Gregor. 6. & Siluest. 3.

Imperator Henrice, Omnipotentis vice,
Vnica Sumamitis, Nupsit tribus maritis,
Dissolue connubium, Et triforme dubium.

Great Emperour Henrie, who in Gods stead must be,
The Church, who is but one, is married to three:
Dissolue thou the knot, and the doubt trebled will be.

Platina calls them three wicked monsters, and in his historie of Siluester the third saith, We are like to see worse matters than all these, if God prevent them not, since the good, being oppressed, he only riseth to promotion that excels in bounty and ambition, not in learning and sanctitie of life. They vse not, saith he, in these dayes to enter by the doore, but the window, like theues and robbers: and of diuers others in this Age hee affirms as much. Now by this onely disorder how many other may we imagine? He therefore being receiued King in Lombardie, before he came to Rome, held a Councell of many Bishops at Sutri, wherein Gregorie the sixt being conuicted for obtaining the Popedom with money, by consent of them all was deposed; and in like sort were the other two reiected, being deposed, saith Martine, Canonica & imperiali censura, by a Canonically and Imperiall censure. And the Romans being altogether ignorant whom vpon the sudden they might nominat to be Pope, the Emperour propofed vnto them Switzer Bishop of Bamberge, one of his owne followers, and a man for his honestie and learning well spoken of, whom he compelled

- A compelled them to approue. This is he that was called Clement the second. The Church, saith Sigonius, having bene now sicke for the space almost of two hundred yeres, the disease grew so desperat that it required violent remedies, yea sword and fire, medicines that belong to diseases incurable. Whereupon, saith Martin, per vim substituit, he gaue them a successor by force, the Romans promising vnto him, and swearing, That they would neuer chuse Pope without his consent. Leo the Cardinall of Ostia speaking in his Chronicle of these disorders, more briefly saith, Pope Benediēt having held the See at Rome twelue yeares, was deposed by the Romans, and Iohn Bishop of Sabins, who was called Siluester, substituted in his place, non tamen gratis, but yet not freely. But three months after, this Benediēt with the aid of the Tusculans his kinsfolke, draue away Siluester, and by force repossessed the See of Rome. But neuerthelesse perceiuing himselfe to be odious to all, he deliuered the Popedom to Iohn the Archpriest, who was accounted as it were the more religious, and retired himselfe to his fathers house, that there with better libertie he might fulfill his owne lusts, and practise his wickednesse. He could not in better words haue affirmed, That he that of the three was accounted the best, was starke naught. But Henrie the Emperour, saith he, the sonne of Conrade, his nefandis auditis, hearing of these execrable things in the Apostolike See, inspired from heauen in the yeare 1047 coming into Italie, went to Rome, desirous to purge the Apostolike See of these spots: Whereupon he stayed at Sutri, where deliberating vpon this great and necessarie businesse, statuit, he appointed there a general Councell to be called of all Bishops. There being therefore gathered together at his commaund a great multitude of Bishops, Abbots, and other religious men, he likewise inuited thither the Pope of Rome to be chiefe in that Councell. What should I say more? The Councell being held, Gregorie being by their Synodall Canons and sentence conuicted of simonie, of his owne accord rising from his seat, and putting off his Pontificall habit, humbly and prostrat vpon the ground, asked pardon, for that he had prophaned that dignitie. Leo therefore, we see, agreeth not in opinion with Baronius, who saith, That it is not lawfull for an Emperour to intermeddle with the affaires of the See of Rome; for he saith quite contrarie, That he came inspired by God to that end, yea and he addeth withall, That he procured vnto him a successor: And because these things were done with so prosperous and good successe, the Romans gaue vnto the sayd Henrie the honour of a Patricias, as they did sometimes to Charles the Great, and decreed, that, besides the Crowne of the Empire, he should weare a Chaine. This selfsame yeare, in hope, or rather vnder some shew of a reformation of the Church, a Synod was held, where first a question was made concerning simonie, which sin was then growne to such a height, saith Sigonius (the Popes either winking at it, or no way hindering the course thereof) that it was a viall thing for Bishops to sel Orders to Clergie men, & consequently for Clergie men to put their function to sale to the Laitie: and therefore a question was made, whether such as were initiated by a Simoniacall Bishop should hold their Orders. It was decreed, That if a Clerk when he was initiated knew the Bishop of whom he tooke Orders to be Simoniacall, he should doe penance for fortie dayes, and so the sinne should be expiat, and he continue in his Orders, otherwise he must take his Orders againe. And to pacifie those tumults that were risen amongst them by reason of the bad obseruation of that law which made the nomination of the Pope, without the authoritie of the Emperour, of no force, it was decreed againe, That all auuncient honours should be restored to the Emperour Henrie, and he should still continue a Patricius, and dispose of the Church of Rome at his pleasure; and that it should neuer hereafter be lawfull to create a Pope of Rome without his authoritie. The Author is Petrus Damianus Bishop of Ostia. By this meanes Henrie seemed to haue restored all things to their ancient order;

Sigon. l. 8. de regno Ital. Martinus in Chron.

Lco Ostiensis. 80

Sigon. l. 8. de regno Italig.

Petrus Damianus in lib. Gratissimus. Platina & Onuphr. in Clement. 2.

order; who neuertheless was hardly returned into Germanie, but the Disciples A of *Benedict* the ninth, *Gerardus Brazutus*, and *Hildebrand*, poysoned *Clement*, so that he had not continued in all about six monethes, but they thrust *Benedict* into the seat. But yet neuertheless the Emperour taking stil hold of his priuiledge, ordained for Pope *Poppo* Bishop of Brixen, who was afterward called *Damasus* the second; who likewise, not without the industrie of the same men, continued in the See but three & twentie dayes: in place of whom he named againe by the same right *Brunus* Bishop of Toul, who was called *Leo* the ninth: For the Romans, as it is likely, being wearied with those factions that arose about the election of the Popes for the space of two hundred yeares, wherein the most factious commonly preuailed, perceived that had not the Emperours interposed their authoritie B (which neuertheless they endured with much impatiencie) they could neuer haue obtained peace. Neither must we forget that which Cardinal *Benno* noteth, That *Gerardus Brazutus*, a familiar friend of *Benedict* the ninth, by his *stie and subtile familiaritie*, in the space of thirteene yeares killed six Popes of Rome, that is, *Clement*, *Damasus*, *Leo*, *Vitor*, *Stephen*, by poyson, *Benedict* the tenth by fraud and violence.

Here what will *Baronius* say, and what judgement will he giue of all these times? Truly hauing in the whole precedent volume proclaimed for execrable monsters all those Popes that had held the See for a hundred yeares before, at the last he pronounceth sentence against the race of the Emperours *Othoes*: That in the person of *Otho* the third, by the just judgement of God, that race ended, being poysoned by the wife of *Crescentius*, because (like *Ostias*) they durst to put their hands to the Arke, though it were to vphold it; and to adde their authoritie, though it were with good zeale, to remoue those monsters, and to place others in their seats. Are monsters then by the Canonlaw in *Baronius* countrey suffered to liue? or must we stay and attend till they of their owne accord remoue and displace themselues? Emperours, yea and Christian Kings, are they not bound, as sometimes *Ezechias*, *Iofias*, and others were, to repaire the Temple of God, and to reforme the Church? And to betray the Church of Christ vnto Antichrist, to leaue it as a prey to the enemy, needed there any other thing? In this interim therefore, which containeth about fiftie yeres, were there in his owne judgement D any that were more honest, or more tollerable than others? Let vs heare what he saith of *Iohn*, whom he calls the twentieth, the brother of that execrable *Benedict*, whome for his wickednesse he placeth in the bottome of Purgatorie: *Vnworthie as he was*, saith he, *he vnworthily and tyrannically occupied the place, and by ill meanes ascended vnto it.* And againe, *The secular power*, that is to say, the Marquesse of Tuscane, hath brought forth monsters vnto vs. This monster neuertheless by his owne testimonie, put *S. Romwald* into the Canon of Saints, pronounced *S. Martial* an Apostle, and that by an expresse decree, in fauour of those of Limoges. *Benedict* the ninth succeeded this *Iohn*. But what saith *Baronius*? The Earle *Albericke* had of his familie two Popes, who were brothers, *Benedict* and *Iohn*; and hardly he could endure that the Papall dignitie should be transferred to any other; and therefore he thrust in his sonne, a child of ten yeares of age, by gifts, who againe, by the testimonie of *Baronius* himselfe, proued a tyrant, and the shame and monster of the Church. For to omit other things, what could be more monstrous, than an infant of ten yeares of age to be the vniuersall Pope, and Father of Fathers? And yet if any man speake against it he is angrie, and growes furious, yea he makes profit of this shame, and glories therein; and by this intrusion which he confesseth he defends his right. You see (saith he) how great the authoritie of the Church

Baron. vol. II.
an. 1002. art.
5. 6.

Idem vol. eodem
an. 1024. art.
3. & 4.

Glaber. l. 4.
c. 1. 2. 3.
Idem an. 1027.
art. 13. & 14.
& an. 1032.
art. 2. 3.

Baron. an. 1031.

- A Church of Rome then was; for though he were a child, and an intruder too, yet he was acknowledged by the whole Church for Pope, in so much that the Archbishops of Hamburge receiued the Pall of him; neither was there any thing that belonged to the Papall function which he did not vndergoe. Dares he then to maintaine the Orders of an infant, who himselfe was capable of no Order? He was himselfe a simoniacal person, created by gifts, and it was his maner by all sorts of simonie to create others; as *Petrus Damianus* Bishop of Ostia, and one of the Popes chiefe champions, describeth him vnto vs: *O wickednesse, O prodigious monster* (saith he) *is Peter himselfe enforced to pay for the forestallments of Simon Magus out of his owne store, who was knowne with an euerlasting curse to condemne Simon with all his marchandise!* And againe in his verses, *What pitie is it that the Apostolike See, sometimes the glorie of the world, should now, out and alas, be made the stoop of Simon? Thy hammers beat the anuill, and thy money is the money of hell!* And yet this *Benedict* sat in the chaire about twelue yeares, so that the greatest age he arriued vnto was but two and twentie yeares. Now these people that boast so much of their successions & vocations, with what face can they defend the missions of this man? Neither were those of *Siluester* the third any better, who by the faction of *Ptolomie* a Confull of Rome, interrupted the See of *Iohn*; of whom saith *Baronius*, *This man was Bishop of the Sabines, who also, malis artibus, by bad meanes; that is, by money, made himselfe way to the Papacie;* which without wrong done vnto his Authors he could not conceale: For *Hermannus* a Chronicler of those times, and *Leo* Bishop of Ostia, had witnessed before, That the Romans being wearied with the wickednesse of *Benedict*, expelled him, and substituted, *though not without money, Siluester* in his place. And that some few monethes after *Benedict* with the helpe of his kindred and friends, recouered it againe: who that he might with more libertie betake himselfe to his owne pleasures; he substituted *Iohn* the Archpriest, who was accounted almost the more religious (he would haue said, the more hypocrite.) And of all three *Otho Frisingensis* recounteth before vnto vs the pitifull estate that Rome was then in, *In my selfe*, saith he, *haue heard it in the city from the Romans themselves.* To conclude, *Baronius* calls those three false Popes, *tricipitem Bestiam, a Beast with a triple head rising from the gates of hell.* Where is then that See against which the gates of hell cannot preuaile? Now *Cerberus* himselfe (as that which the Poet speaks of) is choked with a ball of pitch. And where is that euer running spring of the spirit of God, or in whom did it now reside? This ball of pitch, saith he, a certaine good man and a zealous, called *Gratian*, made for them; and see how he did it: *He went to the aforesaid men, and persuaded them with money to forsake the See, and to Benedict he left the reuenues of England, because he seemed to be a man of greatest power and authoritie.* The Romans in recompence thereof, as to the purchaser of their freedome, made him Pope, who was *Gregorie* the sixt. I aske now, Whether this transaction may bee borne with amongst the Canonists? or whether all this may redound to his profit without simonie? And to say the truth, for this either cause, or pretence of cause, hee was afterwards in the Councell of Sutri, by the authoritie of *Henrie* the Emperour, and the consent of the Romans, expelled his See, and the Bishop of Bamberge, who was *Clement* the second, installed in his place, chosen from amongst strangers, because, *alas therefore*, there were none capable thereof at Rome. But *Baronius* is much grieued with these words, who calls this election, *a detestable presumption of the Emperour Henrie;* and doth vehemently endeavour to proue, that therefore the Popedom of *Clement* could not be lawfull. But in all this time, when will he find vs any

Baron. an. 1044
art. 2.

Herman. in
Chron. Leo l. 2.
c. 80.
Otho Frisingensis
supra.

Baron. an. 1045
& 1044.

Leo Olfens.
l. 2. c. 80.

Pope, and how will he fill vp that gulfe of pretended succession which they so much boast of? Except he meane to supplie it with the abominations of *Benedict* the ninth, who yet continuing euen after the death of *Clement*, thrust himselfe thrice into the chaire. We must not forget (that you may vnderstand that the libertie of the Churches was not yet wholly taken away) that *Henrie* the King of Germanie, in the year 1006, held a Synod at Frankford, whereof *Dithmar* thus speaketh: *The generall Councell is appointed at Frankford by the King, and was visited by all those that are on this side the Alpes.* Which was done to make *Bamberge* a Bishopricke, and being done, *Eberard* was nominated Bishop by the Emperour, and consecrated by *Willegisus* the President of the Synod, and all this without the knowledge or consent of Rome. *Henrie* his sonne likewise called another Councell in the year 1047, wherein he sharply repressed all simoniacal persons. *Glaber* saith, *Coadunare fecit, He assembled as well the Archbishops as the Bishops &c.* And for a conclusion, after he had pronounced a curse against all those that had committed simonie, he protesteth and saith, *As God hath giuen me of his meere mercie the Crowne, so will I freely giue that which belongs to his religion.* Here is no mention made of Rome. But *Baronius* wittily, after his manner, saith, That he thinks that *Clement* the second was at this Synod, though without any Author: for, saith he, the Emperour ought in duetie to giue his helping hand vnto him by this his Edict, which he likewise performed in fact. But suppose that Pope *Clement* were present thereat, and in all these proceedings not remembred, doth it not hurt his cause the more? So likewise in Spaine, in the year 1012, there was a Councell held at Leon, in which thus spake the Fathers: *We, say they, are met together at Leon, and by the commaundement of King Alphonfus the first we haue made these Decrees, which are intituled, The Decrees of the King Alphonfus and Geloira the Queene.* And in France, in the year 1017, a Councell was called by King *Robert* touching the cause of Heresie, notwithstanding that he by the testimonie of all the writers of those times, was commended for his pietie and deuotion.

40. PROGRESSION.

Of the wicked inuentions of Hildebrand, and the Popes of this time, to enlarge their power and authoritie. Of the doctrine of the redemption of penitentiaries, by whom, and when it came in. Of the fained myracles of Alexander the second to deceiue the people. Of the troubles that arose in Milan, through the Popes intrusions there. Of the Peter pence that were granted at this time by diuers Princes, to the Pope. Damianus Bishop of Ostia exclaimeth against the lasciuious life of the Roman Clergie.

THE thirtie yeares that follow vnder diuers Popes, vsing rather the magistracie than ministrie of *Hildebrand*, who especially swayed in those times, gaue occasion vnto them to vsurpe againe that which the Emperour *Henrie* the second had taken from them, by restoring that auncient law which was made in a solemn Synod betwixt *Hadrian* the first and *Charles* the Great, and was in force vnder the government of his whole race, and afterwards confirmed vnder the *Othoes*, and other Kings of Germanie. This *Hildebrand* was by nation a Tuscan, by profession a Monke of Clugnie: He obtained that dignitie by bad meanes, as Cardinal *Berno* and the Roman Archpriest doe witnesse. The minoritie of *Henrie* the third, the

A the sonne of the Emperour *Henrie* the second, being a child of five yeares of age, and brought vp vnder the tuition of *Agnis* his mother (as the minoritie of Princes produce many times weake counsellors) was a great occasion why *Hildebrand* abusing his youth, did dare to enterprise so much: But the diuell especially by his messengers thrust himselfe into the businesse, whilest they, that they might the more easly obtaine that they desired, abused the people vnder the name of two pretended Heresies: the one was Simonie, the sale for siluer, or other thing equi-olent thereunto, of Ecclesiastical charges, though at that time there was nothing at Rome more comon, where the Popedome it selfe was set to sale to whomsoeuer would giue most, where the Popes sold all Ecclesiastical dignities, and themselves to the diuell, as we haue often seene, *Simons* and *Magicians* together: But they made the signification of this word Simonie, to extend verie far, including within the compasse of that sinne, the Princes, who joynd their authoritie in the election of the people and Clergie, and inuested Bishops into their dignitie; whom they likewise held to be heretikes, because they had receiued their inuestiture from Princes: thereby stirring vp the ill humors of both States, the people to mur-
B
C
D
E
mure against their Bishops, the Nobles to rebell against their Princes. The other was the Heresie of the *Nicholais*, directly (whether by errour or subtiltie) against the truth of the historie of *Nicholas*, who being a Deacon in the Primitiue Church was therefore reprehended, because vnder a colour of continencie he forsooke his wife, and afterwards betooke himselfe to a more licentious and vnclane life, as we haue elsewhere shewed out of *Epiphanius*. But of that sinne there were none more guiltie than the Roman Clergie, the Popes themselves of the precedent world frequenting common brother-houses at Rome, as we haue seene. But they wresting it otherwise, will haue vs to vnderstand and include vnder the name of *Nicholais*, those Bishops and Priests, who according to the law of God, and rule of the Apostles, and custome of the Primitiue Church, and Decrees of the first generall Nicene Councell, and diuers others, doe allow of lawfull mariage, and liue with those women whom they haue married in the face of the Church. Both the one and the other was the inuention of *Hildebrand*, or rather of his master, who sometimes by the one, sometimes by the other, bewitched the people, troubled the Princes, traduced the Bishops. But the end of all was this, to ouerthrow their Empire, and to bring all power and authoritie to their See, which others afterwards did by this example.

As touching the first, *Leo* the ninth being chosen Pope by *Henrie* the second (others call him the third) and being then in Germanie adorned with his purple robe, it hapned that taking his way through France he passed by Clugnie, where he saw *Hildebrand*, who told him, That it was *vnlawfull* to enter violently into the gouernement of the Church by the hand of a lay man: But if he would follow his counsell, he would shew him a way how the libertie of the Church should be preferred in the Canonically election, and yet no occasion of offence giuen to the Imperiall Maestie; and that was, To put off his purple robe, and to goe to Rome in the habit of a Pilgrim. *Leo* yeelds to his aduice, and *Hildebrand* betakes himselfe to the journey with him; and caused him againe to be chosen by the Clergie and the people. Some adde, that he set before his eyes *Damasus* the second, who by the iust iudgement of God liued but a few dayes; but he opened not vnto him the mysterie, that is, That he had found the way to shorten his life: which *Berno* before gaue vs to vnderstand. *Leo* dyeth in the yere 1054, and the Romans partly fearing the Emperour, and partly (saith *Sigomus*) not finding any man amongst them

Dithmar. l. 6.

An. 1047.
Glaber. l. 5. c. 5.Baron. vol. 11.
an. 1012. ex
script. Anto.
August. art. 16.
Glaber. l. 3. c. 8.Osio Erisig.
l. 6. c. 25.An. 1054.
Sigon. de Regno
Ital. l. 6.

An. 1056.

Sigon. de Reg.
no Ital.D. 23. C. In no-
mine.Leo Ostiensis.
p. 25.

them worthie the succession, sent *Hildebrand* vnto him, to intreat him in the name A
of the people and Clergie of Rome, to nominat one vnto them. This was *Gue-*
hardus the Bishop of Eichstat, who was *Victor* the second, who by an art familiar
in those dayes was poisoned by his Subdeacon in his Challice: And so this man
left all things in their former state and condition. But about the yeare 1056 *Hen-*
rie the second died, leauing *Henrie* the third his sonne, about the age of fife yerces,
and vnder the tuition of his mother *Agnis*: and in the yeare 1057 *Victor* the se-
cond died at his returne from Germanie, wherupon the Romans assembled them-
selues to chuse a successor, and as it were by force consecrated the Cardinall *Fre-*
dericke the sonne of the duke of Loraine, and presently by a Legat signified all
they had done to *Agnis*, who was not hardly intreated to approue their choyce:
and this was *Stephen* the ninth, according to *Baronius* the tenth, who as he prepa-
red himselfe to goe to *Henrie* the third, to be inuested (which they called simonie) B
departed this life, and presently there succeeded him by the faction of the Tuscu-
lan Earles, partly by buying voyces, partly by threatning open violence, *John* Bi-
shop of Velitre, their kinsman, being altogether ignorant, as Authors report, of
all manner of good learning, and constrained *Petrus Damianus* Bishop of Ostia,
notwithstanding his protestations to consecrat him, and afterward offer him to
the people, corrupted with gifts, to be adored. This was *Benedict* the tenth. Now
consider how much they abused their pretended libertie, and by what law they
accused the Emperours of simonie, whereas contrarily they made choyce of the
most worthie men in authoritie and learning they could find out. But because C
the Clergie had promised to *Hildebrand*, That if the See should be void, to chuse
no man in his absence; he shortly after sets vp an Antipope, *Gerardus Burgundus*,
Bishop of Florence, who was *Nicholas* the second: to whom *Benedict* the tenth,
rather moued with shame than conscience, gaue place. But he tooke assisstant vi-
to him *Hildebrand*, by whose helpe he might be eased in his greatest affaires. And
therefore by his counsell a Synod was held at Lateran, vnder pretence to prevent
those precedent inconueniencies, but indeed it was to supplant the Emperours:
For in that Synod it was ordained, *That the Pope dying, first the Cardinall Bishops*
should diligently inquire and consider of the election of a successor, then some vnto them
the Cardinall Clerkes, and so the rest of the Clergie and people should consent to the new
election: That he should be chosen out of the bosome of the Church of Rome, if any bee
found fit, if not, out of some other. But there was added for a fashion, Having euery
due respect to the honour and reuerence of our beloued sonne Henrie, who at this present
is held for King, and hoped hereafter by Gods permission to be Emperour, as we haue gran-
ted vnto him and to his successors, who from this Apostolike See haue obtained that
right. Whereas before the approbation of the Pope was in the Emperour, and
it was necessarie, vnder paine of high treason, to attend his commaund and con-
sent, before he were consecrated, and he in the meane time to be accursed and de-
clared Antichrist, that by any other meanes shall be placed in that throne. After
this Decree (before attempted by John the ninth, but with ill successe) the autho-
ritie of the Cardinals began to encrease, in so much that Petrus Damianus of these
times began to say: The Cardinals principally doe both chuse the Bishop of Rome, and
in some prerogatiues they are not onely above the law of all Bishops, but of the Patriarchs
and Primats too. These are the eyes of that onely stone, the candles of that onely candle-
sticke. Were there therefore before no eyes, no candles in the Church? Againe
Nicholas the second, that he might extend the signification of the word *Simonie*
in despite of *Henrie* the third, made a law, *That no man could accept of a Church, or*
any

An. 1056.

A any Ecclesiasticall office, either freely, or for money from the hands of a Lay man. Where-
as that which is said to be freely giuen, doth properly exclude Simonie, & makes
no difference betwixt the Lay and the Clergie. This *Nicholas* did also encrease vnder
the minoritie of *Henrie*, by another occasion: *Robert* and *Richard Guischar*,
who were come from Normandie to follow the warres in Calabria against the
Saracins, had there set footing with happie successe; *Robert* called himselfe Duke
of Apulia and Calabria; *Richard* held Capua, and ouerranne the countrie euen
to the gates of the citie of Rome: both the one and the other were excommuni-
cated by the See of Rome. But *Nicholas* called in his excommunication, vpon
condition they should hold their seigniories in fee farme of the Church of Rome,
B swearing faith and loyaltie thereunto, and paying for a yerely rent twelve pence
for euery yoke of Oxen: from whence there arose matter of new contention with
the Empire and the Emperour. And these things bring vs to the yeare 1060. But
the progression was no lesse in the corruption of manners and doctrine, than in ty-
rannie ouer the Church. Touching manners, the sinne of Sodome, by the rigou-
rous execution of those lawes that concerned single life, had taken such root in the
Roman Clergie, that *Petrus Damianus* enforced to betake himselfe to an Her-
mitage, writ a book, intituled *Gomorrhans*, in which he decipheres al the kinds ther-
of, wherein they did riot and sensually passe their time. And he dedicated the book
to *Leo* the 9 whose helpe he implorèth against this great and grieuous sin. *Wicked*
C *brambles, thornes, and nettles haue filled the field of our Lord and Master, which grow*
out of the strength of the flesh, and the douning of corruption: for all flesh hath corrupted
her wayes, insomuch that not onely a fload of waters seemes not sufficient to wash away
the filth thereof, but this great and grieuous wickednesse cries for that Gomorrhian fire
from heauen, that burnt the five Cities. And hereupon by this admonition of Dami-
anus, Leo made some lawes, and ordained some punishments for this sinne: But
presently after it appeared that he lost the grace and fauour of *Leo*: And after-
wards *Alexander* the second obtrayning the Popedom, gets this booke from the
authour thereof, vnder colour to lend it to the Abbot of Saint Saniour, but in
deed to suppress it, making the reason thereof to be, his ouer-plaine dealing in
that he had expressed the matter in more obscene or grosse termes than was fit-
ting; As if such filthinesse could be stirred, but there must rise a stinke. Whereupon
D *Damianus* in an Epistle to *Hildebrand* and *Stephen*, Cardinals, cagely com-
plaines, & yet not without a manifest flout; And indeed, saith he, *is this a token of*
Priestly cleanness, or rather an argument of papall puritie? But as touching doctrine,
In the time of *Victor* the second about the yeare 1055 was brought in the redemp-
tion of Penitentiaries, vnder pretence that sins multiplying, men were not able
to endure a penance for so many yeares deferred; And besides, sometimes men
may dye, before the penance be accomplished. Wherefore in fauour of the rich it
was ordained, that either for mony, possessions, or any thing else euualent ther-
unto, they might buy it out, according to the number of the yerces appointed and
E agreed vpon. And of this it was that *Damianus* saith, *Thou art not ignorant that*
when we take lands and possessions of Penitentiaries, according to the proportion of the
gift, we release them in the quantitie of their penance. Which he himselfe did to the
Archbishop of Millan in his legation: whereupon saith Baronius, He sheweth that
the goods of the church shall increase by these ransomes, which in time shall grow to a con-
stome. But it pleased him that the poorer sort should redeeme those yeates with
corporall afflictions, a certaine number of Psalmes sung in the Church; fasts
with bread and water, fillips, whips, and the like: whereupon saith the selfsame

Petrus Damianus
Lib. qui inscribitur
Gomorrhans cui præ-
fixa Epist.
Leonis 9.
Baron. an. 1049.
Art. 10. & seq.

An. 1055.

Baron. an. 1055.
Art. 9. & seq.

Petrus Damianus
in Epist. ad fratres
Baron. an. 1056
Art. 6. & 7.

Damian, Triascorparum millia; three thousand lashes with a whip or a holy-bush, with the singing of certaine Psalmes, doe supply one yeres penance, &c. And so he calculates it, that *twentie Psalmes sung with discipline should serue for the penance of a hundred yeres.* So farre at the last did this corruption of doctrine proceed, that *Petrus Damianus* prescribed to the Monkes that liued vnder his obedience in the same Hermitage, that *euery day with their Canonick houres, they should say the seruice of the virgin Marie.* And saith *Baronius, As he was the author hereof in his monasterie, so it is manifest that from the same source it sprang, that in all the West churches not only the Monkes, but Clergie, and Lay men and women, by the admonition of Pope Urban did euery day their tasks.* And he acknowledgeth to be of the same age and inuention, the custome of whipping themselues, in imitation of *Dominicus Loricatus,* The masse vpon Mundaies, for the dead that are in Purgatorie, vpon Friday, in honor of the passion, on Saturdaies, in the honour of the Virgin; to the end that superstition with the Popedome should ascend to their highest pitch.

Alexander the second succeeded *Nicholas* the second, who taking aduantage of the minoritie of *Henrie* (for he was then about eleuen yeares of age) was chosen either by the decree of *Nicholas,* or the bould counsell of *Hildebrand.* Which *Agnis* the mother of *Henrie,* vnderstanding to be done without her commaund, called a Councell at Basill, where by the consent of most of the Bishops of *Italie Cadalous* Bishop of Parma was created Pope, who was called *Honorius* the second. Now was *Italie* diuided in two parts by these two Popes, who raised their forces and bare armes one against the other. And *Henrie* himselfe sent *Hanno* Archbishop of Colen, who in the same Sinod reproched *Alexander* the second, and told him that he had no power to enter into the chaire without the commandement of the Emperour, and therefore he was either to leaue it againe, or to giue a reason of that he had done. But *Hildebrand* answereth him, the interpreter (for the most part) of the Popes in those daies, that *Alexander was suddenly consecrated without the authoritie of Henrie, to auoyd some imminent tumults; And that the church of Rome his spirituall mother, tooke more care of his right, than his mother Agnis, who was tied vnto him by bloud only.* So that they renounced not what they had done; but with this art, that they might attaine their purpose, did they thinke to hide their counsels and intentions. But the decision of this matter was put off to another Councell held at Mantua; which place was chosen, because it was vnder the power of the countesse *Matilda,* who tooke part with *Alexander.* There it was graunted at the instance of *Hanno,* that he should purge himselfe by oath, that he had not obtained the Popedome with money: by which meanes he was confirmed by all, and the decree against simoniacal persons is renewed in the same sence that it was before: and presently he sends *Petrus Damianus* his Legat into Germanie to signifie to *Henrie* the third and not without some threats, that if he would not be perswaded by counsell, he must necessarily adde his Ecclesiasticall censures; & so presently he cites him to Rome, there to giue account of the whole matter, vpon paine of excommunication. Thus by the aduantage of his minoritie, they easily get the vpper hand. And that they might the better blind the eyes of the people, these men who thought of nothing but the world, and the things that belong thereunto, become workers of miracles; *Alexander* at Cassin dispossessed one of a Diuell; going to Aquin did helpe one that was lame, by giuing him the water to drinke wherewith he washed his hands after the sacrifice. And to what end were these miracles? what law doe they confirme, or what gospell? or doe they not rather serue onely to vphold their ambition? frivulous therefore they are and

Petrus Damianus in Epist. ad Desiderium Cassinatem.

Leo Ostiens. L. 3. ca. 20.

A and childish, yea though we did yeeld them to be true, yet are they lyes, and proceeding from the father of lyes, because the vpholders of a lye. At the last in the yeare 1072, *Alexander* being dead, the Roman Clergie commaunded *Hildebrand* to succeed, hauing alreadie vnder three or foure Popes bene throughly acquainted with the Papall subtilties, and himselfe therein a verie good scholer; and we may say more than a Pope, since *Damianus* calls him *Dominum Pape,* the Master of the Pope, and is not ashamed to say;

*Papam rite colos, sed te prostratus adoro,
Tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit ipse Deum.*

B I honour the Pope, thee prostrat I adore,
Thou makest him a Lord, he thee a god, or more.

In so much that though he were Pope, yet he depended vpon him and his counsell: but he being nourished in pride, left nothing vndone that might enlarge his territories. And thus with a false pretence of simonie they encreased their power.

Neither were the desinements of the Popes lesse furthered in these times, vnder the colour of the Nicholaites. The Church of Milan did then in *Italie* hold the second place, being made more eminent by the suppression of *Raenna.* There were in it eightene Bishops Suffragans, two and twentie ordinarie Cardinals, twelue Canons, whom they called *Decumans,* and many other officers of good place. The king in such a manner instituted the Archbishop, that he was not bound to goe to Rome, and he contrariwise consecrated the king, to bring him in the way to the Empire. Wherefore this mote, as it were in his eye, the Pope did hardly beare with, and so much the rather, because the Bishop and Clergie of Milan would hold nothing of him; in so much that their libertie being many times attempted by the Popes, they could neuer make any breach thereinto. Wherefore in the yere 1059 *Stephen* the ninth being Pope, *Arialdus* a *Decuman* Clerke, who agreed not well with *Wydo* his Archbishop, conspired against him, with *Landolfus Costa,* the gouernour of the people: and this he doth vnder a pretence of deposing married Priests, in execution of the Papall Decree, many times reiterated, as we haue said before; and for his better helpe herein he hath recourse to *Stephen. Wydo* held a Councell at Fontanet, neere to *Nouaria,* where by the consent of all the Suffragan Bishops, it was ordained, That the Clergie men of what Order soeuer, might lawfully marie wiues; and in the citie the matter was decided with much controuersie, the common people taking part with *Landolfe,* the Nobilitie with the Archbishop. *Landolfe* therefore in the yere 1059 sends *Arialdus* to *Nicholas* the second, to signifie vnto him the obstinacie of the Church of Milan, and to intreat that there might be Iudges appointed to determine of this pretended heresie; who presently not willing to omit so good an occasion, dispatched away *Petrus Damianus* the Cardinall of Ostia, with all the power and authoritie he could giue him; who took for his assistant in this his legation, *Anselmus* Bishop of Lucques, who was afterward *Alexander* the second: and so they came to Milan. There what was done by *Damianus* we cannot better learne than of himselfe, who particularly sets downe the whole progression of his legation. Hee had no soouer deliuered his charge touching the deposing of married Priests, as heretikes, but presently the people began to be moued, saying, That the Pope had no authoritie ouer the Church of Milan, and that they would not dishonourably lose that

An. 1072.

An. 1059.

An. 1059.

that libertie which their auncestors had gotten, and they had hitherto maintained, A
and subiect themselues to the yoke of another Church: and therefore at the ring-
ing of a bel, and found of a trumpet, they gathered themselues together, to which
they were the more animated, because *Petrus Damianus* had placed the Bishop of
Milan on his left hand, and *Ambrose* of Lucques, his assistant, on his right. The tu-
mult neuerthelesse being pacified, beginning his Sermon with the Supremacie of
the Church of Rome, and the absolute power thereof, he told them, That all o-
ther Churches were ordained of men, but the Church of Rome onely had her
foundation from God himselfe: and therefore from her all other, but especially
the Church of Milan, had taken their first beginning and rudiments of discipline,
to which likewise and to the Bishop thereof it was necessarie to be subiect, be-
cause at his pleasure the heauens themselues were opened and shut; and therefore
he that should derogate any thing from his priuiledge, should presently be censu-
red for an Heretike. Iudge therefore, gentle Reader, how well he had bene re-
ceiued by Saint *Paul*, if he should haue said, That those famous Churches which
he founded from Ierusalem to Sclauonia, had taken their beginning from man,
and not from God. As for the Church of Milan, he said, That *Nazarus* a re-
nowned Martyr had receiued *S. Peters Baptisme*, *Petri Baptisma*, of *Linus* his suc-
cessor, and afterward with *Celsin* was martyred at Milan, *Sicut Scriptura testatur*,
As the Scriptures beare witness: And that the holie Martyrs *Protasius* and *Geruasius*,
whose bodies they did there worship, had bene the Disciples of *S. Peter*, as *Ambro-
se* himselfe witnesseth; and therefore the Church of Milan, as a daughter of
the Roman Church, did owe vnto her obedience, as to her mother. This con-
clusion is of the same nature as the rest before, that is, friuolous, false, blasphe-
mous: For where doe we read in the Scriptures, of *Nazarus* baptized by *Linus*,
since Cardinall *Baronius* himselfe in his Martyrologie saith, That he is enforced
to beleue that *Nazarus* and *Celsus* suffered vnder the Emperour *Marcus Aure-
lius* and *Lucius Verus*, two hundred yeares after, which the Legendaries doe like-
wise make good: and doe also tell vs that *Geruasius* and *Protasius* being twinned,
were the sonnes of *S. Vital* and *S. Valerie*, remaining then at *Ambrun* neere to *S.
Nazarus*, and therefore both liuing at one time, farre from the raigne of *Nero*. D
And now after all this, how will he proue that of *S. Ambrose*? especially that *S.
Nazarus* receiued *Peters Baptisme*? Where doth he find in the Scripture a Bap-
tisme of *Peter*? Is there any other than of *Christ*? Can it be spoken without blas-
phemie, since *Paul* himselfe saith, *Is Paul crucified for you, or are you baptized into
the name of Paul*? shall we doubt that he would likewise haue said, *in the name of
Peter*? who so sharply reprehended those that said, *I am Pauls, I am Apoloes, I am
Peters*. This good Apostle of Rome likewise addeth, That *Ambrose* seeing hee
could not overcome the Heresie of the *Nicholaites* (who euer at that time heard
of any such Heresie?) craued helpe of Pope *Siricius*, who for the suppressing there-
of, sent a Priest, a Deacon, and Subdeacon, that they by his example in the like
difficultie should seeke the like remedie. By these toys in the meane time he bo-
asteth, That he had preuailed so farre with the people, that he could make them do
what he would haue them, that is to say, for the establishment of the law of single
life, which we haue spoken of elsewhere, hauing appointed a penance of a hun-
dred yeares to the Archbishop, which neuerthelesse for a certaine summe of mo-
ney yearly to be paid, he might redeeme. But as *Damianus* saith, *The chiefest thing
is to know of what power the priuiledge of the Church of Rome is*. But the matter stay-
ed not there: For he was no sooner returned to Rome, but the Clergie presently re-
co-

Card. Bar. in
Martyrolog. Lu-
ny 19. p. 341.

Jacob. de Vera-
gine Geruasio
& Protasio.

1. Cor. 1. 11.
12. 13.

A recovered their libertie, *Erlembaldus Cotta* being chosen gouernour of the people
by the death of *Landulph*, who by the instigation of *Arialdus* renew the sedition,
and sendeth againe to *Damianus*; but he being much moued therewith, spareth
not *Ambrose* himselfe: This, saith he, is no new thing in the Church of Milan, which
hath alwayes had men of diuers opinions, begun at the first by *Auxentius* and *Ambrosius*.
It is true that *Auxentius* was an Arrian, but what fault hath *Ambrose* committed,
that he should be accused of that fault, whom lately he proposed vnto vs, as a pa-
tron of his negotiations? To this passe it is come, that *Erlembaldus* himselfe went
to *Alexander*, being at Lucques in the yeare 1065, about this businesse, of whom
he obtained a Decree against the Clergie, which being brought to Milan, the
B Archbishop purposed to dispute the case vpon the day of Pentecost. But so had
Arialdus and *Erlembaldus* ordered the matter, that hauing framed their faction to
sedition, the Archbishop could not withstand them. The yeare following 1066,
the other part became so strong, that *Arialdus* was constrained to betake himselfe
to flight; but being taken, as the author of all these euils, he endured a miserable
and shameful punishment; by whose example *Erlembaldus* being terrified,
thought it the best way for him to be quiet. But in the yeare 1067, by reason of
the absence of the Bishop, *Erlembaldus* hauing gotten more strength, compels the
citizens to sweare, and spares neither Priest nor Archbishop, in so much that the
Bishop being returned to pacifie this sedition, he feared not to lay violent hands
vpon him; and at the last, that we iudge of this whole Progression by the end, he
obtaineth another Decree from Pope *Hildebrand*, That no Bishop should be accounted
true and lawfull, without the commaund of the Pope, notwithstanding he were declared
to be such by the Clergie, the people, and the King. For the strengthening of which De-
cree he binds both the people and Clergie of Milan, with an oath. At which the
Archbishop *Wydo* being astonished, as being now old and desirous of rest, gaue o-
uer his Archbishopricke, and sent his ensignes of honour into Germanie to *Henry*
the third. All these things were proposed vnto the people, and easily deuoured
with the fauce of *Simonie* and *Nicholaisme*, which whosoever should contradict,
was presently with *Dathan* and *Abiron*, *Iudas* and *Caiphas*, damned to the pit of
hell: For so saith *Mainardus* Bishop of *Syluacandida*, and *John* the Priest and Car-
dinall, the Popes Legats and Commissaries in this businesse. The Emperour there-
fore in the yeare 1068 bestowed that dignitie vpon *Godfrey Chastillon* a Milanois,
and of a noble house, whom the Pope presently interdicted, and *Erlembaldus* his
partaker made him to flee the citie. But the Pope after the death of *Wydo* gaue it
to *Atto* a clerke of Milan, brought in and receiued by *Erlembald*, not without the
great griefe of the people, who now saw this dignitie to be carried and disposed
according to the will and pleasure of the Romans. And from hence ariseth a new
controuersie with the Emperour *Henric* the third: for from these fained Here-
sies, as once from that difference that fell out touching Images, the Popes reaped
E a great commoditie, that is, the oppression of other Bishops, and diminution of
lawfull Empires.

But to proceed in the Progression, we must not forget that there were in these
times diuers Kings that made themselues tributaries to the Romish Babylon,
that that from time to time might be fulfilled, which was foretold in the Apoca-
lyps, Of Kings that should fall down and worship the Whore, and be made drun-
ken with her cup.

Casimire therefore King of Poland in the yeare 1045 made his kingdome feo-
datarie and tributarie to the Pope, that miserable monster *Benedict* the ninth, and
bound

Epist. Alexand.
22. ad Suenonem
Regem Danie.

Eiusdem ad
Guilielm. Re-
gem Anglie.

Gregor. 7. in E-
pist. post. 21. &
1. & 18. post
Epist. 10.

Gregor. 12.
Epist. 71.

An. 1080.

bound all his subiects to pay euerie yere a poll halfe penie, in so much that neither he nor his successors could afterward free themselves from that bondage. The like did *Sueno* King of Denmarke in the yere 1069, being summoned by *Alexander* the second, who demanded it of him, as a thing long since promised by his predecessors, and therefore exacted it now as a due: which by the same right, in the yere 1068, he extorted from *William* King of England, whom he would persuade, That from the time that the name of Christ was first knowne in England, the kingdome had bene *Sub manu & tutela Petri*, Vnder the hand and protection of *Peter*; that is, the Popes of Rome; whereas there were many Christian Kings in Britaine before Rome had heard of a Popedome. And this exaction went vnder the name of *Peter pence*. And as for *Gregorie* the seventh, or *Hildebrand*, he was not slower herein than the rest. That oath which he made *Richard* Prince of Capua to take, is verie notable: *I Richard, by the grace of God and Saint Peter, Prince of Capua (by what diuinitie doth he couple the creature and the Creator together?) from this houre and euer hereafter, will be faithfull to the holie Church of Rome, and to the Apostolike See, and to thee a helper, to hold, obtaine, and defend the royalties of Saint Peter, and his possessions, with a true faith, against all men: and I will giue my best assistance that thou maist securely and honourably hold the Popedome of Rome, and the dominions of S. Peter: (These claufes, according to his owne interpretation, goe farre) And I will neither seeke to invade or obtaine thy principalities, nor presume to rob, or wast them, without the leaue and licence of thee, and thy successors that to the honor of S. Peter shall enter. What other words could he vse to a captaine of theesues? But to King Henrie, when I shall be admonished by thee, or thy successors, I will swear allegiance, reseruing still my fidelitie to the holie Church of Rome.* These things fell out about the yere 1073. And the same oath tooke *Roberts* for Apulia and Calabria, doing his homage. And if we may beleue the Epistle of *Gregorie* the seventh, in the yere 1073, there came to Rome in pilgrimage the sonne of *Demetrius* king of Ruffia, whom he inuested into his kingdome in the name of *S. Peter*, Vndoubtedly affirming that this his petition should be ratified and confirmed by the consent of his father, if he should possesse his kingdome by the gift of the See of Rome: Thus abusing, as it appeareth by the stile, the sottish deuotion of this young man. In like D manner in the yere 1081 was the Earle *Bernard* befotted, who gaue for the remission of his finnes the earldome of Prouence. As for the donation of the Countesse *Mathilda*, we shall speake thereof in his due place. But it is wortie the consideration from what ground it should arise, that he writes to *Philip* K. of France, daring to promise him remission of his finnes, if he would take part with him: *We will, saith he, and in the name of the Apostle we commaund, that thou hinder not in any sort that election which the people and Clergie of the Church of Rheimes are to make, whereby it may be thought lesse canonically; but if any man shall goe about by any endeuor whatsoever to hinder it, thou shalt giue thy best helpe to withstand him. Goe forward therefore, that we may not be thought in vaine to haue spared the finnes of thy youth, and to haue expected thy amendement, but especially endeuour to make S. Peter thy debtor (that is, *Hildebrand*, who makes himselfe *Peters* successor) in whose power is thy kingdome and thy soule, who can bind and loose thee in heauen and in earth, by which thy diligence and execution of iustice thou maist deserue his eternall grace and fauour.* Here I may aske who discernes not the voyce of the diuell tempting our Sauiour in the Gospell? But the Aphorismes, which they call the Popes Dictats, published by him about the yere 1076, lay him open to the view of euerie man, *That the Church of Rome hath no other foundation but from God. Why then alledge they Peter? That the*

Bishop

- A Bishop of Rome onely is by right called *Vniuersall*: and therefore he alone hath right, according to *S. Gregorie* the Great, to be either the forerunner of Antichrist, or Antichrist himselfe. *That he alone may depose and restore Bishops*; what then shall we say of so many Bishops that in the Church for so many yeares and ages, in so many countries, haue bene lawfully, by good and worthe lawes, without any respect of him, nay in despite of him, placed and displaced? *That his Legat, though otherwise inferiour in degree, must take place aboue all other Bishops in Councils, and may denounce the sentence of deposition against them.* The reuerend generall Councils therefore, in which diuers Bishops haue bene Presidents, and taken the vpper place, and pronounced sentence in the presence of his Legats, yea & many times against them too, whether are they now gone? *That the Pope may depose such as are absent.* And this, saith *Baronius*, is to cut off occasions and excuses from our aduersaries, yea the Emperor himselfe, who being absent he had excommunicated; why then doe they so much wonder that he should vse the same law against him? *That we must not remaine in the same house with such as be hath excommunicated.* What is this but like the Pagan high Priests to interdict fire and water? But how happie is it for Christendome, that few beleuee it? To conclude, *That it is lawfull for him onely, according to the necessitie of the time, to make new lawes; to ordaine colonies; of a religious house to make an Abbie, and contrarily to diuide a rich Bishopricke, and to unite the poorer. That he onely may vse the Imperiall ensignes. That all Princes are to kisse the feet of the Pope onely. That his name onely is to be recited in Churches. That no generall Synod is to be called without his commaund: That no booke may be accounted canonically without his auctoritie. That all causes of greatest importance, of what Church soeuer, must be referred to him. That he may absolute subiects of their allegiance towards their Prince. That he can iudge of all men, and no man can iudge of him. And all this because the Church of Rome hath neuer erred, nor (as the Scripture witnesseth) shall euer erre. That the Pope of Rome, if he be canonically ordained, is undoubtedly made holy by the merits of *S. Peter*. That there is but one onely name in the world, that is the Pope; he had almost said that which the Apostle speaks of our Sauiour, *A name aboue every name, the onely name vnder heauen whereby we must be saved.* Now, gentle Reader, what doest thou expect, but that ouer and aboue all this he should adde, Because the Pope is Christ, he is Antichrist himselfe.*

Greg. 12.
Epist. 37.

Phil. 2. 9.
Acts 12. 4.

An. 1052.

Abbas Vrberg,
in Chronico.

Baron. an. 1052.
art. 16. 17.
Idem an. 1053.
art. 53. & se-

But before we come to the chiefe Oppositions, we are to note some particular things not to be contemned. *Leo* the ninth, saith the Abbot of *Vrberg*, being at *Menze*, and the Archbishop himselfe celebrating Masse, it fell out that a certaine Deacon called *Hunibert*, read a lesson that made not for the Pope. *Leo* being admonished hereof by one of his friends, commaunded him twice or thrice to bee silent, who neuertheless proceeded. The lesson being ended, he called him before him, and presently degraded him: Wherewith the Archbishop being offended, and much moued, protested, That neither he nor any man else should end the seruice at that time, except his Deacon were restored vnto him in the same state he was in before; in so much that the Pope to satisfie the Archbishop, was enforced to restore him againe with all his habiliments. Here, saith the Author, in this thing we are to consider the Prelats auctoritie, and the Popes humilitie, whilest the one contended to defend the dignitie of his office, the other, though his dignitie were greater, yet thought it fit to yeeld to a Metropolitan in his owne Diocesse. But *Baronius* growes into choller against the Abbot, and censures him; and in like manner against *Petrus Damianus*, though verie jealous of that See, because he did not allow that the Pope should intermeddle with matter of armes, and likewise because he durst to

Y ij

say,

Petrus Damianus in Epist. ad Firmian.

say, That an Emperour was to doe that which became an Emperour, and a Pope that which was befitting a Pope. For, saith *Damianus* in his Epistle to *Firmianus*, as the sonne of God himselfe overcame all the obstacles of this furious world, not by a reuengefull and strict examination, but by an invincible maiestie of vndaunted patience: so he teacheth vs rather willingly to beare the furious rage of this world, than to raise armes, and to answer wrongs with wrongs, especially since betweene a Kingdome and a Priesthood their proper offices are distinguished; a King must vse the arms of this world, a Priest gird himselfe with the spirituall sword, which is the word of God, &c. And to this purpose he alledgeth many places of Scripture, with other reasons and examples, yea he extendeth this law euen to the Pope, and particularly to *Leo* himself: if any man shall object against this I haue said, saith he, that *Pope Leo* doth often trouble himselfe with warlike affaires, yet I affirme that which I say to be true, because *Peter* obtained not the chiefe place among the Apostles, because he denied Christ; nor *Dauid* was therefore a Prophet, because he defiled another mans bed: for good and bad actions are not iudged according to the merit of the persons, but their owne proper qualities. Haue we euer read that *Gregorie* euer did this, or by his letters taught it, who endured so many wrongs and violences by the raging crueltye of the *Lombards*? Did *Ambrose* make warre against the *Arrians*, who cruelly vexed him and his Church? Or haue we read of any of the holie Popes that haue risen up in armes? Let the lawes therefore decide all Ecclesiasticall causes, or the Edicts of Councils, least that which should be determind in place of iudgement, being decided by warres, turne to our greater shame and reproach. What then saith *Baronius*? The Maximes of *Damianus* are contrarie to those of the Catholike Church, which condemne those of Heretic who attribute not both swords to the Pope; and so of a worthie Cardinall, because he diued into this myserie; he makes him an Heretike: but by what judges? *Gregorie* the ninth, and *Bonsiface* the eigth, who were long after him, than whom there was neuer more insolent tyrans, who in their owne proper causes, and the heat of their furie, vomited out their Decrees against the Emperours. He that knowes but the principles of Logicke, will here presently object *Principij petitionem*. He addeth againe, That the vse of the Church approoueth this doctrine. What will he say if we replie, Not the vse, but the abuse, the corruption? And here hee alledgeth certaine places of *S. Gregorie*, exciting those that were called to armes by the commaund and authoritie of the Emperour against the *Lombards*. But did he make warre with his owne powers? Did he proclaime warres? Did he goe into the field in his owne person? He replieth, Neither did *Pope Leo* fight, but was onely present at the warres, and when they came to joyne battell he withdrew himselfe out of the field, where with safetie he might attend the euent: and so of this his Monarch he maketh a Trumpeter, or an inciter vnto warre. Here let the Reader note this mans impudencie, who feared not to accuse *Damianus* of the heresie of *Tertullian*, who dissuaded Christians from warre; or rather of *Iulian* the Apostata, who commaunded Christians, according to the Gospell, to suffer all manner of wrong and violence, without resistance. Is therefore the vocation of all Christians one and the same? By that argument a Captaine may be permitted to say Masse as well as a Priest, by which it is made lawfull out of *Baronius*, for the Prince of Priests to make warres, or to be a Leader in the field. But the state of the Court of Rome we may nowhere better learne than out of *Damianus*, who in horrour of the abominations thereof, of a Cardinall became an Hermit, and being drawne from thence vpon some pretence of seruice to be done to the Pope, he seemes to be brought into hel againe, and expostulats this great wrong done vnto him with the Pope and *Hildebrand*.

Wri-

Baron. an. 1053. ar. 14. 15. 16. & sequent.

- A Writing therefore to *Hildebrand*, though he tooke part with *Alexander* against *Honorius*: But it may be, saith he, that this flattering tyran, who with a *Neronian* pietie condoles my estate, strokes me when he buffetts me, handles me gently with the talants of an Eagle; that is to say, the Pope, that he might retaine him at Rome, and get him thither againe, will complainingly breake out into these speeches, Behold how he seekes a lurking corner, & under colour of penance forsakes Rome; he goes about to gaine idlenesse by his disobedience, and whilest others run into the field to fight, he seekes to hide himselfe in the darkenesse of a degenerat ignoble shadow, &c. And he protesteth to his holie Diuell (for so he calls the Pope) that he will euer be readie vpon all occasions to assist him against *Honorius*, vpon condition that he may returne againe to his hermitage. What then moued him hereunto? Doubtlesse, if we belecue him, the lasciuious life of the Clergie of Rome, from which he did flie, as from a pestilent infection that invaded his bowels, his heart, his mind; which he expresth in all kind of actions and speeches vnworthie Church-men: From which grieuous enormities, saith he, if we strue either for shame or feare to free our selues, presently we are iudged to be rude and vnciuile, descended from the tygres of *Hircania*: but I stay my pen. And speaking of their excesse and superfluitie, There are euerie day kinglee feasts, daily preparations, nuptiall banquets, whilest the poore abroad dye for hunger, &c. And that which is worse than all the rest, and more than diabolicall, is, that hauing spent their reuenues at the warre, they lay their hands vpon the tithes, and make them temporall too.
- C To conclude, speaking of the generall corruption, It is such, saith he, that the Spirituallie is discerned from the Temporallie, by the shauing of their beards onely, not the sanctitie of their actions; neither doe they meditate vpon the sacred Scriptures, but vpon the ciuile lawes, and controuersies of temporall Courts. The tribunall seats of Iudges, and the Courts of Princes are not sufficient to receive the Monkes and Friars. The cloysters are empty, the Gospell is shut vp, and nothing more common in the mouthes of Ecclesiasticall persons, than temporall lawes, &c. And with the selfesame mind he writeth to the Cardinals, preparing themselves to the Councell, That they come not thither, as he hath often scene it, to sell their voyces, thereby the better to helpe their luxurie; which he there describeth to be princely, exceeding that of *Sardanapalus*; and that he had scene those that haue exulted for joy when they heare of a Synod, as if the threshing time after *Haruest* were at hand. This hee speakes of that part of the Church that held with *Alexander* the second, & which he himselfe defended; which I thought good to tell you, that no man might object, that hee spake of the faction of *Honorius* the second, whom he accounted schismatikes. Wherefore being inuited by *Alexander*, and violently incited by *Hildebrand* to be present at the Councell at Mantua, against *Honorius*, by whose good name they hoped to weaken the contrarie faction, he falls to foule tearmes with them: The Epistle is intituled *Patri & filio*, To the father and the sonne, the Pope and the Archdeacon, wherein wounding *Hildebrand*, or rather the Pope through his sides, I humbly beseech, saith he, my holie Diuell, that he would be pleased not to be so cruell vnto me, and that his venerable pride would not weare and wearie me with so long stripes, but that he would become more mild vnto his seruant; my shoulders beate black and blew, saile me, and my backe is furrowed with stripes, &c. And therefore, saith the wise man, the stroke of the rod makes markes in the flesh, but the stroke of the tongue breaketh the bones: But I repress my spirit, and put my finger vpon my mouth, and seeke for mercie thought it be late. But let vs now come to the Opposition.

OPPOSITION.

The minoritie of *Henrie* the third was a great helpe to the Popes proceedings,

Y iij

not-

Petrus Damianus in Epist. ad Alexand. & Hildebr.

An. 1064.

Auentinus L. 5.
Annal. Baiorum
ex antiquo-
ribus.

notwithstanding that *Agnis* the Regent, and the Princes whose counsell she v-
sed to interrupt the prescription, did alwaies something to maintaine their autho-
ritie, though it were not alwaies answerable to their desires. A successour to *Ni-
cholas* the second was to be thought of, about which there arose a ciuile warre at
Rome, the voyces being diuided betwixt *Alexander* and *Honorius*; The Romans
in the midst of these tumults sent Embassadors to the Emperour, lying then at
Ausbourge; and among others, that man that had consecrated *Alexander*, who
requested his help against this vsurpation: *Alexander* (say they) troubleth all against
the laws of our ancestors, & without your consent, he vsurpeth the holy priesthood; bought
the Popedome of the Normans, holds it by force; he is a wolfe, and a sheefe, not a Pastor,
tyran not a Pope: Behold here I am that enforced by the Normans, God I take to witnesse,
consecrated him; succour vs therefore speedily before this plague disperse it selfe any far-
ther. The Emperour therefore taking knowledge thereof, sendeth *Bocon* the Bi-
shop of Halberstat to enquire into the truth hereof; who so long as the contro-
uersie continued, maintained *Alexander* in his place. But *Honorius* hardly endu-
ring that, entreth with his power into Rome; The Lombards defend *Alexander*,
the Normans *Honorius*, and Rome is diuided, the townes and other strong pla-
ces of the citie parted betwixt the Popes. But *Godfrey* of Lorraine, who commaun-
ded for the Emperour in Italie, interposed himselfe; by whose authoritie the
Popes lay aside their armes, and euerie Citizen betakes himself to his own home:
But presently calling them both before him, *You are*, saith he, *the Shepherds that*
are clothed with the wooll, and nourished with the milke of those sheepe whom yce abuse,
who violate that peace, pollute that pietie, which Christ our Lord and Sauour hath left
vs: Goe into Germanie to the Emperour, and there decide the matter by Law, not heere by
armes, who shall be Pope: And so let him whom the Emperour, Princes, and Bishops shall
indge the more worthie, enjoy the Popedome peaceably, without force. Wherefore
both of them consenting therunto the businesse is referred to the Synod at Man-
tua, but yet so as *Alexander* being consecrated, and possessed of the Temple of
Lateran, retayned still the name and title. But both of them being impatient of
delays (the Emperour being employed in the warres of Hungarie, by means
whereof he could make no great speed, to order and pacifie these matters) each
other by Synods in his owne faction, excommunicated one another. In somuch
that the Emperour being hardly thirteene yeares of age, was faine to send *Hanno*
the Archbishop of Colen, and *Wenceslaus* of Alraich, with diuers other Bishops
and Princes to Mantua; where *Alexander* yeelding himselfe to the law, *Honori-
us* on the other side signified to *Hanno*, That it became not the master to be taught by
his disciples, and that he would not come but as the Vicar of Christ, and President of that
Councell. *Hanno*, president of the Synod, and representing the person of the Em-
perour, answered him by the aduice of the Councell, That he must obey the sen-
tence of the Church, and the masters of that Councell, and submit himselfe to the diuine
Oracle. Whereupon *Alexander*, being lawfully heard, and, because there wanted
an accuser, willed to purge himselfe by oath, they pronounced him Pope, who
neuerthelesse as we haue scene, took no great care of the imperiall dignitie. These
things fel out in the yere 1066. But so soon as *Hildebrand* without the knowledge
of the Emperour had got the Popedome, he who in the elections of his predeces-
sors had beene often the author to chuse them without the consent of the Empe-
rours, not fearing to doe any thing, resolued with himselfe to preuaile in this bu-
sinesse, after another manner than others had done. Which, forasmuch as *Henrie*
the third was now more growne in yeares, as it was an occasion of great tumults
in

An. 1066.

A in Christendome, so it inforced the truth out of many mens mouthes. This onely
man, saith the Apologie of the Clergie of Liege, in the yere 1066, Offered hard
measure to the sacred Canons; but let vs know how; He did it not as *Gregorie* the first
who would not intermeddle with the death of the Lombards, nor as all the Popes after
him, who by the example of *Gregorie* the first, used the spirituall sword onely, vntill
Gregorie the last, that is *Hildebrand*, who was the first (and by his example encouraged
others to doe the like) that armed himselfe against the Emperour. Vntill this man came,
saith a graue writer, the Popes were chosen by the Clergie, the Nobilitie, the people, the
Senat, the Emperour ratifying their choice, who had power to call them, and other Bishops
to Councels, and was acknowledged by them (according to that which the holie Fathers,
and Iesus Christ himselfe did, and taught others to doe) to be next vnder God, their su-
preame Lord, who likewise reuerenced him as a Father. *Gregorie* the seuench contrarily,
who was *Hildebrand*, putting his confidence in the armes of the Normans, who then ra-
ged and rioted throughout *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Campania*, which by violence they had pos-
sessed, and trusting likewise vpon the riches of *Matilda* an insolent woman, and the dis-
cord of the Germans, was the first that against the custome of his Elders, contemning the
imperiall authoritie, possessed the Popedome; and durst to say That Christ had put vpon
him both persons, giuing him power to bind and to loose, to exercise both charges (Ec-
clesiasticall and secular) to transerre all power vnto himselfe, not to indure any equall,
much lesse a superior, to contemne Emperours and Kings, as holding their Dominions at
his will and pleasure, to bring Prelats and Bishops into order, to denounce, to chaunge
States, to sow discords, to raise warres, to aushorise factions, to absolue oaths, and though
he wrong the Emperour himselfe, yet in a certaine Epistle of his he glorieth that he must
be feared, because it is he that cannot erre, that hath receiued of Christ our Lord and Sa-
uour, and S. Peter power to bind and to loose how and whomsoever he please. Then, he
likewise addeth, began those perillous times, which Christ and Peter, and Paule had so
long before foretoold; Then were those fables of *Siluester* and *Constantine*, no lesse fos-
tishly, than impudently deuised, and diuers others which it becomes not Christian mo-
destie to relate; then did counterfeit religion put on the shape of pietie; Then began rob-
beries, the sale of holie things, and diuine Philosophie to be polluted, corrupted and vio-
lated, by Sicophants subtile interpretations, lyes & old wiues tayles; Insemuch that with-
out the utter ouertrow of many, true religion cannot be restored to her auntient maiestie.
All this began with *Hildebrand*, who first built vp the pontificall Empire, which his suc-
cessors for 450 yeares retayned in despite of the world, and the Emperours, in such a ma-
ner that they brought the infernall spirits beneath, and gods aboue into seruitude, making
all subiect to their yoke, and terrifying the whole world with their thunderbolts.

Apologia Cleri
Leodiens. an.
1066.

Quo bruta sellus, & vaga flumina,
Quo Stix, & inuisi horrida Tanari
Sedes, Atlantensq; fins
Concutitur, mutant ima summis.

As farre as earth, as Sea extends,
As Stix or horrid Tanaris,
Yea where the hill Atlantens ends,
His fearefull power carried is.

And all this this Author deliuereth, notwithstanding he were by profession a
Roman, being willing perhaps to haue said more, if it had beene lawfull, for he
concludeth with these words; *The Roman Emperour is now no more than a bare name*
wish-

without a bodie, without forme, notwithstanding the fruit be knowne by the tree, and no man gathereth grapes of thistles, and the souldier knoweth his captaines colours, but yet we must not iudge before the time, but according to the rule of S. Paul we must attend the perpetuall decree of the eternall Iudge: As if he would haue alluded to that place of the Apostle speaking of Antichrist: And now ye know what withholdeth (the Roman Empire) that he might be revealed in his time. What manner of man this Hildebrand was, we shall see in his due place.

But yet at the first he bewrayes not his boldnesse, but when the Emperour Henrie sent the Earle Heberard to Rome, to admonish the Romans of their offence, and threatning withall, that except they did satisfie him he would pronounce the election void; he humbly answered, That he was enforced to vndertake the Popedome against his owne will, neither would he euer haue suffered himselfe to be consecrated, had he not vnderstood by the relation of his Legats, that the election was approved by the Emperour: By which words he so pacified the Emperour, that he easily yeelded his consent to his consecration. But presently after he held a Councell at Lateran, where he renewed the Canons against those his Heresies of Simonie and Nicholaisme, sufficient pretexts to diminish the authoritie of Henrie; and if he should oppose himselfe against them, to make him an Heretike. The one of them tooke from him all authoritie at Milan, if any were left, the other should daily diminish that power which he retained in Germanie by the right of Inueftiture. The summe of them was this, *It shall not be lawfull for a Clergie man to marie a wife, nor to take their inueftiture at the hands of a lay man, vnder paine of excommunication.* But it is worth the noting, that the Countesse Mathilda was present at this Councell, a woman no lesse infamous for her vnchast life, than her pride. Erlembald gouernour of Milan put the first Decree in execution, continuing his rage against the Clergie; and vpon the day called *Cena Domini*, the Supper of the Lord, he forbad *Godfrey*, whom the Emperour had made Bishop, to consecrate the oyle, and provided other. The year following 1075 he did the like, he himselfe ministring the oyle in the Paschall ceremonies; but all the Priests refused to receiue it at his hands, except *Luitprand* onely, Curat of S. Paul. Whereupon the people being much offended, forsooke the citie, protesting that they would obey no Bishop but him whom the Emperour should nominat; and not long after entering into the citie againe, they killed both *Erlembald* and his *Luitprand*. *Godfrey* in the meane time not being accepted by the Pope, stood still excommunicated, not without the great indignation of *Henrie*, who neuerthelesse, to accommodate himselfe a little vnto him, named in his place *Theobald Castillon*, who was kindly receiued by those of Milan. And from this onely let euerie man iudge how vnwillingly this yoke of single life was receiued in Italie. *Gregorie* vrgeth the same in Germanie, writeth to the Princes and their wiues, That they should not frequent the Masses of married Priests, That they should execute his Decree, and account those for excommunicat persons that obeyed it not: declaring vnto them, *that they were neither Priests, nor might sacrifice.* Whereupon the common people grew insolent against them, and trampled the Hosts consecrated by them, vnder their feet, though it were at that verie time when the opinion of the reall presence began to spread abroad. From this occasion, saith *Auentinus*, many false Prophets did arise, who with fables & myracles (examples they call them) turned the people of Christ from the truth, interpreting the Scriptures so, as that they might serue their owne turnes, whilst in the meane time, vnder the honest name of chastitie, whoredome, incest, adulterie, were enery where freely committed. But yet in the meane time, notwithstanding

An. 1075.

A withstanding the attempts that were made at some Councils in Germanie, and the threats that were thundered out by the Legats à Latere of Pope *Gregorie*, they could not persuaide the Bishops to yeeld their consent to this Decree, or to depose those Priests that were married, defending themselves by the authority of the Scriptures, the auncient Councils, and the Primitiue Church; adding thereunto the commaundement of God, and humane necessitie, directly oppugning the Popes Decree. From hence there arose new matter of malice against *Henrie*, because he did not his best endeour to countenance the Bulls of *Gregorie*: But another thing there was that troubled him more, which was the right of inueftiture, which *Gregorie* called simonie, for which *Alexander* the second had already threatened to excommunicat him, because according to the manner of his predecessors he confirmed by his authoritie such as were chosen Bishops by the Clergie and people, and perhaps tooke some money for those great reuenues they possessed thereby, which *Gregorie* would willingly haue got into his owne purse. For let no man thinke he did it out of zeale to discharge the Clergie of that burthen, because the historie witnesseth that there was none of his predecessors that made a more publike sale of Church liuings and dignities than he did. He giues him therefore to vnderstand, That vnder paine of excommunication he must abstaine from inueftitures, and presently excommunicated *Otho* Bishop of Ratisbone, *Otho* of Constante, *Bernard* of Lozanna, and the Earles *Eberardus* and *Vlricus*, his counsellors, and he sent presently into Germanie the Bishops of Ostia, Prenest, Coire, and Come, to enquire into the matter; who meteing the Emperour at Noremberge, refused to speake with him, because he had bene excommunicated by *Alexander*. But yet neuerthelesse they demaund a generall assemblee in Germanie, in which they were to inquire of Simoniackall Bishops and Abbots, amongst whom they shut them especially out of the Church that were knowne to be ordained by *Henrie*, and first of all the Bishop of Bamberge. And in the year 1075 the Emperour hauing appointed a meeting of the Bishops and Princes at Goslaer, to deliberate of this businesse, in the name of the Pope they let him vnderstand, That the second weeke in Lent he must make his personall appearance at Rome, to answer to such crimes as should be objected against him, otherwise he was againe to be cut off from the bodie of the Church: And this is that which *William* of Malmesburie said, speaking of *Gregorie*: *That which precedent Popes spake as it were betweene their teeth, this pronounceth with open mouth, excommunicating the elect, who had receiued their inueftiture into the Churches from the hands of a lay man, by the ring & the staffe.* Which the Clergie of Lieg do likewise affirm in their Apologie in the yere 1106: *Hildebrand onely hath offered violence to the sacred Canons, &c.* deriding that zeale which he pretended. The Princes therefore and people of Saxonie, being for some pretended griefes moued against the Emperour, and objecting against him for the better strengthening of their cause, his youthfull lasciuious life, craved the helpe of *Gregorie*, who presently sets spurres to those that were forward ynough of themselves to rebell, promising to be the first day with them in Germanie, and to free them from the power of the Emperour. But yet for as much as this was an enterprise of weight and difficultie, he joynd himselfe in league with a more strict band than before, with the Countesse *Mathilda*, whose possessions and wealth were then great in Italie; and also with the Normans, then lords of Apulia and Calabria, which he performed so much the easier, because the diminution of the power of *Henrie* made much for the increase of both their goods. But indeed the Pope had another purpose, that once hauing gotten authoritie,

An. 1075.

Malmesb. l. 3. de Gestis Regum Anglor.

Leo Oſtienſ.
l. 3. c. 48.

clerus Leodienſ.
in Apolog. an.
1106.
Auentinus l. 5.
Annaliū
Baier.

Lambert.
Scheffnab. de
rebus Germ.
ſigon. de Regno
Ital. l. 9.
Author vitę
Henrici 4.

ritie, he might thruſt out both *Mathilda*, to whoſe dominions he chalenged a right, and the Normans, who defended themſelues by no other title than of robbers and theecues. And therefore, ſaith *Leo of Oſtia*, *The Counteſſe Mathilda fearing the arme of Henric the Emperour, deuoutly offered to Pope Gregorie, and the holie Church of Rome, the Prouinces of Liguria, Tiguria, and Tuſcia: which was the firſt ground from whence ſprung the ſeed of hatred and diſcord betwixt the Pope and the Emperour. Whereupon the Pope tooke occaſion to excommunicat the Emperour, for vſurping the rightes of the Church.* But he addeth in his Epiſtle, *That he commaunded Mathilda, vpon remiſſion of her ſinnes, to make warre with the Emperour: wherein it ſhall be neceſſarie to note the diuinitie of this good man.* *Henric* in the meane time omitting no opportunitie to procure peace, ſent Orators to *Gregory* to juſtifie himſelfe againſt the calumnies of the Saxons: but, ſaith *Auentine*, *The Emperours meſſengers who came to confute thoſe crimes that were objected by the Saxons, and to withſtand their attempts, he caſt into priſon, tormented them with cold, and hunger and thirſt, and being lead vpon and downe through the citie, draue them out of Rome; becauſe, ſaith he, he ought to haue come in his owne perſon.* *Henric* therefore (his patience being ſo much moued that he could beare no longer) commanded a meeting at *Wormes*, to which there came many Biſhops out of *Italie*, and out of *France*, and *Germanie* all, except thoſe of *Saxonie*, yea and from *Rome* it ſelfe came Cardinall *Hugo Blancus* with letters from the Cardinals, and principall of the people of *Rome*, wherein they accuſed *Hildebrand* of ambition and periurie, complaining that he had done many things couetouſly and proudly, and therefore this their Paſtor being reueiled they deſire another. There, vpon mature deliberation, a ſentence is pronounced againſt *Hildebrand*. *Hildebrand*, who calls himſelfe *Gregorie*, is the firſt that without our conſent, againſt the will of the Roman Emperour, eſtabliſhed by God himſelfe, againſt the cuſtomes of the Elders, againſt the lawes, hath by his ambition long ſince inuaded the Popedome. He will doe what ſoeuer pleaſeth him, whether by right or by wrong. He is an Apoſtat Monke, who by his new opinions adulterateth the ſacred diuinitie, the Scriptures by his falſe and forced interpretations he accommodates to his owne affaires and purpoſes, he breakes the peace and concord of the Colledge, he minglETH things ſacred with prophane, diuine with humane, and polluteſt both the one and the other, he lendeth an eare, and giues credit to the diabolicall, and impure and falſe accuſations of our deadlieſt enemies, to the maledictions of wicked men. He is both witneſſe, and Iudge, and accuſer, and partie, himſelfe. He ſeparateth husbands from their wiues, preferres whores before chaſt matrons, whoredome, inceſt, adulterie, before chaſt marriage. He ſtirreth vp the people againſt the Priests, the vulgar ſort againſt the Biſhops. He teacheth that there is no man truely initiated, but he that begs his Priſthood of him, or buyes it of his blond-fuckers. He ſtudieth how to gratifie the baſer ſort, and deceueth and circumuēteth the common ſort of people: Infenatulo muliercularum, In a Councell-houſe of women he diſcoureth of the holie myſteries of religion, the law of God wherewith he hath bound himſelfe, he looſeth: as the Deceij and worſhippers of falſe gods were wont to doe. he vſurpeth both the Empire and the Popedome, &c. He reſiſteth the diuine maiestic, and the moſt Chriſtian King ordained from aboue, and inaugurate by God himſelfe, he impugneſt. And cunningly and craftily, and cloſely, he goeth about in a ſheepes ſkin, and vnder the title of Chriſt, to get into his hands the Empire of the whole world. For theſe cauſes the Emperour, the Biſhops, the Senat, the people, pronouice him depoſed, being vnwilling to commit the ſlocke of Chriſt to the gard and cuſtodie of ſuch a wolfe. And ſo both thoſe pretended hereſies of *Simonie* and *Nicholaiſme* with one conſent they ouerthrew, and this verie Decree not onely the Biſhops of *Germanie* and *France*, but of *Italie* it ſelfe, in a Synod holden

A den at *Paui* did vnder their Seales, and by oath confirme. They writ likewise by the authoritie of the Synod of *Wormes* to *Hildebrand*, that he should giue ouer the Popedome, and betake himſelfe to a priuat life, and also to the Clergie and people of *Rome*, that according to the Law of their aunceltors they should chuse another, but yet ſo as that they should lay no violent hands vpon the perſon of *Hildebrand*, but leaue him to the iuſtice of God. Amongſt all theſe Biſhops there was not any that contradicted the decree but *Albert* of *Winthſbourg*, and *Herman* of *Metz*, who likewise were ſoone perſuaded by the admonitions and reaſons of *William* of *Vtrecht* to be of the ſame opinion, and to ſubſcribe with the reſt. *Gregorie* ſo ſoone as hee vnderſtood hercof, is nothing at all discouraged, but borrowing a great ſumme of money of *Mathilda*, diſtributeth it amongſt the people, with the poore mens money payed his ſouldiers wages, flattereth the people of *Rome* ſetting before their eyes their auncient renowne, and giues them hope of libertie, and ſo calls a Councell at *Rome*; where in a full aſſembly, in the name of the Synod of *Wormes*, one *Rowland* a Prelat of *Parma*, vpon the ſuddaine ſtands vp, and without any duetic done vnto him ſpeakes vnto him in theſe words. Our moſt Chriſtian Emperour, and the reuerend Biſhops of *Italie*, *Germanie*, and *Fraunce* commaund thee to reſigne that charge, which thou haſt vſurped by ſubtilty, money and fauour; For it is not lawfull for thee, againſt their willes, and the authoritie of the Emperour, and decree of the Church of Chriſt, to meddle with the Sheepefold of Chriſt. And preſently turning himſelfe towards the aſſembly; Moſt holie brethren (ſaith he) chuse according to your owne Law a Paſtor, which choice of yours, the ſacred Conſull Tribune and your Prince according to the manner of your aunceltors will authoriſe: For this *Hildebrand* is neither Paſtor, nor Father, nor Pope, but a theefe, a wolfe, a robber, and a tyran. Whereupon they ruſhed vpon him, and he wanted not much of being ouerborne by the people. In the Letters which he deliuered there were theſe words: *Becauſe thine entrie began with ſo many periuries, and the Church of God by the abuſe of thy nouelties hath bene endangered in this ſo great a tempeſt, and haſt diſhonoured thy whole life by thy infamous conuerſation, as we haue promiſed vnto thee no obedience, ſo will we neuer performe any to thee.* *Gregorie* therefore returning the fault vpon themſelues, the day following deſtroyed *Henric* (as much as in him lay) of the kingdome of *Germanie* and *Italie*, diſcharged the Princes of their oath of allegiance; excommunicateth *Sigefrid* Archbiſhop of *Mence*, and the Biſhops of *Vtrecht* and *Bamberge*; threatning to proceed in like maner againſt the reſt if they came not to *Rome* to purge themſelues. In which decree (let the Reader note the cunning) he ſpeakes to *Peter* as to his reuenger; *Heare me* (ſaith he) *O Peter* Prince of the Apoſtles, thou and thy brother *S. Paule* can beſt witneſſe for me beſides others, that I was drawne againſt my will to the gouernement of thy holie Church, and therefore I perſuade my ſelfe, that it pleaſeth thee that I ſhould rule the people of Chriſt committed by God, eſpecially to thy charge &c.

E Being therefore confident herein, for the honour of thy Church, in the name of the omnipotent God the Father, ſonne and holie Ghost, and by right of thy authoritie, I interdict *Henric* the King, the ſonne of *Henric* the Emperour, (who by a ſtrawge pride, the like whereof was neuer heard of, hath riſen againſt the Church) all the Kingdome of *Germanie*, and *Italie* &c. To the end all people may ſee and vnderſtand, that thou art *Peter*, & ſuper tuam Petram, and vpon thy rocke the ſonne of God hath built his Church &c. Theſe ſelſame words hath *Sigonius*, and not vpon this rocke. And ſome denying that the King could be ſubiect to the Popes curſe or excommunications, *Thinke you* (ſaith he) that God when thriſe together he committed the charge of his Church to *S. Peter*

ritie, he might thrust out both *Mathilda*, to whose dominions he challenged a right, A and the Normans, who defended themselves by no other title than of robbers and theeves. And therefore, saith *Leo of Ostia*, *The Countesse Mathilda fearing the arme of Henrie the Emperour, deuoutly offered to Pope Gregorie, and the holie Church of Rome, the Prouinces of Liguria, Tiguria, and Tuscia: which was the first ground from whence sprung the seed of hatred and discord betwixt the Pope and the Emperour. Whereupon the Pope tooke occasion to excommunicat the Emperour, for vsurping the rights of the Church. But he addeth in his Epistle, That he commaunded Mathilda, vpon remission of her sinnes, to make warre with the Emperour: wherein it shall be necessarie to note the diuinitie of this good man. Henrie in the meane time omitting no opportunitie to procure peace, sent Orators to Gregory to iustifie himselfe against B the calumnies of the Saxons: but, saith *Auentine*, *The Emperours messengers who came to confute those crimes that were obiected by the Saxons, and to withstand their attempts, he cast into prison, tormented them with cold, and hunger and thirst, and being lead up and downe through the citie, drawe them out of Rome; because, saith he, he ought to haue come in his owne person. Henrie therefore (his patience being so much moued that he could beare no longer) commanded a meeting at Wormes, to which there came many Bishops out of Italic, and out of France, and Germanie all, except those of Saxonic, yea and from Rome it selfe came Cardinall Hugo Blannu with letters from the Cardinals, and principall of the people of Rome, wherein they accused Hildebrand of ambition and perurie, complaining that he had done many C things couetously and proudly, and therefore this their Pastor being reiected they desire another. There, vpon mature deliberation, a sentence is pronounced against Hildebrand. Hildebrand, who calls himselfe Gregorie, is the first that without our consent, against the will of the Roman Emperour, established by God himselfe, against the customes of the Elders, against the lawes, hath by his ambition long since inuaded the Popedome. He will doe whatsoeuer pleaseth him, whether by right or by wrong. He is an Apostat Monke, who by his new opinions adulterateth the sacred diuinitie, the Scriptures by his false and forced interpretations he accommodates to his owne affaires and purposes, he breakes the peace and concord of the Colledge, he mingleth things sacred with prophane, diuine with humane, and polluseth both the one and the other, he lendeth an eare, and giues credit to D the diabolicall, and impure and false accusations of our deadliest enemies, to the maledictions of wicked men. He is both witnesse, and Iudge, and accuser, and partie, himselfe. He seperateth husbands from their wiues, preferres whores before chaste matrons, whoredome, incest, adulterie, before chaste mariage. He stirreth up the people against the Priests, the vulgar sort against the Bishops. He teacheth that there is no man truly initiated, but he that begs his Priesthood of him, or buyes it of his blood-suckers. He studieth how to gratifie the baser sort, and decerueth and circummenteth the common sort of people: In senatulo muliercularum, In a Councell-house of women he discourseth of the holie mysteries of religion, the law of God wherewith he hath bound himselfe, he looseth: as the Deceij and worshippers of false gods were wont to doe, he vsurpeth both the Empire and the E Popedome, &c. He resisteth the diuine maiestie, and the most Christian King ordained from aboue, and inaugurated by God himselfe, he impugne. And cunningly and craftily, and closely, he goeth about in a sheepes skin, and vnder the title of Christ, to get into his hands the Empire of the whole world. For these causes the Emperour, the Bishops, the Senat, the people, pronounce him deposed, being unwilling to commit the stocke of Christ to the gard and custodie of such a wolfe. And so both those pretended heresies of Simonic and Nicholaisme with one consent they ouerthrew, and this verie Decree not onely the Bishops of Germanie and France, but of Italic it selfe, in a Synod holden**

Leo Ostiens.
l. 3. c. 48.

Clerus Leodiens.
in Apolog. an.
1106.
Auctinus l. 5.
Annalium
Baior.

Lambert.
Schaffnab. de
rebus Germ.
Sigon. de Regno
Ital. l. 9.
Author vite
Henrici 4.

A den at Pauia did vnder their Seales, and by oath confirme. They writ likewise by the authoritie of the Synod of Wormes to *Hildebrand*, that he should giue ouer the Popedome, and betake himselfe to a priuat life, and also to the Clergie and people of Rome, that according to the Law of their aunccestors they should chuse another, but yet so as that they should lay no violent hands vpon the person of *Hildebrand*, but leaue him to the iustice of God. Amongst all these Bishops there was not any that contradicted the decree but *Albert of Wirthsbourgh*, and *Herman of Metz*, who likewise were soone perswaded by the admonitions and reasons of *William of Vtrecht* to be of the same opinion, and to subscribe with the rest. *Gregorie* so soone as hee vnderstood herof, is nothing at all B discouraged, but borrowing a great summe of money of *Mathilda*, distributeth it amongst the people, with the poore mens money payed his souldiers wages, flattereth the people of Rome setting before their eyes their auncient renoume, and giues them hope of libertie, and so calls a Councell at Rome; where in a full assemblie, in the name of the Synod of Wormes, one *Romland* a Prelat of Parma, vpon the suddaine stands vp, and without any ductie done vnto him speakes vnto him in these words. Our most Christian Emperour, and the reuerend Bishops of Italic, Germanie, and Fraunce commaund thee to resigne that charge, which thou hast vsurped by subtilty, money and fauour; For it is not lawfull for thee, against their willes, and the authoritie of the Emperour, and decree of the Church of Christ, to C meddle with the Sheepefold of Christ. And presently turning himselfe towards the assemblie; Most holie brethren (saith he) chuse according to your owne Law a Pastor, which choice of yours, the sacred Consull Tribune and your Prince according to the manner of your aunccestors will authorise: For this *Hildebrand* is neither Pastor, nor Father, nor Pope, but a theefe, a wolfe, a robber, and a tyrant. Whereupon they rushed vpon him, and he wanted not much of being ouerborne by the people. In the Letters which he deliuered there were these words: Because thine entrie began with so many peruries, and the Church of God by the abuse of thy nouelties: hath bene endaugered in this so great a tempest, and hast dishonoured thy whole life by thy infamous conuersation, as we haue promised vnto thee no obedience, so will we neuer performe any to thee. *Gregorie* therefore returning the fault vpon themselves, the day following deprivued D *Henrie* (as much as in him lay) of the kingdome of Germanie and Italic, discharged the Princes of their oath of allegiance; excommunicateth *Sigefrid* Archbishop of Mence, and the Bishops of Vtrecht and Bamberge; threatning to proceed in like maner against the rest if they came not to Rome to purge themselves. In which decree (let the Reader note the cunning) he speakes to *Peter* as to his reuenger; Heare me (saith he) O *Peter* Prince of the Apostles, thou and thy brother S. *Paule* can best witnesse for me besides others, that I was drawne against my will to the gouernement of thy holie Church, and therefore I perswade my selfe, that it pleaseth thee that I should rule the people of Christ committed by God, especially to thy charge &c. E Being therefore confident herein, for the honour of thy Church, in the name of the omnipotent God the Father, sonne and holie Ghost, and by right of thy authoritie, I interdict *Henrie* the King, the sonne of *Henrie* the Emperour, (who by a straunge pride, the like whereof was neuer heard of, hath risen against the Church) all the Kingdome of Germanie, and Italic &c. To the end all people may see and vnderstand, that thou art *Peter*, & super tuam Petram, and vpon thy rocke the sonne of God hath built his Church &c. These selfesame words hath *Sigonius*, and not vpon this rocke. And some denying that the King could be subiect to the Popes curse or excommunications, Thinke you (saith he) that God when thrise together he committed the charge of his Church to S. *Peter*

S. Peter saying, feed my sheepe, that he excepted Kings? And so what he would he obtained. Thus *Hildebrand* and being by the Bishops of Italie, Germanie, and Fraunce deposed in a Councell at Wormes, and *Henrie* excommunicated and deprived his kingdome by *Hildebrand* and the Clergie at Rome, they both endeavour to strengthen their owne part. But, forasmuch as such Kingdomes as are long time governed vnder a minoritie, are seldome or neuer without factions, there arose presently against *Henrie* many Princes of Germanie: to whom *Hildebrand* alledged that Pope *Zacharie* had deposed *Childerick* king of Fraunce, onely for his negligence, and placed *Pepin* in his Throne; Why then should it not be lawfull for him to do the like, against whomsoever should rebel against S. Peter? And they on the other side vnder his patronage are content to comfort, and to flatter their consciences with these toyes: Of this number was *Hugh* Duke of Alsatia, who was growne far in debt, *Rodolphus* Duke of Sueuia, the Emperors brother in law, fed with the hope of the Empire, *Bertholdus* Duke of Zaringia his sonne in law, *Welfo* Duke of Bauaria, the Bishops of Mence, Mets, and Wormes, and certaine Abbots, eyther stroken with a feare of the excommunication, or for some speciall causes bound to these Princes; who with one consent reuolt from the Emperour, ioyne their counsels and forces to the Saxon rebels, and fill all Germanie with robberie, sword and fire. Infomuch that the Historiographers of those times want words to expresse the horror and abomination of that disordered confusion, which by all good men was imputed to *Gregorie*, who crie out against this vnworthie and wicked act, in their sermons curse *Gregorie*, wish all ill to *Hildebrand*, publish him to be Antechrist: vnder a shew of pietie (say they) he exerciseth his furies, with honest words he makes shew of seeking the publike good, vnder the title of Christ, he playes the part of Antechrist, in Babylon he sits in the Temple of God, and extollet himselfe about all that is worshipped, as if he were God: he glorieth that he cannot erre, and for the greater increase of his glorie, he takes vpon him to make an Emperour at his pleasure: he absolues men not of their sinnes, but the Law of Christ Iesus and his Sacraments, he weakneth the peace and pietie of our Religion, stirres vp warres and seditions: He giues himselfe to whoredome, murder, periurie, treacheries, rapines, burnings: And the better to hide his ambition, he doth not onely find out new fables, corrupt the *Annales*, alter the *Histories*, but he likewise adulterateth the heauenlie Oracles, giues false interpretations of the Scriptures, making them to serue his turne, he teares in pieces the sacred *Historie*, and amongst women discourseth of holie writ: whatsoever he saith, he will haue it to be thought the Law of God: he seekes testimonies that are too weake to defend his auarice, and wrests the Scriptures to his owne will against the true sence. He saoures too much of the pride of the Pharises, in that he makes men beleene, that he bindes and looseth as he pleaseth, whereas with God it is not the sentence of the Priest, but the life of the man that is required. Moreover *Hildebrand* and oppugneth the Diuine maiestie, resisteth the most Christian Prince, or dayned from aboue, and inaugurated by God himselfe. To this end tend all his endeaours, that the captaine of the stocke being oppressed, and brought into order, he might the more freely exercise his tyrannie against the poore sheepe destitute of the Emperours protection. If all power be of God, much more the imperially, and greatest of all other. Christ Iesus, when the people would haue crowned him, and made him gouernour, refused it, and those two that were at variance for the inheritance, and would haue chosen him for their Iudge, he sent to Caesar to whom the Empire of the whole world was committed. Solikewise he commaunded the chiefe Priests of the Iewes to giue vnto Caesar those things that did belong vnto Caesar, to whom they payed their customes, their tribute, their subsidies. S. Peter teacheth vs the same, Feare God, honour

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A the King: The precept of Saint Paul is, To keepe faith to the King, &c. To this man, and such as are like him, belongs that saying of our Saniour to Saint Peter, Goe behind me Satan, thou art an offence vnto me: And againe, He that striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword. Here let euerie man imagine what opinion all Christendome had of this pretended Apostle.

They in the meane time in Germanie that tooke part with *Gregorie*, gaue him to vnderstand, That these his violent proceedings had got him many enemies; whereupon, hiding the crueltie of his mind, he writ a more moderat Epistle to those that tooke part with the Emperour; the summe whereof was, That if he would become a new man, he should find, that what he had hitherto done, he had done for his good, and that all former matters being vtterly forgotten, which he earnestly protested, he would receiue him into the Church. *Henrie* therefore, being now brought into great danger of the losse of his kingdome, to the end he might take away the cause of all these euils, accepteth of the condition, and is content to vndergoe any manner of submission, so he may pacifie the anger of *Gregorie*, and reconcile himselfe vnto him. Departing therefore from Spire, with a small traine came to Bezanson, passed the Alpes, & so came downe into Lombardie. And notwithstanding all the Bishops and Prelats that tooke part with him, vpon just suspicion did giue him warning of that he did, in the meane time neuertheless seeking their owne grace with the Pope; yet he proceedeth in his purpose, to appease the wrath of *Gregorie*, and came neere to Canuse, where the Pope was with the Countesse *Mathilda*, who, as the Authors of those times affirme, did seldome part from his side. There he earnestly intreateth *Mathilda*, *Azo* Marquesse of Este, and the Abbot of Clugni, and some others whom he knew to be in the grace and fauor of *Gregorie*, to be intercessors for him, That first he might be absolued, and receiued into the Church, and so into the grace of *Gregorie*. To which their earnest supplications *Gregorie* at the last answereth, If he repent from the bottome of his heart, let him deliuer vnto me in token thereof, his Crowne, and other ensignes of his kingdome, and confesse himselfe, after this his great contumacie, vnworthie the name and honour of a King. To which they replying, that it was too heauie a sentence. Let him come then, saith he, and purge that sinne which he hath committed against the Apostolike See, by obeying the Decrees thereof. And hauing obtained thus much at his hands, they thought they had brought the matter to a good passe. This wretched man *Henrie* therefore came, as he was commaunded, neere vnto him, and being receiued within the second wall (for the citie had three) all his companie left without, and disrobing himselfe of his princely attire, bare footed, in the coldest time of Winter, and fasting vntill the euening, he expected his answer of *Gregorie*. *William* of Malmesburie addes, That he came barefooted with a paire of Rogers and a scourge in his hands; to signifie, that he was there readie to be polled and whipped. There he gaue him leaue to attend his answer within that second wall vntill the euening, but had it not. He came againe the second and third day, and he handles him in the same manner. At the last, the fourth time, partly moued with his constancie, partly fearing he should be blamed by euerie man for his rigor, he admits him to his presence. The resolution was this, that *Henrie* at a day and place appointed by *Gregorie*, should appeare in a common assemblie of the German Princes, and there answering to such crimes as should be objected by the Pope, should stand to his judgement. In the meane time he should lay aside all the ornaments belonging to his princelie dignitie, nor intermeddle with matters of State: hee should remoue from him the Bishop of Bamberge, *Vrick* of Cosheim, and the

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rest,

rest, whose counsell he had formerly followed, and absolue all those that had sworne faith and alleageance vnto him: all which when hee had solemnly bound himselfe by oath to performe, he receiued him into the Church. Neither did *Henrie* all this while thinke but that he had made a good market. But he had no sooner trampled this Prince vnder his feet, but, according to the proportion of his humilitie, his pride increased, and the more submisse the Emperour became, the more perfidious was he. He dispatched therefore to his associats in Germanie, especially the Saxons, *Bernard* a Cardinall of Rome, and the Abbot of Marfelles, to let them to vnderstand, That he would not haue them to rest themselves vpon that which he had concluded with *Henrie*; For though he were reconciled to the court of heauen, yet not to his kingdome. His confederats therefore joyning with his Legats, assembled themselves at Forchame, in March 1077, and by a generall consent chose *Rodolph* Duke of Sueuia and Burgondie, and brother in law to *Henrie*, King, vpon condition, That he should renounce all right to the creation of the Pope, and inuestiture of the Bishops, and declare his children to be no successors of his by right of inheritance: for that he had euer in his mind. And shortly after he sent vnto him in signe of his confirmation, the Imperiall Crowne, with this inscription:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodolpho.

This change neuertheless was so odious, that *Sigefridus* Bishop of Mence annoynting him, the citizens rose in armes against them, as traitors to their country, and faith-breakers to their Prince, and after much effusion of bloud on both sides, *Rodolph* and his followers were compelled to saue themselves by flight in the night time, and to retire themselves into Saxonie.

In the meane time *Henrie*, partly instigated by this great dishonour the Pope had done vnto him, and partly by those his followers, whom to purchase his own grace he had left as a prey to the Pope, resolues with himselfe to shake off this yoke, calls his friends about him, and by all the meanes he could reconciled himselfe to his enemies, and by the indignitie of the fact stirres vp all that had good minds, and courageous hearts, to indignation, and so shortly after brings his armie into the field, meets *Rodolph*, giues him battell, puts him to flight, and with a great slaughter of his men giues him the ouerthrow. There dyed in the field amongst others, *Bernard* Archbishop of Magdeburg, the author of the ciuile warre, the great Duke of Saxonie, and *Herman* his vncle: *Sigefrid* the Bishop of Mence, who consecrated *Rodolph*, and *Warnerus* of Metz, being dragged to the gallows by the souldiers, were freed from their paines by *Henrie*, not suffering any man in so just a warre to be haine, the which being done. From thence forward, *Rodolph* not knowing how to renew his hope vpon the sudden, *Henrie* is not idle in vsing his vntoward welcome this newes was to *Gregorie* let the Reader iudge, what a welcome the Crowne to *Rodolph* vsed these words: *In our name (of Saint Peter and Saint Paul) I giue to all those that shall keepe faith and loyaltie to Rodolph remission and pardon of all their sins, both in this life and in the life to come: And as I haue deposed Henrie from his royall dignitie, for his pride, so I haue placed Rodolph, for his humilitie and obedience, in his throne.* And with this assurance he expressed his law in harder tearmes: *If any hereafter shall receiue a Bishopricke, or an Abbotskip, or other Ecclesiasticall dignitie, of any lay man, let him not be numbered among the Bishops or Abbots, neither let any doe obedience vnto them, as to a Bishop or Abbot, and let him be interdicted the grace of Saint Peter, and entrie into his house. And if any Emperor, King, Duke, Marquesse, Earle, or other secular power, or person, shall bestow any Bishopricke,*

A ricke, or other Ecclesiasticall dignitie, let him be subiect to the same sentence. At the humble intreatie therefore of *Rodolph* he excommunicateth *Henrie* againe, vnder pretence, That against his oath he had taken into his hands the ornaments or marks of the Empire: *All those that follow Rodolph he freeth from hell, and placeth in heauen, and whatsoeuer may make for the strengthening of their warres, as fire and sword, and the like, he assureth vnto them: but all that take part with Henrie, and refuse to fall from him, and to ioyne with his enemy, he accurseth to hell and damnation, &c.* But all this, saith *Auentinus*, to most of the Bishops, and all learned and honest simple people, except those that were of the conspiracie, seemed a new doctrine, and the most dangerous heresie that euer troubled the Christian Church. On the other side there assembled together in the yeare 1080, the Bishops of Italie, Germanie, France, at Brixen in Ba-

B uaria, and condemne *Hildebrand* againe of ambition, heresie, impietie, sacriledge: Because, say they, he is a false Monke, a Magitian, a Diuiner, an expounder of dreames and prodigious wonders, hauing an ill opinion of Christian religion; he hath bought the Popedom, against the order of his auncestors, and the wills of all good men, and in despite of vs, and as the Lord of the whole earth endeuoreth to keepe it, &c. He is a sworne enemy to the Common wealth, Empire, and Emperour, who hath oftentimes offered peace to him and his followers: He lyeth in wait for the bodies and soules of men: Diuine and humane lawes he peruerteth: For truth he teacheth lyes, allowes for good, periuie, falsehood, homicide, yea and commendes them, and giues incouragement thereunto: According to his manner, he defends a perfidious tyran, sowes discord among brethren, friends, kindred: Procures diuorcements betwixt married couples: Denies those Priests that are lawfully married to chaste and sober matrons, to sacrifice, and admits whoremasters, adulterers, and incestuous persons, to the Altar. We therefore, by the authoritie of Almighty God, pronounce him deposed, and remoued from his Popedom. And if, whensoever he shall heare her of, he shall not willingly depart, but refuse to obey this our Decree, we iudge him excluded, and withstand his entrance. *Sigonius* reciting this Decree, addeth, He was a manifest Negromancer, possessed with a Pythonicall spirit: which is worth the noting, because of that which shall hereafter be spoken of his power. But being famous in the art of Diuination, the better to giue heart to the Saxons,

D he tels, nay assures them, as saith *Sigbert*, that he knew by *Henrie*: *whom he interpreted to be Henrie: which at first proved not to be true, saith he, and that this my prophesie haue not effect before the time aforesaid, account not me for Pope, Rodolph, according to this Oracle, makes warre the second time, and the third, and euery time with happy successe; and the fourth time, refusing to trie the worst, he is not only ouerthrowne, but his right hand, by which hee had plighted his faith to the Emperour, being cut off, hee loseth his life.* *Gregorie* presently thinkes of a successor like vnto him; and therefore writes to the Bishop of Passau, and the Abbot of Hirtzaugen, his faithfull friends, That they should with mature deliberation prouide that there should be no Prince chosen that was not true and faithfull to the Church of Rome, or lesse true than he that was lately dead; and withall sends the forme of an oath, as followeth, which they should enforce him to take.

From this houre and euer after, I will be faithfull in all true loyaltie to Saint Peter the Apostle, and his Vicar Saint Gregorie, who now liues and sits in his chaire; and whatsoeuer he shall commaund me vnder these words, Per veram obedientiam, By true obedience, I will faithfully, as becomes a Christian, obserue. As touching the ordination of the Churches, and the lands and reuennes which either Constantine the Emperour, or Charles, gaue to Saint Peter, and all the Churches and lands that haue bene at any time offered or

granted by any men or women to the Apostolike See and are, or shall be in my power, I will so agree with the Pope, that I will neuer incurre the danger of sacriledge, and the perdition of my owne soule, and to God and Saints Peter, by the assistance of Christ, I will doe all worthe honour and seruice; and the first day that I shall see him (that is, Gregorie) I will plight my faith with my hands, to be a faithfull souldier of S. Peter and his for euer. But Henrie in the meane time gaue him no leaue to doe what pleased him: for hauing by his victories and prosperous successe appeased the tumults of Germanie, he takes his journey with his armie into Italie. And this was the last act of Hildebrands tragedie. Henrie therefore, who in the Synod held at Brixen had caused Gilbert of Cortigia, Archbishop of Rauenna, to be named Pope, and who was called Clement the third, was absolved by him, and so passed the Alpes, and removing all obstacles that stood in his way, or did any way detract from his Empire, pitching his tents, as the manner is, in the Neronian fields, he determined to besiege the citie of Rome: but being encountered at the first with strange difficulties, by reason it was Winter, he retired himselfe to Rauenna, and there wintered. But the yeare following 1082, in the beginning of the Spring, he sets forward in the same steps as before, and assailes the Vatican; and in the yeare 1083, after a long siege he tooke the citie, and entring into the Capitoll, there fortified himselfe. William of Malmesburie, and others, that writ the historie of Godfrey of Bulloine, say, That he was the first who with a ladder scaled the citie, & entred into Rome; for which seruice the Emperour granted vnto him the inuestiture of the Duchie of Lorain. There remained the fort of *Crescentius*, otherwise called the castle S. Angelo, into which Gregorie, with some of his dearest friends, was fled. These wearied by Henrie, resolved with themselves to offer twentie hostages, and to take day vpon certaine conditions to deliuer the citie. But Gregorie vnwilling to fall into his hands whom he had so much offended, made choyce rather to hazard the bringing of Robert with his Normans to Rome, though it were a course full of danger. This Robert therefore being at an appointed time let in by the gate Flaminia, by some of Gregories friends, tooke the Pope out of the castle, and caried him to Cassin, and from thence to Salerne. Whereupon Henrie returned into the citie, by whose authority Gregorie was againe condemned, and Clement confirmed, who crowned and annoyned the Emperour, with Bertha his wife. But Henrie returning into Germanie, to appease some tumults that were newly risen, Gregorie making benefit of the occasion, though he were absent, stirreth vp his followers at Rome to rebellion; but in the moneth of May being suddenly taken with a disease, he died in the yeare 1085: but yet not without aduise giuen to the Cardinals, to chuse either *Desiderius* Abbot of Cassin, or, if he refused it, *Hugh* Bishop of Lyons, or *Otho* of Ostia, that it might be said, That the ambitious enterprises of Gregorie outliued himselfe. But *Sigebert* Abbot of Gembloux, a writer of those times, saith in expresse words, That he called one of the twelue Cardinals, whom he loued above the rest, and confessed himselfe vnto him, That by the suggestion of the diuell he had stirred up that anger and hatred against mankind, hauing neuertheless published his Decree throughout the whole world, vnder a colour of the increase of Christianitie. Whereupon he sent the foresaid Confessor to the Emperour, and to the whole Church, receiuing both him and all Christian people that stood excommunicated, into the Church, both dead and liuing, Clergie and Laitie, desiring them and the whole Church to pray for the remission of his finnes.

It is now of some importance to know what manner of man this Hildebrand was, because the judgement of him throughout all Christendome was diuers, some

An. 1082.

An. 1083.

Sigebert. in
Chron.
Math. Paris in
Histor. Angl.

An. 1085.

- A some imputing all this to his ambition, more than humane, some to his zeale of the glorie of God. Touching his priuat life therefore, Lambert of Schaffnabourg Abbot of Hirtzaw, a graue writer, speaking of the Countesse *Mathilda*, his good friend, saith, That she, her husband *Goselon*, Duke of *Lorraine*, yet liuing, pretended a kind of widowhood, farre from her husband, she refusing to follow her husband to *Lorain*, out of her native countrey, and he employed about the affaires that belonged to his dukedome, tooke no care for the space of three or foure yeares to visit his Marquisat in *Italie*; after whose death she seldome or neuer parted from the Popes side, following him with a strange affection. And for as much as a great part of *Italie* obeyed her, and she abounded about all other Princes with what soeuer men most esteemed of; whensoever the Pope had need of her helpe she was presently at hand, and was euer dutifull to doe any office vnto him, as to her Father and Lord: Whereupon she could not escape the suspicion of an incestuous loue, the Kings fauourers euerie where reporting, and especially the Clergie, whom he had forbidden lawfull marriage, against their Canons, That night and day the Pope did impudently sleepe in her bosome, and she preoccupied with the stolne loue of the Pope, after the losse of her husband, refused to marie againe. Others adde, That she hauing married *Azo* Marquesse of *Este*, the Pope impatient therewith, the yeare following dissolued the matrimonie, vnder a pretence of kindred in the fourth degree of consanguinitie. Whereby that suspicion of adulterie that was before, did more appeare to be a manifest truth: and deseruedly too, nothing in those dayes being more common than dispensations in an equall degree of kindred, and nearer: And if he loued her not but in the way of honestie, what reason had he but to dispenice with *Mathilda* too? There is therefore one that speakes yet more freely: By this their frequent and familiar conuersation he ingendred a cruell suspicion of dishonestie, whilest he obserued not more carefully that diuine precept of *Pope Lucius*, That a Bishop ought not at any time to be without the companie of two Priests, and three Deacons, as witnesses of his conuersation. Which he should so much the more carefully haue obserued, by how much the more seuerely he proceeded against lawfull matrimonie. In this all Authors consent, That *Mathilda* ruled both Pope and Popedome, and by her the goods of the Church were administred. Whereupon, saith *Benno*, Rome hath seene and heard how he liues, with what persons day and night he conuerseth, how he hath removed the Cardinals from him, who should be witnesses of his life and doctrine. Neither was *Sigonius* ashamed to write, That he appointed a place in Councils to *Mathilda*. Doubtlesse the Monke *Godfrey* saith plainly, That being circumuented by the Pope, she gaue vnto S. Peter, without the knowledge of the Magistrats and rulers, the Marquisat of *Ancona*.
- But as touching his publike life and gouernement, *Gerachus* his follower, who writ the historie of his life, describes him to be verie obstinat and proud in his own conceit. The Romans, saith he, vsurpe a diuine honour, they will giue no reason of their actions, neither can they enaure it should be said vnto them, Why dost thou this? and they haue alwayes in their monthes these Satyricall words:

Sic volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.

So I will, so I command,
For reason my will shall stand.

And that indeed was his humor, according to the description of all writers. *Sigebert*, who writ of those times, saith, That by his example, and by reason of his new decrees, many things were done in the Church against all lawes diuine and humane, and

Sigon. l. 9. de
regno Italie.

Traictine de
univ. Ecol.
conseruanda.

Benno Cardin.
in vita Hildeb.

Sigon. l. 9. de
regno Ital.
Annales Gode-
frid. Monachi.

Gerachus in vi-
ta Hildebrand.

there arose in the Church by this occasiō Pseudomagistri, false Doctors, who by their pro-
phane nouelties had diuerted the people from the discipline of the Church, and that he ex-
communicated the Emperour, for this very cause, that the Peeres of the Realme should
withstand their King being for iust cause excommunicated. Againe, that the Pope mee-
ting the Emperour in Lumbardie vnder a false shew of peace absolved him; For all
they who had first abiured Hildebrand, adding periurie to periurie, abiure the Emperour,
and appoint Rodolph Duke of Burgundie their King, the crowne being sent vnto him by
the Pope. Hereby we may easily gather what opinion he had of him. Another
saith, He received for accusation of the King the writings of his enemies, and thereupon
excommunicated him. And with what furie he was caried appeareth by that his
Apothegme, I will either die, or take from thee thy life, and kingdome. But Cardi-
nall Benno noteth the manifest iudgement of God; As (saith he) he rose from his chaire
to excommunicate the Emperour, then newly made of strong timber, by the sudden hand
of God it was strangely torn into diuers peeces, to giue all men to vnderstand how many &
horrible schismes, by that dangerous excommunication and presumption, he that sat in
that chaire should sowe, both against the Church of Christ, and the Sea of S. Peter, how
cruelly he should dissipate the chaire of Christ, trampling the lawes of the Church vnder
his feet, and beaung rule with power and austeritie. And another saith, From hence
there arose a more than ciuile warre, without respect of God or man: the Diuine and hu-
mane lawes were corrupted, without which, neither the Church of God, nor common-wealth
could stand, and the publike and Catholike faith is violated. And if you aske them
where the fault was, they tell you, speaking of the extraordinarie submission of
Henrie to Gregorie, that hee omitted nothing that might mollifie the heart of
Gregorie, and regaine his grace and fauour, insomuch that at the last, for a
testimonie of his reconciliation, he received the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ
Jesus, at the hands of the Pope, sits at table with him, and so is sent backe in peace; But
the author addeth, That peace which Iudas dissembled, not which Christ left: Inso-
much that Leo Bishop of Ostia, who then flourished, saith, The businesse being
brought to an end, the Pope by the counsel of Mathilda, sent one of his ouer the mountains
with the crowne of the Empire, to Rodolph persuading him to rebell against the Empe-
rour. And the letters whereby he incited him, are yet to be read in the Historie of
Saxonic; yea, some repeat his owne words: Trouble not your selues (saith he,) I
restore him vnto you more faultie than before, for the person of the King shalbe more con-
temptible in his kingdome, if satisfiing he lay aside the ensignes of his kingdome; and if
without permission he resume his regal ornaments, I shall haue the iuster cause to excom-
municate him. But of both the kings this is his iudgement: Henry born & brought vp
in the kingdome, by the ordinance of God succeeded his progenitors in the kingdome &c.
But Rodolph (saith he) was obedient to the Pope, who had discharged him of his faith
and allegiance, and assured him that bearing armes against Henrie, he could be no way
condemned of periurie and disloyaltie, because being excommunicated he could be no longer
King, it being the dwtie of all the faithfull in the Church, to persecute and kill all those,
who fauouring Henrie the King excommunicated, refuse to forsake him. This was a new
Doctrine (saith the Authour) neuer heard of before, there being no other sword per-
mitted in the Church, than that of the spirit, which is the word of God. But the iudge-
ment of God acknowledged by Rodolph himselfe, giues better satisfaction, who
being neere his end, vsed this speech to some of his familiar friends, You see heere my
right hand wounded: with this right hand, I sware to my Lord Henrie, that I would neuer
hurt him or hinder his glorie; but the commaund of the Pope and request of the Bishops
haue brought me to this, that laying aside all respect of mine oath, I should vsurpe an ho-

Histor. Saxonicæ
in literis Hen-
rici ad Hilde-
brand.
Benno Cardin.
in vita Hilde-
brand.

Apologia Hen-
rici.

Leo Ostiensis li. 3.
Chron. Cassim. c.
48.

Historia Saxo-
nica, Apologia
Henrici.

Helmold in Hi-
storia Sclauo-
rum c. 29. 30.

A
mour that was none of mine: But what comes of it, you now see, In that hand which hath
violated mine oath, I am wounded to death. Let those therefore consider hereof that
haue provoked vs hereunto how they haue led vs, least perhaps we fall into the bottomlesse
pit of eternall damnation, And so with these wounds and great anguish of heart he de-
parted this life. The same author addeth that the Saxons gathering heart againe,
chose one Herman surnamed Cluffloch king, who had conquered Henrie in the field,
who by the iust iudgement of God, entering victoriously into a Citie, the Gate fell off the
hinges, and killed him and diuers others: Whereupon the Saxons seeing their pur-
poses frustrated, they gaue ouer the creating of a new King, or to beare armes any more
against Henrie, manifestly perceiuing that the kingdome was reserued vnto him by the
B
approbation and permission of God himselfe. What now remaineth, but that we adde
the confession of Gregorie himselfe, alledged before by Sigebert and confirmed by
Mathew Paris? That by the instigation of the Diuell, he had stirred up wrath and re-
uenge against mankind. I willingly here omit the contradictorie writing of this
age, with the replications and duplications of those that tooke part with Gregorie
to maintaine his excommunication; who say, that a Pope excommunicated Chil-
perick King of Fraunce for his idlenesse, and vnprofitable gouernement onely,
and established Pepin in his place; That Kings are not lesse subiect to the key of
Rome, then the rest of his subiects, for they are all sheepe; That whom God
hath made a ruler ouer things Celestiall, he hath made him much more ouer
things terrestriall, and therefore the Pope had power ouer all: Hereupon they al-
ledge, or rather abuse the examples of some Princes that haue bene censured
C
by the Pastors of the Church. Such as tooke part with Henrie, on the other side
replied that Chilperick was deposed by the common consent of the States of the
Realme, and not by the Pope, that it is the office of a Pastor to feed, not to kill, to
instruct not to destroy; that the examples that were alledged by them, were either
false, or impertinent; That Henrie refused not to doe any thing, nay had perfor-
med whatsoeuer belonged to his place; That Gregorie on the other side carried
himselfe as an actor, not as a Iudge; That God onely ruleth King-
domes, and those subiects that God hath giuen them, no man can absolve of
D
their oath & allegiance: This they confirmed by places of Scripture, and the tes-
timonies of the Fathers; wherupon they conclude Gregorie to be Antechrist, who
taking vpon him the name of Christ, did vtterly ouerthrow the Lawe of Christ,
and his doctrine. But this is nothing, among the rest they strongly maintained,
that the Catholike Church is not with him that destroyes the Church, and that
the title of Catholike belongs not to him or his followers, who speake and hold
against the holic Scriptures, against the Gospell of the soune of God; But rather
according to S. Iohn he and his societie are Antichrists, qui Iesum soluant, betray
Christ, offer him violence, whilest they violently wrest the Scriptures. And it is
well noted of a learned Historiographer of our time, that in this whole contro-
E
uersie, there is no mention made by the Gregorians, either for the donation of
Constantine, or the renunciation of Lewis. A manifest prooffe vnto vs, that there
was no such thing as yet found out.

But there is none that better layeth open vnto vs the mysteries of the iniquitie
of Hildebrand, then Cardinal Benno the Roman Arch-priest. As touching his
Magick, all writers display him to be skillfull in this art, as likewise that truly
diabolically Oracle wherewith he deceiued Rodolph, and was himselfe deceiued by
the diuell: for which qualitie also he was condemned in many Synods, by innum-
erable Bishops of France, Germanie, Italie, in the Councils of Wormes, Pa-
uia,

Vignier in Hist.
Ecclesiast.

uia, Brixen, and Rome, where in the sentence it selfe, in verie significant words, he is called a Magitian, a Diuiner, a Southsayer, possessed with a Pitthonicall spirit, a Negromancer. And if this had not beene apparent ynough, they had spoken doubtlesse much more, there wanting not matter to obiekt against him. But *Benno*, who penetrated into the hidden secrets of *Gregorie*, sets downe all circumstances, That he had learnt Magick of *Theophilact*, who was Pope *Benedict* the ninth, of *Laurence* his companion, and of *John* the Archpriest of *S. Iohn Port Latin*, afterwards *Gregorie* the sixt, who by his commerce with diuels, and the singing and flying of birds, told of those things that were done in farre countries, of the euent of warres, and the death of Princes: That he, whilest they liued, yea euen in the Popedome, was the chiefe instrument and companion of all their wickednesse, yea the heire of *Gregorie* the sixt, not onely of his money, but his perfidious treacherie: That he enforced Pope *Nicholas*, by fearing him with strange apprehensions of death, and presenting before him horrible visions, to make him Archdeacon: That none of the Cardinals subscribed to his election, all forsaking him, but he was created by the open force of the souldiers: That comming one day from *Alba* to *Rome*, he had forgot a certaine booke of Negromancie, without which he feldome or neuer went, which he in his journey remembering at the entrance of *Portlateran*, he hastily called vnto him two of his familiar friends, and faithfull ministers of his wickednesse, & commanded them with all speed to fetch that booke vnto him, and withall terribly threatned them, not to presume to open the booke vpon the way: but by how much the more they were prohibited, by so much the more were they kindled with a curious desire to prie into the secrets of that book. In their returne therefore vnclapsing the booke, and curiously reading the precepts of that Diabolicall art, there appeared presently before them certaine of the diuels angels, whose multitude and horror so frightened these young men, that they were almost beside themselues, &c. And these are the verie words of *Benno*, That it was a common thing with him, to shake sparkles of fire out of his sleecue; and with these and the like myracles to blind the eyes of the simple, as if they were signes of sanctitie: That he sent two Cardinals, *Alto* and *Cuno*, to *S. Anastasia*, to performe a fast of three dayes, euery one euery day to sing a Psalter and Masses, to the end that God might shew a signe which of the two thought more truly of the bodie of our Lord, the Church of *Rome*; or *Berengarius*; which neuerthelesse came not to passe: That he consulted the Sacrament it selfe, as it had beene an Oracle, against the Emperour; and the Cardinals withstanding him, cast it into the fire: That he had layed a trap for the Emperour in the Church of *S. Maries* in *Mount Auentine*, and obseruing the place wherein he commonly stood or kneeled, he commaunded a great stone to be laid vpon the beames of the Church ouer his head, that being let fall vpon his head whilest he was praying, might dash out his braines: But the stone with the weight thereof bare downe with it the instrument of this villanie, who by the just judgement of God was bruised to peeces vpon the pavement: and for as much as this succeeded not wel, he suborned murderers to kill him. In the meane time whilest he deposed the Emperour vnder a pretence of *Simonie*, he had no sooner deprivied those Bishops, of whom he complained, of their authoritie, but he restored it to them againe, thereby binding them vnto him, and against the Emperour. In honour of Pope *Liberius*, who was an *Arrian*, he ordained a Feast, and committed many outrages besides, against all law and equitie, murders, oppressions, violences, which it would be too long to relate. For which cause, saith he, the bloud of the Church crieth out against him,

*Benno Cardin.
in vita Hildeb.*

A *him, &c.* I could wish the Reader would read the booke.

But here we must answer to the obiections of *Bellarmino*, who striues to affirme that this booke is not to be beleueed: First, because it is likely to be suborned by some Lutheran or other. R. If he had said, of some malicious person, it might haue beene borne with; but I referre it to the judgement of any Reader that can discern the stile, weigh the circumstances, consider of the phrase, and I thinke there is none to be found that will take it to be suborned. Secondly, some man perhaps, saith he, in *Gregorie* the seuenth, would take vpon him to describe vnto vs the Idea of a most wicked Pope. R. Why then hath he marked eight or nine Popes with the same coale, and as many Cardinals? Neither is *Benno* the only author of these narrations, since we haue produced before such and so many witnesses of the like things. Thirdly, this *Benno*, saith he, was a Cardinal created by the Antipope, *Clement* the third, and therefore no friend of *Gregories*: and *Onuphrius*, saith he, placed him among the Cardinals of *Clement*. R. How easie a matter it is to lye, where there is no man to contradict? But *Benno*, who could not foresee *Bellarmines* fiction, named himselfe among the Cardinals that were created before *Hildebrand*:

Leo, saith he, the Archpriest of the Cardinals, and *Benno*, and *Hugobaldus*, and *Iohn*, and *Peter* Cardinals ordained before his time, *Natro*, *Innocent*, and *Leo*, consecrated by himselfe. And *Onuphrius* himselfe among the present Cardinals, promoted by *Alexander* the second, the predecesor of *Gregorie*, nameth *Benno* a German a Prelat

Onuph. de Pontificibus maximis Alex. and. 2. & Clement. 3.

C Cardinal, afterward the Archpriest of the Church of *Rome*. This is that *Benno* no doubt, who in the title of his booke is described by these names; for he that by *Onuphrius* is placed vnder *Clement*, hath no other but the title of a Priest. And so the testimonie of *Benno* stands yet good. In the meane time it is to be noted, That this Magitiā, that is, this disciple or feudatarie of the diuels, is the very same that thundered so loud, that spit his fire and flame against the lawfull marriage of Ecclesiasticall persons, and who for this verie matter filled both Church and commonwealth with fire and ruine; which putteth vs in mind of that which the Apostle spake to *Timothie*, That in the later times some shall depart from the faith, and shall giue heed to spirits of error, and doctrines of diuels, which speake lyes through hypocrisie, and haue their consciences burned with a hot yron, forbidding to marie, &c. And from hence he confesseth before that he raised this doctrine. Adde hereunto, That it was about the middle of these times that the disputation grew hot about the carnall presence of Christs bodie in the Sacrament, vnder the Popes *Viclor* and *Nicholas* the second, *Hildebrand* being the brand that kindled it, who made *Berengarius* subscribe vnto it, That all the faithfull in the Sacrament doe really teare with their teeth the bodie of Christ; which Thesis neuerthelesse in these dayes is with them accounted hereticall. And to say the truth, they really teare the bodie of Christ, who by their ambition doe miserably teare in peeces the Church of Christ.

1. Tim. 4. 5.
c. 2. 5.

E *Baronius* endeuoureth to defend *Gregorie* in all things, yea following the other extreme, he striues to make him a Saint: He begins with his natiuitie, He was, saith he, borne at *Soane* in *Tuscane*, the sonne of a Carpenter. And hereby he thinks he hath gotten much, because, saith he, our Saviour taking our flesh vpon him, by reason of *Ioseph* his father was called the sonne of a Carpenter: But which is more, from his infancie he wrought myracles; For being a child, and playing at the feet of his father, who was hewing of timber, with the chips that flew from it, before he knew letter in the booke, he formed certaine characters, that being joyned together, expressed that Dauidicall Oracle, *Psal. 72. Dominabitur a mari usque mare, His*

*Baron. an. 1073
art. 16.*

*Psal. 72.
Dominion*

Dominion shall be from sea to sea; which the princelie Prophet did once speake of our Lord and Saviour. What could he gather from hence, but that this *Gregorie*, as it was foretold, should leape into Christs place, invade the throne of God himselfe? From what spirit did this wicked blasphemie proceed, and consequently what was this myracle but that of *Pytho*, which the whole remainder of his life made good? Secondly he cries out against Cardinall *Benno*, calling him schismaticke, and a man in no sort to be beleued, &c. But we haue shewed *Bellarmino* out of *Onuphrius*, that he deceiues himselfe in this point: neither can a Cardinall be called a schismaticke, when for so long a time together these Popes contended one against the other, neither of them both approued by *Baronius*. To conclude, is *Benno* alone? Doth not *Sigebert*, a writer of these times, so many other recited by *Auentine*, so many Bishops assembled in generall Councils of Germanie, France, Italie, speake the same? Doe they not giue the same testimonie of his violences, poysonings, Negromancies? Thirdly he endeouureth to excuse the loue of *Gregorie* and *Mathilda*: But how doth he it? By contradicting all historie. He thinkes he hath proued, that this *Mathilda* married to *Azo* Marquesse of Este, which mariage *Gregorie* did vndoe, is not the same that is here spoken of; which wee will giue him leaue to dispute with his owne fellowes and friends: But so long as he doth acknowledge, that this *Mathilda*, of whom we speake, was first married to *Godfrey le Bossu* Duke of Loraine: that presently by the authoritie of *Gregorie* they made a diuorce, with the great offence of her husband: that this diuorce, saith he, was not for any cause of confanguinitie, which he proueth, not for any impotencie, for he married another, and had children by her, not for fornication, for he might haue married another; Yet, saith he, *this diuorce was lawfull, because so great and so holie a Father did it, & by his authoritie permitted it.* Doth not he giue vs reason to beleue what the historie told vs before? And to say the truth, with what face could this holy man familiarly conuerse with *Mathilda* farre from her husband, from whom by his authoritie she was diuerted, seduced, taken? How seemely a thing was it for her to follow him, in euerie place to accompanie him, for him to sit with her in Councell, in Consistorie, in Senat? Did this become the modestie of a virgine, if so he will haue her, or if one that had bene married, the grauitie of a matron? who ought to haue bene the more modest, the more bashfull, the more solitarie, by how much the more subiect she was to calumnie by reason of her diuorce. At the last, when she was fortie fve yeares of age, according to *Baronius*, after the death of *Gregorie*, this virgine married *Welfo*, a young man, the sonne of the Duke of Bauaria. Will any man now vpon the faith of *Baronius* warrant her chastitie, nay her virginity? or admit of his excuse, That it was done for the good of the Church, by the commaund of *Vrban* the second? At the last it pleateth him to couer all this turpitude with fables, *That the garments of Gregorie, after his death, wrought myrales, as Pauls Semicinctia did in the Acts of the Apostles; which selfesame power and vertue was in the apprell of Gregorie:* And to prove this true he alledgeth the Legend of *S. Anselme Lucensis*. But in this cleere light, in this Sun-shine wherein we liue, where is the shame? And for as much as he compares him in this with *S. Paul*, let him heare what *Paul* saith: *The coming, saith he, of the man of sinne, and sonne of perdition (that is Antichrist, of whom he foretold before) is by the working of Sathan with all power and signes, and lying wonders:* Which words of *S. Paul* are they not accomplished?

An. 1074.

Baron an. 1089
art. 14.Two Epist.
58. 65.

2. Theol. 2.

PROGRES

41. PROGRESSION.

Of the factions that arose in the Popedome by the death of Gregorie the seuenth. Of the rebellion of Conrade against the Emperour Henrie his father. Of the diuisions, and strange opinions that grew among the people through the schisme betweene Clement the third and Vrban the second.

- A**
- B** *Gregorie*, if we beleue some Authors, neither doth *Baronius* himselfe denie it, had prouided, as we see, that his enterprize should not dye with himselfe, for he nominated to the Cardinals those whom he thought fittest to succeed him in the Popedome: which *Desiderius* the Abbot of Mount-Cassin failed not to giue those Cardinals to vnderstand that tooke part with him. And as he was the first of the three that *Gregorie* had commended, so all mens eyes were especially cast vpon him; who, whether it were out of a consideration of the greatnesse of the charge, or to the end he might be the more earnestly intreated, twice or thrice refused it, yea and disrobed himselfe of his Pontificall ornaments, and retired himselfe to his Monasterie at Cassin, euen then when it was thought that he had yeelded to the persuasion of his friends. *Sigonius* giues a little touch: *Eight dayes after his retire to Cassin, the Countesse Mathilda aduertised him of her arrivall at Rome, and that she desired much to conferr with him: whereupon he returned to the citie, and being by her and her armie with all due respect receiued, for the space of eight dayes he continued in the Vatican.* *Auentine* speakes more plainely: *Mathilda and the Normans create him, that is to say, in hatred of Clement, who neuerthelesse held the seat at Rome, and was called Victor the third. But as soone as Hugh Bishop of Lions, one of the three that Gregorie had commended, thought that Desiderius had in good earnest accepted of the Popedome, he presently banded himselfe against him, and in a Synod held at Bencuent he excommunicated him, and with him Richard of Marseilles. But Desiderius liued little about a yeare after: and if we may beleue William of Malmesburie, he was poysoned in the Chalice saying his first Masse. In that short time neuerthelesse that he liued, he had published new excommunications against Clement and Henrie, and vnder the selfesame pretence that Gregorie did. He retired himselfe to his Abbie at Cassin, for the better recouerie of his health, and there, vpon his death-bed, according to the tradition of Gregorie, he recommended vnto those that were his assistants, *Otho* Bishop of Ostia, who had bene brought vp at Clugni, for his successor: in so much that taking him by the hand, he peremptorily said vnto them, *Take him and place him in the Roman seat, and vntill you haue done it hold my place. Benno* calls him *Pedissequum; the Page or Lackey of Hildebrand.* The Bishops therefore that tooke part with him in the yeare 1088, meet at Terratina to consult of a successor. There were first present, in the name, and by the commaund of the Romans, who did adhere to this part, for the Clergie *John* Bishop of Portua, and for the Lay *Benedict* gouernour of the citie. A new kind of proceeding it was, because *Clement* held the place in the citie: neither was there here any mention at all of expecting the Emperours consent herein. There without any other solemnitie they nominated *Otho* Pope, called *Vrban* the second, who was no sooner entred into Rome, but he was driuen out againe by *Clements* faction. Hereupon, saith *Leo* of Ostia, if we will iudge of the validitie of this election, we must say, *That he was chosen by the statutes of Gregorie.* But *William* of*

Sigon. l. 9. de
regno Ital.Guillielm. Mal.
mesb. l. 4.Leo Ostiens.
l. 3. c. 72.

An. 1088.

Leo Ostiens.
l. 3. c. 72.

Mal-

Herfeldens
Theol. in tracta-
tu de unitate
Eccles. confer-
wand. an. 1093
Sigon l. 9. de
regno Italię.

Bertholdus
Constant.
Presbyter in
Chron.

Fragmentum
Monastici
Cadomenci. an.
1084.

Dodechim. an.
1093.

Auentine. l. 5.

Malmesburie more freely: *To that part that seemed to be the more iust, the armie of A Mathilda ioyned; who forgetting her sex, not vnlike to the aunciens Amazons, led her armie into the field, and by her voyce Urban obtained the Apostolicke throne.* But another saith more plainly: *Vsing the helpe and succour of most wicked people, with whom the Law of God and man had no place.* Sigonius confesseth, that Mathilda (who called her selfe the daughter of Peter) tooke vpon her the protection of Urban, and that Urban was the cause that she married Welfo Duke of Bauaria, to the end he might strengthen himselfe by him, against the Emperour in Germanie: *Not so much (saith Bertholdus) for incontinencie, as for obedience to the Pope, that she might be so much the more able to giue ayde and succour to the Church of Rome against the Schismatikes: & therefore he presently addeth, that he wholly sequestred & kept him- selfe free from her, being more greedie of the principallitie than the woman. Are these then the lawfull ends of marriage?*

Neither is it here to be omitted, that there were certaine lots drawne at Rome to know who should be successour to Gregorie the 7 (which was then a thing v- suall at Rome) and it was found that one Otho should succeed him: whereupon Otho Bishop of Baieux, and brother to William the Conqueror, King of England, though he were Earle of Kent, and Lieutenant generall of his Realme, concey- ued a hope of obtayning the Popedome; whereupon he sent to Rome great pre- sents, and there built great, and goodlie houses, and left nothing vndone with the Senators, that either gifts, or his other best endeauors could worke. But hauing embarked himselfe for this voyage, taking with him diuers of the Nobilitie, king William vnderstanding in Normandie of this expedition, took shipping for Eng- land, & meeting him in the Isle of VWeight, there arrested him, & for many offen- ces he had committed in the carriage of his matters of State, cast him into Pri- son. The other Otho therefore, Urban the second, obtained the chaire; and his first exploit was in a Synod holden at Melse to excommunicat Clement and Henrie, and all those that receiued either orders of the one, or inuestiture of the other, & to be brieue, all those that in any respect had any commerce with them. Moreo- uer, he confirmed Roger Guisnard of the race of the Normans, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, the better to retaine his friendship and fidelitie towards him. But Henrie passing into Italie in the yeare 1091 got into his possession, and wasted the greatest part of those Countries that belonged to Mathilda: but for some impor- tant causes being enforced to returne into Germanie, he left his eldest sonne Con- rade in Italie, whom he had destinated to be his successour; him Mathilda woult partly by flatterie, partly by terrifying him that he should neuer possesse the Em- pire, if he had not the grace and fauour of the Pope, and so promising an assis- tance thereof vpon his submission to the Pope, made him to rebell against his owne father; And to make this band of amitie more firme, married him to the daughter of Roger King of Sicilia. Sigonius, after Dodechim, saith that Conrade was enforced thereunto, because (his father commaunding him) he would not abuse his mother in Law Adelheida, by which meanes he would haue defamed her, and so conceyuing hatred against his sonne forooke him. But Auentine hath no such matter, but quite contrarie, saith he: *There are certaine crimes obiected against Hen- rie, whose names are vnknowne to all Frenchmen and Germans, and are no where to be found but amongst those, that haue red the lines of the Emperours according to the de- scription of Suetonius.* Neither doth Sigonius himselfe beleue it, since he saith that the rebellion of Conrade, was both godlie and necessarie, as seruing much to the set- tling of the Popes affaires. Neither doth he dissemble that he fled to Mathilda, who

- A who joynd him in mariage with the daughter of Roger King of Sicilia, her selfe perhaps being taken with his loue; according to that which his father Henry spake in an assemblie at Cologne: *My sonne being intangled with the allouements of a woman, endeuourest to deprive me both of my dignitie and life.* Urban in the meane time absolues him of all ductie and obedience towards his father, and vpon con- dition that he do him homage, he promiserh him all helpe and assistance to obtaine the Empire. It was therefore a matter of no great difficultie for him, staying some yeares in Italie, to win vnto him such as were friends to the Empire, & to settle his affaires there. Henrie had created Arnulph Archbishop of Milan, and according to the custome inuested him by the ring and the staffe. But for as much as the Bi- shops made a question of his consecration he retired himselfe into a Monasterie. Urban in fauour of Conrade went to Milan, and there tooke him out of the Mo- nasterie, made him Governour of his Church, and adorned him with the Pall, but yet vpon condition (for nothing came freely) that the Church of Milan should be subiect to the Church of Rome, which hitherto had neuer acknowledged him. There was also at that time an occasion offered of the recouerie of the Holie Land, by means of one Peter an Hermit Picard: Urban, who could not stay at Rome, tooke this occasion to passe the Alpes, Partly, saith William of Malmesburie, to soli- cit the Churches on the other side the mountaines to reuerence him; partly (and this was the counsell of Boemond) that all Europe being busied about the expedition into Asia, in so great a tumult, the forces of all Prouinces being dispersed, Urban might shake him- selfe master of Rome, and Boemond invade Sclauonia and Macedon, which countries, and all besides that lye from Dyrrachium to Thessalonica, his father Guisnard had usurped, against Alexius Emperour of Constantinople, vpon which title Boemond challenged them to be his by right of inheritance. But for as much as he knew that there were none more willing to vndertake this enterprife than the French men, to the end that by their example he might put courage into others, he calls a generall Councell of the whole West at Cleremont in Auernia: there, in the yeare 1095, in his owne person, he layed open his purposed enterprife to the whole assemblie; the con- clusion of his speech was this: *We release all faithfull Christians that shall beare armes against the Infidels, of great and infinite penance for their finnes, and receive them vnder the defence of the Church, and the protection of S. Peter and S. Paul, as true and obedi- ent sonnes:* whereupon many of all sorts of people tooke to them the crosse, the badge or ensigne of the armie. But in the meane time, vnder this pretended zeale he forgets not to set forward his owne affaires: for in stead of pacifying all quar- rels at home, that he might the better proceed in this high enterprife abroad, he continueth his old grudge and malicious exploits against Henry, vnto his death, which was in the yeare 1099, whom his sonne Conrade succeeded in the yeare 1100, for this exprefly commended by Sigonius, *That hee neuer departed from the counsels of Mathilda and Urban.*
- E All this while Clement the third held the seat at Rome, whereby any man may judge how diuersly mens consciences were distracted, when he saw their Coun- cels one contradicting the other, Clement vndoing that at Rome that Urban had done at Placentia, one pronouncing the others Bishops heretikes, the other con- demning those Bishops that were his followers, and sealing their condemnation with his owne hand, both of them casting each others acts into the fire. And one there was who affirmed, that he saw Hildebrand and his followers burning in hell, and another, that he saw some of Clements Cardinals there too. Matters thus stan- ding, they both called a Councell, Urban at Clermont, Clement at Rome, where

Hersfeldens.
Theol. in tracta-
tu de unitate
Eccles. confes-
sion. an. 1093.
Sigon. l. 9. de
regno Italic.

Bertholdus
Constant.
Presbyter in
Chron.

Fragmentum
Monastici
Cadomens. an.
1034.

Dodechin. an.
1093.

Auentin. l. 5.

Malmesburie more freely: To that part that seemed to be the more iust, the armie of **A** *Mathilda* ioyned; who forgetting her sex, not unlike to the auntient *Amazons*, led her armie into the field, and by her voyce *Urban* obtained the *Apostolicke* throne. But another faith more plainly: *Vsing* the helpe and succour of most wicked people, with whom the Law of God and man had no place. *Sigonius* confelleth, that *Mathilda* (who called her selfe the daughter of *Peter*) tooke vpon her the protection of *Vrban*, and that *Vrban* was the cause that she married *Welfo* Duke of Bauaria, to the end he might strengthen himselfe by him, against the Emperour in Germanie: Not so much (saith *Bertholdus*) for incontinencie, as for obedience to the Pope, that she might be so much the more able to giue ayde and succour to the Church of Rome against the *Schismatikes*: & therefore he presently addeth, that he wholly sequestred & kept himselfe free from her, being more greedie of the principallitie than the woman. Are these then the lawfull ends of marriage?

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suall at Rome) and it was found that one *Otho* should succeed him: whereupon *Otho* Bishop of Baieux, and brother to *William* the Conqueror, King of England, though he were Earle of Kent, and Lieutenant generall of his Realme, concey-
ued a hope of obtrayning the Popedome; whereupon he sent to Rome great pre-
sents, and there built great, and goodlie houses, and left nothing vndone with the
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land, & meeting him in the Isle of Weight, there arrested him, & for many offen-
ces he had committed in the carriage of his matters of State, cast him into Pri-
son. The other *Otho* therefore, *Vrban* the second, obtained the chaire; and his first
exploit was in a Synod holden at Melse to excommunicat *Clement* and *Henrie*,
and all those that receiued either orders of the one, or inuestiture of the other, &
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yeares in Italic, to win vnto him such as were friends to the Empire, & to settle his
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cite the Churches on the other side the mountains to reuerence him; partly (and this was
the counsell of *Boemond*) that all Europe being busied about the expedition into Asia,
in so great a tumult, the forces of all Provinces being dispersed, *Vrban* might make him-
selfe master of Rome, and *Boemond* invade *Solunonia* and *Maacedon*, which countries, and
all besides that lyc from *Dyrrachium* to *Theffalonica*, his father *Guisshard* had usurped, a-
gainst *Alexius* Emperour of *Constantinople*, vpon which title *Boemond* challenged them
to be his by right of inheritance. But for as much as he knew that there were none
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An. 1095.
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the defence of the Church, and the protection of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, vnto our obed-
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An. 1100.
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Sigon. l. 9. de regno Italic.
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cels one contradicting the other, *Clement* vndoing that at Rome that *Vrban* had
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ding, they both called a Councell, *Vrban* at Clermont, *Clement* at Rome, where
Aa the

the one excommunicated, cursed, degraded the other, made voyd each others A
 confutations, and ordinations, and consequently condemned the Baptisme,
 the Chresme, the Sacraments administred by one part and the other; yea cities,
 regions, nations, families, bedfellow, married couples, were by this schisme diu-
 ded among themselves. And some there were that allowed of neither part, see-
 ing nothing to beare sway on either side but ambition and malice. And to say the
 truth, in the Synod at Clermont, *Urban* shewes sufficiently, that he troubled his
 head but a little for the recouerie of Ierusalem; for the principall articles were
 these: *Let the Catholike Church be chaste in beleefe, the interpretation followeth, free
 from all seruitude: that no Bishops, Abbots, or Clergie men, shall receive any Ecclesiasti-
 call dignitie from the hands of a Prince, or lay, or secular persons: That whosoever shall
 take the goods of Bishops, or Clergie men, shall be accursed: That whosoever shall flie to a
 ny Church, or to the Crosse, shall be redelivered to iustice, but yet with immunitie of his
 life and members.* Others adde, *That faith giuen to heretikes bindes not.* As for *Hen-
 rie* the Emperour, and *Philip* king of France, and whosoever should call them
 Kings, he put them all in the number of heretikes. And there is a Canon alledged
 by him out of *Oratian*, that differs not much: *Such as are sworne souldiers to the
 Earle Hugh, let them not serue him so long as he stands excommunicated.* And speaking
 to the Bishop of Gap, he saith, *If they presend oathes, let them be admonished, that
 they must rather obey God than man:* which *Saint Peter* in the Acts spake to another
 sense. At his returne into Italie, finding himselfe more firmly seled in Rome, in C
 the yeare 1097 he caused those articles to be confirmed, but yet strengthened
 with a notable reason, That it was too abominable that those hands that by the
 signe create their Creator, should be bound as handmaids to serue those that euerie day and
 howe pollute themselves with uncleaneesse. Thus abusing the world with a shew of
 reuerence due to the holy Eucharist, because then Transubstantiation began to
 take footing. To conclude, we read that in these times he made a shew vpon this
 occasion, of his authoritie in France and England; in France, in that *Geffrey* Bi-
 shop of Chartres was not onely deposed by him, for his many and grieuous offen-
 ces, but *Iuan* Abbot of *S. Quintin* put into his place, of whom he made choyce, be-
 ing a man famous in those dayes, that by his commendations he might the better
 countenance his owne vsurpation: In England, in that he perswaded *Anselmus*, an
 Italian, the disciple of *Lanfrane*, being chosen Archbishop of Canterburie by
 the consent of King *William* the second, to take his confirmation of him: which
 being once admitted by the Primat of England, was an example for all the rest
 to doe the like.

OPPOSITION.

But it is now time to consider what the state of the Christian world was, espe-
 cially in the time of these schismes, which for the space of sixteene yeares filled it
 with fire and sword: The Popes, Cardinals, Councils, Decrees, Excommunicati-
 ons, being opposit the one against the other, each part challenging to themselves
 the true Church, & affirming, that without it there was nothing but heretikes &
 heresies, Christ himselfe, if you will beleecue them, was personally present on
 both parts; and yet not so much as his footsteps to be found in either. In so much
 that many Christian States tooke part with neither of them, but left the gouern-
 ment of the Church to their owne Bishops, not so much as turning their eyes to-
 wards Rome; our fathers hauing then learnt, that the Church of God might subsist

A silt without Popes, and that Christ, without their Vicarship, was able to gouerne
 the Church.

Germanie was the Theatre of this tragedie, wherein it much grieued all sorts
 of people, that such controuersies as should be decided by Scriptures, were with
 a strange disorder of all things determined by ciuile warres. And therefore in the
 yeare 1088, at the entrance of Pope *Urban*, the Bishops and Princes on both parts
 assembled in Council at *Garstunghen*, to find some course for peace to be propo-
 sed to *Urban*, before he were touched with the affections of his predecessors, which
 he seemed neuertheless to succeed by right of inheritance. There *Comrade* Bishop
 of *Vrecht* layd open vnto them how necessarie a thing peace was, and how dete-
 stable it was for any man, vpon any pretence whatsoever, to breake his plighted
 faith: for whosoever did so, contemned him by whom he sware, since we are not
 so much to consider to whom we sweare, as by whom: and we are admonished
 by Christ and his Apostles, to obey *Tiberius*, *Nero*, and the most wicked monsters
 that are, how much more then good and lawfull Princes? Ambitious therefore
 and proud are they, who with a brazen face abuse the words of our Sauour, what-
 soeuer thou looffest vpon earth shall be looffed in heauen; & adulterating them by their
 interpretations, enforce them to serue their owne appetites; and like children,
 and such as are vnskillfull in all things, endeouour to deceiue vs, as if, saith he, wee
 were ignorant, that it is a familiar and common thing with the holie Prophets
 and Preachers of the word, to call one and the same thing by diuers names, accord-
 ing to the capacitie of the hearers; and to expresse them sometimes figuratiuely,
 sometimes simply, according to the diuersitie of the effects. Doubtlesse that which Christ
 Iesus spake more obscurely in one place, he expresth plainly in *S. Iohn*, and most plainely
 in *S. Mathew*, *S. Marke*, and *S. Luke*: Peace be vnto you, saith he: As my Father
 hath sent me, so I send you: Receiue ye the holie Ghost: whose sinnes ye remit shall be re-
 mitted, and whose sinnes ye retaine shall be retained. And to the end he might sow con-
 cord, and shew himselfe to be the onely true shepheard, he saith to one, If thou loue me feed
 my sheepe, that is, goe into the whole world and preach the Gospell to all creatures: And
 againe, All power is giuen me both in heauen and in earth, goe therefore and teach all na-
 tions. And therefore this heavenly Doctour opened the minds of his Disciples, that they
 might vnderstand the Scriptures, *Moses* the Prophets, and the Psalmes, and commaund
 them in his name to preach repentance and remission of sinnes to all nations, and to be wit-
 nesses of these things. This good Bishop had not yet learnt, that these places were
 to be restrained to one Pope, to *Peter* onely, excluding all the rest both Apostles
 and Bishops, or that they were more to be applied vnto him than the rest: And
 therefore he addeth, For these causes *Hildebrand* is fallen headlong into ambition, since
 he vsurpeth the power of the immortal God, whose messenger he is: such are the customs,
 the times, the men. The Supream and Soueraigne Maestie had ill provided for humane
 affaires, if it had deliuered the sword into the hands of one mortall man whatsoever. For
 who can set limits to the boundlesse desires of man? &c. We haue no need to be taught af-
 ter what manner *Peter* and his Collegues vsed the Spirituall power, or to speake more
 truly the dispensation and procuracion of the heauenlie food, for we are the Butlers, as it
 were, and ycomen of Gods garner. It plainly appeareth in the booke of the Acts of the
 Apostles, written by *Saint Luke* the Physitian, that the armour of our warfare is the spirit,
 not sword, nor rapine, nor murders, nor periuries; but our breastplate, or helmet, girdle,
 sword, buckler, are peace, loue, righteousnesse, hope, truth, the word of God, saith: all
 which our most Christian Emperour hath many times of his free will offered to *Hilde-
 brand*, but he hath refused them. We denie not but he is a man, and apt to sinne, without

which no man commeth into the world; but it is his happnesse that the greatest are not layed to his charge. He is giuen to the lusts of the flesh, but yet that which nature hath permitted, which as youth hath stirred up in him, old age is accustomed to correct. I confesse that this is a great sinne, but yet humane, and such as many, yea good men, haue often committed. And if we truly consider of this our Prince, we shall find, that whatsoever vices there are in him, either by naturall inclination, or by reason of his age, they are ouer counterpoysed by his excellent vertues, his readinesse in the execution of great attempts, his fortitude in the middest of dangers, his incredible courage, patience in labours, counsell answerable to his magnanimitie, and his diligence, as farre forth as his age is capable, in militarie affaires; his knowledge of diuine and humane lawes, an euerlasting desire of peace, care of religion, bountie towards the poore, clemencie towards the vanquished, benignitie towards his friends, beneuolence towards souldiers, in all which he hath excelled all the German and Roman Princes that euer were. And if he had bene a wicked tyran, yet it had bene our dueties to haue obeyed him, not to rebell against him: and all humane lawes, and the decrees of our forefathers, doe forbid a mans aduersaries, his enemies to be his accusers, witnesses, and Iudges. The Emperour made peace with Hildebrand in Italic, whilest, by the perfidious treacherie of a few, Saxonic fell from him: A traitorous tyran, who received due punishment for his treacherie, condemning all oaths and promises, and all affinitie and kindred, inuaded him. At the last he concludeth: No man may proceed or pronounce sentence against a man that is deprived, vntill he be restored to his former estate: See the booke and read the law; and so he deliuered it to *Wesilus* Archbishop of Mence. *Guebhard* Bishop of Saltzbourge, being for his age, eloquence, and learning, chosen Prolocutor, by the Bishops that tooke part with *Hildebrand*, was mute, and answered not a word. From that time forward many of the Bishops and Princes of Saxonic abiure the sect of *Hildebrand* (that name they retained in the time of *Vrban*) and repenting themselves of what they had done, came to the Emperour: Onely foureteene persist obstinat therein, who being assigned to appeare the moneth following at Mence, at their day of appearance came not. There the rest of the Bishops of Germanie being present, with the Legats of the Bishops of France and Italic, by the common consent of all, the sect of *Hildebrand* is judged to be contrarie to Christian pietie. *Ortho* (called *Vrban*) being conuicted of sacriledge and irreligion, was excommunicated, and those foureteene being condemned of rebellion, periurie, murder, were deposed. Moreouer Historiographers doe obserue, that in one yeare all the Bishops and Princes died that had kindled those ciuile warres, wherewith the whole Empire for the space of seuentene yeares had bene set on fire; and they recite them by name, which was in the yeare 1090. It was at this time that *Waltram* Bishop of Magdeburge writ an Epistle to the Earle *Lodowick*, whom hee calls a glorious Prince; wherein he proues out of the Scriptures, that obedience is due to lawfull Kings and Princes: to the end he might arme him against the imposters of that age, who to women and the vulgar sort of people preached contrary doctrines: setting likewise before his eyes the judgements of God vpon *Rodolph*, *Hildebrand*, the Marquesse *Egbert*, and diuers other Princes, who bare armes for the Pope against the Emperour. At which time likewise *Sigebert* speaking of *Vrban*, chosen against *Clement*, and of those things that followed thereupon: From hence, saith he, grew scandalls in the Church, and diuisions in the State, the one disagreeing from the other, the Kingdome from the Priesthood, one excommunicating another, the one condemning the excommunications of the other, either out of a preiudicat opinion of the cause, or the person, and whilest the one abuseth the authoritie of excommunicating against the other, by doing it rather

An. 1090.
Waltram in Epist.
ad Ludauic.
Comitem.

Sigebert, in
Chron.

A ther according to his owne lusts, than with any respect of iustice, he that gaue the power of binding and loosing is altogether contemned. Doubtlesse this noueltie (that I may not say heresie) did not till now appeare in the world, That his Priests who causeth the hypocrite to raigne for the sinnes of the people, should teach the people, that they owe no subiection to wicked Kings; and though by oath they bind themselves vnto him, yet they owe him no fidelitie, neither are they to be accounted periuired persons, who resist the King, but rather to be accounted an excommunicat person that obeyes the King, and that man to be absolved from all iniustice and periwrie that opposeth himselfe against him. Others speake more confidently: Then did there arise false Prophets, Apostles, Priests, who deceiued the people with a false religion, doing great signes and wonders (and of some he makes instance) who began to sit in the Temple of God, and to be extolled aboue all that is worshipped: and whilest they goe about to establish their owne power, they extinguish all charitie and Christian simplicitie, &c. As if the decree of the immortall God kept not alwayes one course, That no periuired persons shall inherit the kingdome of heauen. The most part of the best sort of men, such as were iust, and honest, and ingenuous, and simple, haue left in writing, That at that time they foresaw the Empire of Antichrist to be beginning, and those things to come to passe that our Saviour Christ Iesus had long before foretold. *Sigebert* and *Auentine*, after diuers others, doe note, That the prodigious wonders that were obserued in those times, did astonish the minds of most men: The heauens, saith he, seene many times to burne, the Sunne and Moone to lose their light, the starres to fall from heauen to the earth, burning torches, fierie darts flying through the ayre, new starres new seene before, pitched pavillions and armies in the ayre encountering one another, and innumerable the like, whereby the people were confirmed in their opinion: But especially when they saw the sonne to conspire against the state and life of his father, *Conrade* against *Henrie*, who had appointed him to be his successor, and that by the persuation, compulsion, and approbation of Pope *Vrban*, instigated, or rather bewitched, by the cunning of *Mathilda*, his father in the meane time leauing nothing vndone that might regaine him to his duetie & obedience: who preuailling nothing by his iust & gentle exhortations, was enforced in the Councils and tolemne assemblies of the Empire, to beg vengeance from heauen and earth, euen with teares in his eyes. All this in the meane time was couered vnder a pretence of that sacred and plausible expedition to Hierusalem, the mysterie wherof *William* of Malmesburie opened before vnto vs; That by that meanes *Vrban* might recouer his authoritie at Rome, or rather diuert the minds of men imployed about remote affaires, from those more necessarie busineses that touched them more neerely at home: That whilest they bended all their endeavors abroad to persecute the Infidels, they might neglect Antichrist freely wasting all at home in the Church. Neither wanted he in that impure and darke world a bait whereby to win and allure the simple people to that war, which was an absolute absolution from all their sinnes, without any penance. What greater encitement could there be to men who were to inuade a cuntry wherein all things were left to the lust of the souldier, to commit all manner of wickednesse whatsoever? For we learne sufficiently out of histories, what manner of men for the most part they returned from thence, being all polluted with the abominations of the Cananites. To the same remedies they had euer recourse, consecrating their children, if they had any, to the selfsame warres, and giuing such goods as they had to expiat their sinnes. On the other side euerie vnskillfull souldier carried with a feruent desire of this warre, fell vpon the Iewes, against whom they had libertie, as they thought, to offer any violence, and if they did not presently turne Christi-

Auent. l. 5.

Sigebert, in
Chron.
Auent. l. 5.

An. 1095.

ans, to massacre them at their owne pleasures, to the great scandall of Christian Religion, as if there had beene no other meane to conuert them to the Faith of Christ. And therefore in many Prouinces the souldiers preparing themselves to depart, fell vpon the miserable people, making their ruine to beare the charge of their voyage. Insomuch that we read of tenne or twelue thousand slayne in one place; an euident argument of that false and adulterate zeale wherewith they were carried, and a manifest presage of an vnfortunat end. We are not to forget by the way amongst other things, that that *Godfrey* of *Buloyn* that was the first who by assault entred *Hierusalem*, was the selfesame who before vnder the commaund of the Emperour *Henrie* was the first that scaled the walls of *Rome*. Let no man doubt, that there wanted in those times wise men, who looked more inwardly into the nature of this expedition. *Auentine* beleeuing those that writ before him, saith that it was a report spred amongst the common people, that this voice was heard from heauen, *Deus vult*, God will haue it so; whereupon all sorts of people from all parts ran to those warres, some from their Kingdomes, some from their Cities, their Castles, their flocks, their Temples, their families, their wines, their children, their fields, their ploughes, and into *Asia* past by flocks, Captaines, Governours, Tetrarches, Bishops, Monkes, who vnder a shew of Religion, committed all manner of wickednesse. They carried a Goose (saith he) before them, saying it was the holie Ghost and that *Charles the great* was come againe into the world. As for the Iewes, wheresoeuer they met them, they slew them, except they did presently conuert, and whosoeuer refused to turne, they spoyle of his goods; Some of the Iewes out of their loue to their Law slew each other, others for the time dissembling Christianitie, relapsed from Christ to *Moses*. And these were the exploits of *Peter the Hermit*, the author and procuror of these warres. A voyage whereof *Sigonius* himselfe in the middest of his panegyrique could not temper himself, but that he gaue his judgement in these words: *Vrban* (saith he) applied his mind to the recouerie of *Hierusalem*, which had beene a long time held by the *Sarasens*; an enterprise not so famous for the increase of pietie, as renowned for the glorie thereof in future times. Which expedition to the end he might colour with some deuotion, he ordayned, that no Clergie, or Lay man should eat flesh from *Shrouetide* to *Easter*. Thus doth superstition alwayes increase with hipocrisie.

The controuersie touching the inuestiture of Bishops, pretended by the Popes to the prejudice of Kings and Emperours, did still continue, though not without some difficultie and resistance, especially in Germanie. *Waltram* therefore Bishop of *Naumburg*, writ in his time of this matter against the Pope; his reasons were, That *Hadrian* in a full Councell was of opinion with *Charles* the great, and his successours that it belonged to them to inuest Bishops, yea and to confirme the Bishop of *Rome*, except some certaine Bishops of *Italie*, who by an ancient grant from the Kings were to be consecrated by the Pope; In which grant he comprehendeth the Abbies, and other regall dignities: That *Gregorie* the great euen before this agreement had by Letters, admonished *Theodorick*, *Theodobert* & *Brunichild* to inuest without simonie, and that himselfe was not consecrated but by the consent of *Mauritius* the Emperour: That Pope *Leo* and his successours obserued the same towards *Otho* and his, and that vnder payne of excommunication; And therefore it is verie strange that *Gregorie* the seuenth should go about to alter it, and that vnder absolution: That the Popes are to take good heed, that God doe not vnbinding in heauen, what they bind vpon earth; which many times comes to passe by the glorie of precedencie which sets mens spirits on fire, when the

Auent. li. 5.

Berthold. in
Cbron.
An. 1096.Sigon. de regno
Italie li. 9.Gulielm.
Malmesburienf. li. 4.Waltramus de
inuestitura E-
piscoporum.

A the successours goe a bout to change the Decrees of their predecessors; And if any man reprehending them they shal answer that *The iudgements of Rome are not to be reuoked*; why then doe they reuoke those of their auncestors, that made for the Emperours? why doe they scandall the little flocke of Christ? why vnder the shadow of Religion doe they gather euen with open hands all vnto themselves, since that our Sauour saith, *Giue vnto Caesar, those things that are Caesars &c?* That in *Spaine*, *Scotland*, *England*, *Hungarie*, the Kings vsed this right, purely and entirely: In *France* a long time before *Hadrian* the consecrated Kings, and gouernors of the Palace inuested the Bishops, that is to say, *Dagobert*, *Sigebert*, *Theodoricus*, *Hildericus*, *Pepinus*, *Theodebertus*, by whom *Remaclus*, *Amandus*, *Odemarus*, *Ansbertus*, *Elisius*, *Lambertus*, and other holie Prelats, were inthronised and setled in their seats, without respect of the maner of their inuestiture, whether it were done by word, or by the staffe & the ring yet it was no matter. But, we must know that that homage that is done vnto the king vnder the name royaltie, is before the consecration; And that from the time of *S. Peter* to *Siluester* it was not so, both because the Emperours were heathens, and the Churches poore, but afterwards being enriched by kings, and endowed by other good men, they made new laws, especially hauing gotten into their possession Lands, and great reuenues, yea became Lords of Townes and Cities, into which places they might withdraw themselves, against the enimie: That it fell out verie happily that the Emperours put themselves into the gouernement of the Church of *Rome*, which had beene so often rent with schismes in the election of their Bishops, and could neuer obtaine any setled peace without their mediation. All this he saith, with many other good reasons too long to rehearse. And in the selfesame sence writ *Venericus* Bishop of *Verfeil* in *Italie*, dedicating his booke to the Pope himselfe, which he intituled, *Of the discord of the Kingdome and Priesthood*. It was at this time also that we haue the Apologie of *Sigebert* Abbot of *Gembloux*, for the Emperour *Henrie*, mentioned by *Auentine* in his fift booke.

In *France*, *Vrban* hauing ordained *Tuo* Abbot of *S. Quintine*, bishop of *Chartres* by the deposition of *Ieffray*, writ vnto *Richard* Archbishop of *Sens* to consecrate him: but *Richard* as we learne by the letter of *Vrban* himselfe refused to doe it; vpon which his refusall *Vrban* himselfe was inforced to consecrate him, commanding *Richard* to yeeld his helping hand to *Tuo* in the gouernement of the Church (reseruing still his obedience to his Church: but *Richard* neuerthelesse would not obey him, but writ (saith *Tuo*) sharpe letters, and such as were derogatorie to the Maiestie of the Apostolike See. Whereupon *Tuo* warneth him that the Scriptures pronounce him an heretike because he agreeth not with the Church of *Rome*. I appeale vnto his owne conscience, out of what peece of Scripture he proueth that. But he likewise acknowlegeth ingeniously, that by the hand of *Vrban* he had bin raised from the dunghill, and therfore he held himselfe obliged in duetie to aduance his honour and com moditie; and to that end tendes that salutation of his in a certaine congratatorie Epistle, *Cum Petro pugnare, & cum Petro regnare*, To fight with *Peter* and to raigne with *Peter*, that is (as the Popes courtiers say) to follow the Popes fortunes through what dangers so euer. But here the Archbishop stayed not, for he assembled at *Estampes* the Bishops his Suffragans, namely of *Paris*, *Meaux*, and *Troy* to deliberate hereupon, wherein he sheweth that this ordination was against the Maiestie royall, which *Tuo* had greatly offended in receiuing it, all of them concluding to restore *Ieffray* into his place, and to depose *Tuo*; whereupon he appealed to *Rome*, to which appellation they refused to obey; for which

Tribemius in
lib. de scripto-
rib. Ecclesiast.

An. 1072.

Tuo Carmitens.
Ep. li. 12. 8.

cause

cause he complaineth to *Vrban*, imployeth his helpe, That he would be pleased to write to the Archbishop and his Suffragans in his behalfe: that it was necessarie to send a Legat into France to prouide for these and the like matters. But in the mean time whilest they vnited themselues together for the libertie of the French Church, King *Philip* the first sent to the Pope for a dispensation to marie his concubine *Bertrade*, and so withdrew his hand, and commanded *Tuo* to be established in his Bishopricke. Thus it oftentimes falleth out, that the priuat vices of Princes doe greatly prejudice their publike dignities. In these Epistles in the meane time it is worth the noting, That *Tuo* doth not alwayes agree in doctrine with *Vrban*. For whereas diuers Bishops had condemned the inuestitures of lay persons for heresie, because by this means the great Prelats got vnto themselues the right and prerogatiue of lay founders and patrons; *Tuo* neuerthelesse hauing gotten the Bishopricke, and being out of their reach, maintained against *Hugh* the Popes Legat the Primat of Lyons and others, That it was no heresie, since there was nothing here that concerned faith, which had nothing common with Orders. This was *Tuo*, who otherwise held with *Vrban*, and did omit no occasion whereby he might serue him, and did carefully aduertise him to assist *Manasses* with his authoritie, for his confirmation in the Bishopricke of Rheimes, because, saith he, it is necessarie that the Church of Rome should haue one in that See that should be a true and trustie seruant vnto him. He armeth him likewise in such a sort with his counsels, against those obstacles that may any way hinder the course of his Legats or Decrees in France, that he feared not to say of himselfe: I thinke of my selfe, that there is no man on this side the mountaines that hath suffered greater wrongs, endured more contumelies for the maintenance of your commaunds and that fidelitie that is due vnto you. Yea *Richard* the Archbishop of Sens being dead, and *Daribert* canonically nominated to his place, *Tuo* being prohibited by *Hugh* Primat of Lyons, and Legat to *Vrban*, to consecrate him Bishop, because he had not performed vnto him his due obedience, *Tuo* deales sharply with the Legat by letters, giuing him to vnderstand, That he would not obey him to the preiudice of the auncient Canons, and the venerable authoritie of his forefathers: he therefore bitterly reproveth him. But *Baronius*, who had hitherto approued him, begins now to chide him, because he had not spoken of inuestitures as was fitting: That which remaineth, saith he, in this Epistle of *Tuo*, is more harsh, as speaking too abiectly of the auncient inuestitures, yea of many things he speaks with contempt, which if they were not corrected in other Epistles of the same Author, would call in question that his glorious reputation which he hath gotten by defending the Apostolike See, and the Catholike veritie. So much doth reason and affection disagree euen in great personages.

In England *Anselme*, by nation an Italian, being chosen Archbishop of Canturburie by the consent of King *William* the second, craues leaue of him to goe to Rome, to receiue his Pall of Pope *Vrban*: wherewith the King being greatly offended, answered, That no Archbishop or Bishop in his realme was subiect to the Court of Rome, or to the Pope, and that he had that libertie in his realme, that the Emperour had in his Empire. *Anselme* therefore was accused of high treason, all the Bishops consenting thereunto, except *Gondoulse* Bishop of Rochester. *Vrban* hereupon sent *Gualter* Bishop of Alba into England, to bring him the Pall, and to reconcile him to King *William*. But *Anselme* being still desirous to goe to Rome, King *William* answered him in plaine termes, That if he would promise, and bind himselfe by an oath vpon the booke, neither to goe, nor to appeale to Rome for any affaires whatsoever, he should then well and peaceably enjoy

An. 1099.

Tuo Carnutens.
Epist. 235. 238.
239.

Idem Epist. 48.

Baron. an. 1099
art. 8.

An. 1093.

A joy his Bishopricke, if not, that it should be free for him to passe the seas, but neuer to returne. And this he spake in Common Councell. He neuerthelesse went to Rome, where by his counsell the Decree was renewed under paine of excommunication, against the inuestiture of Laymen: and so he continued at Lyons so long as *William* liued. Let vs adde hereunto in these times, the report of the Monke of Malmesburie touching the Romans: The Romans, sometimes Lords of the world, a people that goe in long gownes, are now of all others the most ignorant, selling iustice for gold, and the Canons rule for siluer.

Matthias Paris
in Guilielmo 2.
Malmes. l. 5.
An. 1097.

We must not forget, that it was at this verie time that Pope *Vrban* granted to *Roger* Earle of Calabria and Sicilia, those letters patents so much disputed by *Baronius* against the King of Spaine, who now possesseth the kingdome both of the one and the other Sicile, where in consideration of his good and loyall seruices done vnto the Church of Rome, and against the Saracens, he made him the sonne of the vniuersall Church, and by a speciall priuiledge he granteth vnto him, and to his sonne *Simon*, or any other his lawfull heire, that they should neuer haue during their liues within their dominions, without their owne will and allowance, any Legat of the Church of Rome: By the speciall grace and fauour of this priuiledge giuing all to vnderstand, how burthensome and dangerous the presence of a Legat was: In so much that what was to be done by a Legat, his meaning was should be executed by the sayd *Roger* and his son, Legati vice, in stead of a Legat: And if there shall be called any generall Councell, it shall be lawfull for them to send such and so many Bishops, as they shall thinke fitting, retaining the rest for the seruice of their Churches. Thus this good and zealous man ouerthrew the whole order of his Church to content *Roger*, who knew well enough to vse the occasion to the best aduantage of his owne affaires.

Baron. an.
1097. art. 20.
21. & sequent.

42. PROGRESSION

Of the entrance of *Paschal* the second into the Popedome. Of the conspiracies procured by the Pope against the Emperour, with the rebellion of his son *Henric*. Of the treacherous deposing of the Emperour, and of the miserable estate he fell into, and of his sonnes most vnnatural dealing with him.

THE Agewe are now entring into hath his Progression, whether we respect the authoritie, or wickednesse of the Popes, which together made way one to the other: But by how much the more they discover themselues, by so much the more witnesses do they exhibit vnto vs, who saw this Mysterie of Iniquitie either openly, or at least through a cloud. *Vrban* the second being dead in the yere 1099, *Rainerius* a Thuscan succeeded him, who was *Paschal* the second, a disciple of *Hildebrand*, commended by *Vrban* for this onely cause, That he was a likelie man to walke in his steps. The principall matter then in hand, was the inuestiture of the Bishops and Abbots, which they rooke from the Princes, and got to themselues, affirming that it had bene vsurped by the Princes, as we haue seene before: that it was a wickednesse and an heresie: and that they might pretend some shew of religion therein, they couple it in all their proceedings with that faction of the Nicholites, prosecuting with the selfesame rigour the single life of Church-men notwithstanding the generall clamor of the whole Clergie against it, and that crie of their sins and abhominable wickednesse that ascended vp vnto heauen. This *Raine-*

An. 1099.

Platina in
Paschali. 2.

Auentin. 4. 2.

A rius therefore would not take vpon him the Popedome, before the people had thrife cried out, *S. Peter hath chosen Rainerus an excellent man to be Pope.* Afterwards putting on his scarlet robe, and his mitre on his head, being accompanied with the people and Clergie, he mounted vpon a white Palfrey richly furnished, and so was brought to Lateran, where resting himselfe a while in a throne prepared for that purpose, he was girt with a girdle on which there hung 7 keys, and seuen seales, to giue all men to vnderstand that he according to the seuenfold grace of the spirit of God, had power in all Churches ouer which he bare rule, to open and shut, to seale and vnseale: He likewise visited (carrying his pontificall Scepter in his hand) all those places into which the Popes only might come: At the last he went to *S. Peters Church* to be consecrated, in which he was anointed, by the Bishop of Ostia and others: Neither was this new preparation without a mysterie. *Clement* the third in the meane time persisted in his purpose, against whom *Paschal* first bent his forces, inso much that hee compelled him to depart Rome; which that he might the more easily performe, he fed the Emperour with a hope of peace, and inuited him to a generall Councell at Lateran, whereunto he willingly harkened, being now wearied with his ciuile and domesticall molestations. The Prince persuading himselfe that *Paschal* was desirous of peace, and much alienated from warre, or rather because hee sayd hee desired peace, he striued to be as forward therein as himselfe. But he had no sooner obtained his purpose, but he reneweth in the Synod, the excommunication against *Henrie*, raiseth new factions in Germanie, and because he went not in his owne person to Palestina, he stirreth vp new hatreds against him; for he who in regard of the place he held should haue bene the first, and by his example haue encouraged others, left the place emptie that he might doe euerie thing according to his owne lust: To be brieue, following the steps of his predecessours, he stirreth vp *Henrie* the sonne against his father, who had made him copartner in the Empire, being persuaded, as before, that he should neuer liue peaceably without the grace and fauour of the Pope; and that he was not to preferre his dutie towards his father, being guiltie of heresie, before that which hee did owe vnto the Pope. And what this heresie was we haue scene before. And therefore, saith **D** *Auentine*, *Henrie* hauing spent his winter came to *Mence*, that from thence he might take his journey to Rome, and so into *Asia*, leauing his sonne at *Bauiers*: but he in the meane time persuaded by certain Lords &c. (amongst others he nameth *Welfo* Duke of *Bauaria* and husband to *Mathilda*,) and *Albert* his Secretarie, and a Chaplaine of his, that if his father should die an enemy to the Popes of Rome, and in disgrace with the Pope, the Empire would be taken by some other, and so vnder a pretence of pietie he rebelleth against his owne father. And as touching the accusation against him, That he did not his best inaduour for this holie expedition, he told vs a little before, that he had sent into *Asia*, with a purpose to follow himselfe, the greatest part of his men of warre, that remayned in Germanie after three and twentie yeares ciuile warres, and that by his commaund there went out of the Low-countries *Godfrey* of *Bullion*, with his two brethren *Baldwinus* and *Eustachius*, and *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*; out of *Bauaria* the Duke *Welfo*, *Otho* and *Eckardus* Princes of *Scheurn*, and diuers others; whereby it appeared, that this was onely a pretence of the Pope. The father in the meane time gathered courage, giues his sonne battell, and conquers him; but looking more narrowly into the height of this conspiracie, and finding that it could not be repress, but with the ruine of the commonwealth, he is content to seeke meanes of peace, and a parley

A ley being appointed betwixt him and his sonne, he simply dismiss his forces, the conspirators commaunding all theirs to retire themselves to *Mence*. The place which was chosen for this parley was *Binga*, where the Emperour being the fourth that entred the citie, was no sooner in but the gates were shut, & his friends kept out of the city: His enemies were appointed to be his Gard, & his son (as if he had done an act worthe commendations) triumphantly speeds himselfe to the conspirators at *Mence*; where he found the Legats of *Paschal*, the Bishops of *Alba* and *Constance*, with fiftie other Bishops, who in this Councell armed with force and treason, doe againe excommunicat *Henrie*, and for the better strengthening of this Decree; they degrade him, and put his sonne into his place. The circumstances are set downe by *Krantzius* and *Helmoldus*, which let not the Reader thinke redious to read. *The Bishops* (saith he) of *Mence*, *Cologne*, and *Wormes* were commaunded to goe vnto him, and to bring from him, howsoeuer unwilling, the Imperiall Ensignes, the Crosse, Scepter, Halberd, Kingdome, sword, and Crowne: but the Emperour enquiring the cause thereof, they answer him, That he committed Symonie, in conferring of Bishopricks and Abbies: To whom the Emperour replied, Tell me yee Bishops of *Mence* and *Cologne*, by the name of the eternall God what I haue received from you: they answered Nothing; Glorie to God on high, saith the Emperour, that in this point we are found faithfull; doubtlesse your great dignities might haue brought great gaine into our Chamber, if we had sought after it; my Lord of *Wormes* knowes, & we are not ignorant whether freely, or for gaine we received him. My good fathers violate not your faiths; we now waxe old, haue patience a little, and end not our glorie with confusion: we require a generall Court; if we must yeeld; we will deliuer our Crowne to our sonne with our owne hands: But they making offer to inforce him; he retired himselfe a little, and putting on his Imperiall ensignes, and returning vnto them, The goodnes of the eternal God (saith he) & the election of the Princes gaue them vnto me. God is able to preserue them vnto me, and to withhold your hands from this your enterprise, although we want our forces to defend vs, not doubting of any such violence: But yet let the feare of God bridle you, since pietie cannot; and if neither of them will, behold here am I vnable to withstand your force. Hereupon the Bishops paused a while, but at the last the one encouraging the other, they went to the Emperour, tooke the Crown from his head, and taking him out of his seat, spoiled him of all his royall robes: The Emperour fetching a deepe sigh spake in this manner, The God of vengeance behold, and reuenge this iniquitie you commit against me, I suffer an ignomie the like whereof was neuer heard of before; but it is God the iust Iudge that punisheth me for the sinnes of my youth. But yet you are not free from this offence, because you haue broken your oaths, and therefore you shall not auoyd the reuenge of a iust Iudge. God neuer prosper you vpon the earth, but let your portion be with him that betrayed Christ. This (saith *Krantzius*) is the narration of our *Annales*. And *Sigomius* delcribes this matter almost in the same words. By which narration it plainly appeareth that this poore Emperour was not deposed because he had inuested Bishops for money, which they of their owne accords acknowledge, but purely and simply because according to the antient laws of his predecessors he did inuest them; which the Synod calleth the *Henrician* heresie, or of *Guibert*, alias *Clement* 3, the *Guibertine*; by which account all Princes were in those dayes heretikes. But so farforth did the crueltie of *Paschal* extend, that he caused all that were inuested by *Henrie* to be digged out of their graues fixe yeares after their death: but he demanding penance of the Legats is proudly reiected, vntill he did humbly submit himselfe to *Paschal*. But *Paschal* (euerie thing thus falling out according to his owne mind) by an honorable embassage is

Helmold. l. 1.
cap. 32.
Krantzius l. 5.
ca. 20. in Saxon.

Sigom. l. 9. de
regno Italia.

Krantz Saxon.
l. 5. cap. 21.
Henric. Her-
ford. cap. 68.

intreated

entreated to come into Germanie, whilest the Emperour being deprived of his Kingdome, is left to lead a priuat life in the Castle of Ingelheim : But yet shortly after by the helpe of some of his friends he retireth himselfe into Cologne, and being conducted by the Citizens to Liege, he was honorably receyued by *Othbert* Bishop of that place, and *Henrie* Duke of Lorraine. And from thence hee dispatched Orators to all Christian Princes, especially *Philip* the first, King of Fraunce, to lay open vnto them this miserablie tragedie. But his sonne pursueth him euen to that place, notwithstanding those protestations he made, that he only fought some little place of rest, where he might end his life : And at the last by his indeauours he brought it to passe, that he got him againe by force into his power; where his estate was such at the last, that he intreated the Bishop of Spire, sometimes his deare friend, and aduanced by him, to giue him a place where he might liue as a Clerke in the Church of *S. Maries*, which he had founded; which was cruelly denied him : And so a few dayes after being overcome with griefe, he dyed. And that it might appeare that the impietie of his sonne had not altogether extinguished his loue, and pietie towards him, he sends vnto him for his last present, & testimonie of his fatherlie loue, his Seale-ring and his sword; who neuerthelesse in fauour of the Pope, and to expresse his obedience towards him, kept his father for five yeares together vnburied in a solitarie Chappell of the house. Here saith *Helmoldus* the Historiographer: *He was verie good to those Churches, which he found to be faithfull vnto him; but as for Gregorie and others, who lay in ambush against his honour, as they endeauoured the worst they could against him, so hee, the like against them; extreame necessitie (as many affirme) enforced him thereunto, for who would willingly endure the least losse of honour? We read of many that haue sinned, who haue bene relieued by repentance: Dauid sinning and repenting continued a King, and a Prophet; But King Henrie casting himselfe downe at the Popes feet (praying and repenting) is trodden vnder foot, and could not obtaine that in the time of grace, that Dauid obtayned in the time of the Law. But let those dispute hereof, that dare, or know these things. This only one thing we may know, that the See of Rome at this day rues that fact. For, as many as since that time haue reigned of that stocke, haue used their best endeauours to humble the Churches, lest they should gather strength against Kings, and attempt as much against them, as they haue done against their forefathers. But Henrie the junior reigned for his father, and there was peace betweene the Kingdome and the Priesthood, but yet not long. For neither did he prosper, being all his life time ensnared, as his father was by the Apostolike See: And he was a Priest that here speaketh. This Henrie according to most writers was called the fourth; we following *Onaphrius* and *Sigonius* make him the third. All this happened from the yeare 1099 to 1106. But let vs not forget an Epistle of this *Paschal* writ to the Archbishop of Polonia at the entrance of this age, about the allegation of Councils, as if, saith he, any Councils may giue Lawes to the Church of Rome: To what end then are Councils held? But contrarily (saith he) all Councils by the authoritie of the Church of Rome are called, and haue their force, and in all their Statutes the authoritie thereof is manifestly excepted. But where can they shew one fillable?*

OPPOSITION.

Prodigious spectacles in the ayre, the earth and the sea still continued, obserued by all the writers of these times; Neither was *Paschal* moued with these (saith *Platina*) because he beleued them to be wrought by nature, nay hee could not indure that

Auent. l. 5.
Annaliū Boior.
Helmold. l. 1.
cap. 33.

An. 1106.

An. 1102.
Paschal. epist.
ad Archiep.
Polonic.

Platina in Paschal. 2.

A that others should obserue them: but there was no prodigious wonder that so much troubled the world, as himselfe, which no man could deny that saw him, entering into his Popedome with this belt whereon hung the seuen keyes and the seuen scales, play so formally the part of Antichrist, whether it were to attribute vnto himselfe all that was proper vnto Christ alone, or to represent in his person, that *Abbadon* described vnto vs in the Apocalyps. And this no doubt moued the Bishop of Florence, in the yeare 1106, publicly to preach, that Antichrist was borne; which *Paschal* vnderstanding of, and being much grieved therewith, tooke the paynes to goe in person to Florence, and there held a Councell to stop the mouth of this Bishop, being content neuerthelesse, fearing to stirre in the matter too much, to admonish him openly, to desist from this bold enterprise, that is to say, least the matter should more apparently breake out.

B The Emperour *Henrie*, as we haue seene, retired himselfe to Liege, which *Paschal* could not endure: wherefore vnder a shew of congratulating *Robert* Earle of Flanders, beeing happily returned from Hierusalem to his Countrie, he writ this vnto him, *It is the part of a loyall and lawfull souldier, to pursue the enemies of his King by all possible meanes: We giue thee therefore thanks for executing our commaund in the Diocesse of Cambray, and we commaund thee to doe the like vpon the excommunicated people of Liege, who falsly terme themselnes Clerkes, &c. And not only in those parts, but euerie where else, when thou canst, with thy whole power, to persecute Henrie, the head of the heretikes, and his followers. Thou canst offer no sacrifice vnto God more acceptable than to withstand him, who rayseth himselfe against God, and his church &c. This we commaund thee and thy souldiers to doe in remission of your sinnes &c.* Hereby making this his reuenge equall, both in right and merit, with that famous expedition to the holie Land. But what doe the Bishops, Canons, and Clergie of the Diocesse of Liege? There is the second volume of the Councils, both the Epistle of *Paschal* to them, and their answer to him. *I crie* (saith the Church of Liege) *with sighs and astonishment, as the Prophet Esay speaketh, who exaggerating the burden of the desert Sea, crieth out, As the Whirle-windes in the South rise to passe from the wilderness, so shall it come from the horrible Land, a grieuous vision was shewed vnto me. He that vnderstood not hether to what this desert Sea was by heresay, let him now vnderstand it by the eye; It is not onely Babylon, but the world and the Church &c. The Church sigheth to see herselfe abandoned and forsaken, by the holie Councils and Prelats: for was there euer greater confusion in Babylon, than there is at this day in the Church? In Babylon the languages of Nations were confounded; in the Church the tongues and minds of belqueers are diuided. S. Peter saith in his Epistle, The Church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, salueth you. Hether to I interpreted it, that Peter would therefore by Babylon decipher Rome, because at that time Rome was confounded with all Idolatrie, and all manner of wickednesse: But now my griefe enterpreteth it vnto me, that Peter by a propheticall spirit foresaw the confusion of that dissention wherewith the Church at this day is torne in pieces &c. What those whirle-windes are that come from Africa, we rather learne by suffering than by reading; from that horrible Land, that is, the Church of Rome, a grieuous vision is shewed vnto me, from thence commeth a whirle-wind, as a tempest, from Africa: For the Bishop of Rome (the father of all the Churches) hath written Letters against vs to *Robert* Earle of Flanders. And so they insert the Epistle. What is he whose reynes, reading these letters, are not filled with sorrow, not for the horror of the danger, but the horrible noucltie of the thing, That a mother should write such lamentable Letters against her daughters, yea though they had offended? In that iudgement of *Salomon* is exprest the greatnesse of a mothers loue, because*

Asta vita
Paschalis.

Sigon. l. 9. de
regno Ital.

Sabellici
Fenneade 9.
Platina in Paschal. 2.

Epist. Leodiens.
Cleri in 2. vol.
Concilior.
Edition.
Colonienf.
apud Quivitel.
pag. 309.

1. Petr. 5.

C the head of the heretikes, and his followers. Thou canst offer no sacrifice vnto God more acceptable than to withstand him, who rayseth himselfe against God, and his church &c. This we commaund thee and thy souldiers to doe in remission of your sinnes &c. Hereby making this his reuenge equall, both in right and merit, with that famous expedition to the holie Land. But what doe the Bishops, Canons, and Clergie of the Diocesse of Liege? There is the second volume of the Councils, both the Epistle of *Paschal* to them, and their answer to him. *I crie* (saith the Church of Liege) *with sighs and astonishment, as the Prophet Esay speaketh, who exaggerating the burden of the desert Sea, crieth out, As the Whirle-windes in the South rise to passe from the wilderness, so shall it come from the horrible Land, a grieuous vision was shewed vnto me. He that vnderstood not hether to what this desert Sea was by heresay, let him now vnderstand it by the eye; It is not onely Babylon, but the world and the Church &c. The Church sigheth to see herselfe abandoned and forsaken, by the holie Councils and Prelats: for was there euer greater confusion in Babylon, than there is at this day in the Church? In Babylon the languages of Nations were confounded; in the Church the tongues and minds of belqueers are diuided. S. Peter saith in his Epistle, The Church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, salueth you. Hether to I interpreted it, that Peter would therefore by Babylon decipher Rome, because at that time Rome was confounded with all Idolatrie, and all manner of wickednesse: But now my griefe enterpreteth it vnto me, that Peter by a propheticall spirit foresaw the confusion of that dissention wherewith the Church at this day is torne in pieces &c. What those whirle-windes are that come from Africa, we rather learne by suffering than by reading; from that horrible Land, that is, the Church of Rome, a grieuous vision is shewed vnto me, from thence commeth a whirle-wind, as a tempest, from Africa: For the Bishop of Rome (the father of all the Churches) hath written Letters against vs to *Robert* Earle of Flanders. And so they insert the Epistle. What is he whose reynes, reading these letters, are not filled with sorrow, not for the horror of the danger, but the horrible noucltie of the thing, That a mother should write such lamentable Letters against her daughters, yea though they had offended? In that iudgement of *Salomon* is exprest the greatnesse of a mothers loue, because*

cause Salomon giuing sentence, that the infant (for which they contended) should be di-
 uided with a sword, the true mother chose rather that her child should liue with a stran-
 ger, than be slayne with the sword. The Prophet Esay saith, speaking of Babylon, The
 might of my pleasures is turned into feare vnto me: But (I say) Rome my beloved
 mother is turned into feare vnto me: For what is more fearefull, nay what more mi-
 serable? Dauid saw once the Angell of God standing with his sword drawne ouer Hieru-
 salem: wee, the daughters of the Church of Rome, see the Pope of Rome, who is the Angell
 of the Lord, (for the place he supplieth) with his sword drawne ouer the Church. Da-
 uid prayed that his people might not be slayne: But our Angell deliuer the sword to Ro-
 bert and prays him to kill vs. From whence hath our Angell this sword? There is but
 one sword of the spirit, which is the word of God &c. There is another sword of the spi-
 rit, wherewith, the sinnes of the flesh being mortified, we buy the crowne of Martyre-
 dome. The Apostles therefore receiving of the Lord onely two swords, from whence
 comes this third to the Apostolicall (that is the Pope) which he hath deliuered to Ro-
 bert against vs? Perhaps he hath recourse to the Prophet Ezechiel, that taking a third
 sword out of his hand, he might goe to the right hand and to the left killing both the
 righteous and the wicked &c. This is the sword of occision with which Ezechiel
 makes me astonished: for what heart faints not to thinke, that he that is annointed to giue
 life, should be giue with this third sword to kill vs &c. And if it be lawfull to speake
 it (with reuerence of the Apostolicall dignitie) he seemeth to vs to haue bene a sleepe, yea
 all his Counsellors slept with him, when he hired at his charge a destroyer of the Church
 of God. S. Paule commaundeth that the word of a Bishop be sound and irreprehens-
 ible: we therefore reprehend not the word of the Bishop of Bishops; but because he that is
 Apostolicall should not wander from the Apostle, we humbly in euerie particular circum-
 stance enquire, whether these words of this Apostolicall person, sauoring the grauitie of
 the Apostle, be sound and irreprehensible: He promiseth Apostolike benediction to Ro-
 bert, but doth he commaund him to doe that that should obtayne benediction? &c. who
 hath euer persecuted the Church of God without punishment? And here are alledged
 many examples out of the Scriptures. See here the workes of iust malice, that this
 father ordaineth for his sonnes to come to the heauenlie Hierusalem, by impugning the
 Church of God. We giue thankes to thy wisdom (saith the Church) for that thou hast
 done at Cambray, who can thinke of the ruine and desolation of that Church without
 teares? I, a daughter of the Church of Rome, did condole their estate, for that brother-
 hood that was betwixt vs; but now hearing that all these mischiefes haue lighted vpon
 them by the Apostolike authoritie, I grieue the more, because I feare least that should
 light vpon my mother, that the Lord saith by the mouth of his Phropheet Esay, Woe vnto
 them that decree wicked Decrees, and write grieuous things to keepe backe the poore from
 iudgement &c. That there should be such desolation of the Church, such oppression of the
 poore, and widowes, such crueltie, such rapine, and which is worse, such effusion of
 blood without respect of good and euill, and all this, and worse than all this done by the
 commaund of the Pope, who would beleue it if his owne mouth had not spoken it? We re-
 maine astonished with the noueltie of these things, and wee enquire from whence this
 new example should come, that the Preacher of peace with his owne mouth, and the hand
 of another man, should make warre against the Church of God &c. For Apostolike men
 improoue, rebuke, exhort offenders with all long suffering and doctrine &c. And Christ
 saith, If thy brother trespass against thee, goe and tell him his fault betweene thee and
 him &c. And here they alledge the example of S. Gregorie towards the Bishop of
 Salonne reprehending the Emperour Maximus, for that he vsed force against
 Priscillian and his fellows. He (say they) that condemned Ithacius their accuser for the
 death

Esay 21.

Ezechiel 21.

Esay 10.

2. Tim. 4.

Matth. 8. 15.

A death of Heretikes, doubtlesse, if he were now aliue, he would not commaund Paschal, by
 whose commaund so many people are murdered for the cause of Cambray &c. We com-
 maund the like to be done, saith he, against the excommunicat, falsly called Clerkes of
 Liege. And why excommunicated? we are all baptised in one spirit, into one bodie &c.
 when hath the Church of Rome heard that there are contentions amongst vs? we thinke
 and say of Christ one and the same thing: we doe not say I am Paules, I am Cephas, I am
 Christs. Are we excommunicated for this our concord &c? Because we keep the law of God,
 they obiect against vs, that we transgresse their new traditions. But God saith vnto
 them, wherefore doe you transgresse the commaundement of God by your traditions? God
 commaundeth vs to giue vnto Cesar, that which is Casars, and to God that which is Gods:
 which S. Peter and S. Paule doe likewise teach; Honor the King; Let euerie soule be sub-
 iect to the higher powers &c. He that commaunds euerie soule to doe this, whom doth he
 exempt from this earthlie power? Because therefore we honour the King, and serue our
 Lords and masters in the simplicitie of our hearts, are we therefore excommunicated? But
 we are simoniacall persons. No, we auoyd all such, and those we cannot by reason of the
 time and place, we tolerate; and we no lesse flie those who couer their auarice with an ho-
 nest title, and, vnder the name of charitie, boast themselues to giue that freely, which in
 effect they sell dearly, and like the Montanists vnder the name of oblations, they cun-
 ningly receiue gifts. Alas with grieue we wonder, why, when, and by whom we are ex-
 communicated; we know we are not excommunicated by our Bishop, by our Archbishop, and
 we thinke much lesse by the Pope, because he cannot be ignorant of that which Nicode-
 mus saith: Our Law iudgeth no man before he be heard: neither had God condemned
 the Sodomites except he had first come downe to see whether they had done altogether
 according to that criie which came vnto him. Seeing therefore he hath heard nothing
 of vs, neither hath bene sollicited by the Bishop or Archbishop against vs, who would e-
 uer beleue that he would excommunicate vs? &c. But perhaps you will say that there-
 fore he doth it, because we fauour our Bishop who takes part with the Emperour. This is the
 beginning of our sorrow, and that which may make the cause of the wicked to blush, be-
 cause Satan being let loose and walking through the earth, hath now diuided the King-
 dome and the Priesthood: Forasmuch therefore as the Diuell came vnto vs, hauing great
 wrath (as it is in the 20 of the Reuelation) we pray to our father which is in heauen,
 for this especially, that he lead vs not into this temptation, but that hee deliuer vs from
 the euill thereof &c. But who can reprehend a Bishop for keeping his faith and loyaltie to
 his Prince? And yet they that teare in sunder the Kingdome and Priesthood with new
 schismes, and new traditions promise to absolue those from the sinne of perurie that
 break their faith to their King &c. Hereby let all men iudge who of the two deserueth pun-
 ishment: he that giueth vnto Cesar, according to the decree of God himselfe those things
 that belong vnto Cesar, or he that dishonoreth his King and takes that name of God
 in vayne, by which he plighteth his faith to the King. See here the reason why we are ex-
 communicated, and why we are called false Clerkes, who lining Canonically deserue by
 our liues and conseruations to be called Clerkes. He is (I say) no part of Gods lot (alluding
 to the word Kinges, Clerkes) that is to say, he hath no portion in his inheritance, who
 will exclude vs out of his inheritance (where then doth he place Paschal?) It is an in-
 iurie which out of his wicked heart he vomiteth against vs, as old witches use to do. S. Pe-
 ter teacheth vs not to rule as Lords in Clero, ouer Gods heritage, but that we may be ex-
 amples to the flocke: And S. Paule, My little children of whom I trauell in birth againe in
 in the Lord. These should be examples for Paschal to imitate, or rather admonishers, and
 not impious raylers and slaundersers. The curse of excommunication, our Lord Paschal
 hasteneth vpon vs; but aboue all we feare that which the spirit of God by the mouth of
 the

Iohan. 7.
Genes. 12.

Apocal. 20.

1. Peter 5. 3.
Galla. 4. 19.

the Psalmist hath said, Cursed are all they that decline from his commandments: That A
 curse of excommunication that Hildebrand, Odoardus, and this third, haue by a new tra-
 dition indiscreetly brought in, we wholly reiect, and we hold and reuerence those first ho-
 lie Fathers vnto this day, who by the motion of Gods spirit, not carried by their owne
 affections, haue otherwise ordayned. Our Bishoppe communicateth with his King and
 Emperour, to whom for those Royalties he holds from him, hee hath sworne fidelitie: It
 is a long time since this custome began, and vnder the same many holie and reuerend
 Bishoppes haue departed this world, giuing vnto Cesar, that which belongs vnto
 Cesar, and vnto God those things that are Gods. And here they produce many
 places out of Ambrose and Augustine. Now behold, saith the Church of Liege, B
 why wee are held for excommunicats, euen because wee hold and to our uttermost
 power doe imitate the holie and moderate auntient Fathers. We hold with our Bishop
 and Archbishoppe, our prouinciall and conprouinciall Synod, according to the aun-
 tient tradition, and whatsoeuer is there determined by the holie Scriptures; we goe
 not to Rome but for such matters as are not determined by the Scriptures. And as
 for those Legats a Latere, who runne through the world to fill their purses, we
 wholly reiect them, according to those Councils of Africa, held in the times of Zozimus,
 Celestinius, and Boniface: For, that we may know them by their fruites, there proceeds
 from their Legations no correction of manners, or amendement of life, but the slaughters
 of men, and the spoyle of the Church of God. Forasmuch therefore as we sticke to the aun-
 tient rule, & are not caried with euerie wind of doctrine, we are called excommunicats, C
 false Clerkes &c. But rather, let Paschal lay aside his spirit of presumption, and let
 him aduisedly consider with his Councillors, how from Siluester to Hildebrand the
 Popes haue obtayned the Chaire at Rome, what and how many outrages haue bene com-
 mitted by the ambition of that See, how they haue bene defined by the Emperours, and
 the false Popes condemned and deposed, and he shall easily see, that the imperiall power
 preuailed more than the excommunication of Hildebrand, of Odoardus, and of Paschal
 &c. Paule the Apostle reijsteth Peter the Prince of the Apostles to his face, and therefore
 laying aside the wind of the Roman ambition, why should not the Bishops of Rome be re-
 prehended and corrected for great and manifest offences: He that refuseth to be corrected
 is a false Bishop, a false Clerke; but we who by the mercie of God are obedient and corri- D
 gible according to the rule, by the assistance of Gods spirit will auoyd Schismes, and simo-
 nie and excommunications in all things &c. which if we were to be destroyed, it were to
 be done by the edict of Kings and Emperours, who beare not the sword in wayne. But Sathan
 is let loose, hauing great wrath, whom the powerfull hand of God will put to flight &c. Al-
 luding to that place in the Apocalips of the church persecuted by Sathan. The au-
 thoritie of the Romans will free vs from excommunication: Pope Hildebrand who was the
 Authour of this new Schisme, and the first that rayed the Priestlie launce against the
 Princelie Diademe, did first excommunicat those that indiscreetly fauoured Henric; but
 condemning himselfe of intemperancie, he excepted those out of that excommunication,
 that by a necessarie and lawfull subiection, and no desire to doe ill, tooke part with the E
 Emperour: And this hee set downe for a Decree &c. Hee still proceedeth in the
 examination of this Epistle to Robert. Persecute Robert the head of the heretikes,
 and his maintayners, thou canst offer no sacrifice more acceptable vnto God &c. When
 Alaricus King of the Gothes went to take Rome, being admonished by one of the seruants
 of God, to desist from so wicked an enterpryse, I goe not willingly (saith he) to Rome, but
 a certaine man doth daily vrge me to destroy it. By this example doth the Pope vrge his
 Esquire to wast and ouerunne the whole kingdome, which cannot be done without slaugh-
 ter and bloud, and the ruine of the Church of God. Alaricus was more mild, who hauing
 taken

Apocalip. 12. 12

A taken Rome spared the Churches of God, and abstained from the slaughter of men: Now
 nothing is excepted, but Robert is sent by the Pope, not onely to ruinate those of Cam-
 bray and Liege, but to indeauour wholly the destruction of all. Who will crie out now
 with Esay, How beautifull are the feet of those that preach peace &c? Doubtlesse that
 Zeale which S. Peter had when he cut off the eare of Malchus, the same hath the Vicar
 of Peter in cutting off the eare of an hereticall King; but he that will imitate Peter in
 wounding, let him imitate likewise in putting his sword into his sheath &c. Suppose our
 Emperour be an heretike, as you would haue him, yet he is not to be repelled as such a one
 by vs, by taking armes against him, but by prayer vnto God. Against Pharao, whose
 heart was hardened against God, Moses brought frogges, and flies, and grasshoppers, and
 hayle: These onely plagues he could no way auert, but by praying with stretched out hands
 to heauen: Ieremiah prayed for Nabuchad-nezzar, and Paule for Nero &c. And these
 examples he relateth more at large. Which of the Popes of Rome hath by his Decrees
 giuen authoritie that a Bishop should vse the sword of warre against offenders? Gregorie
 (the first Pope of that name) telleth vs what all the Popes before him did thinke hereof, &
 all that succeeded him should thinke, writing to Sabian the Deacon &c. All contented with
 this example, from Gregorie the first used the spirituall sword alone, vnto the last Grego-
 rie, who was the first that armed himselfe (and by his example others) with the sword of
 warre against the Emperour &c. You say with Gregorie, howsoeuer the Shepheard bind,
 let the flocke feare the band of the Shepheard, that is, his censure. And we say with Grego-
 rie, that he deprieth himselfe of the power of binding & loosing, that bindeth & loos-
 seth not according to merit, but his owne will. You say likewise, that be a man excommu-
 nicated, for what cause soeuer, if he die in that state, he is damned. The authoritie of the
 Church of Rome helpe vs in this: For Gregorie the first hath authorised by writing and
 deed, that the Pope of Rome hath power to absolue any man vniustly excommunicated by a-
 ny man; If then the Bishoppe of Rome can doe it, who will say that God cannot absolue
 whomsoeuer the Pope hath vniustly excommunicated? No man can be hurt by another,
 that is not first hurt by himselfe: But Robert can offer no sacrifice more acceptable vnto
 God, than to persecute vs. I demaund of thee my mother, the Church of Rome, Can that
 sacrifice please God which is not cleane and without spot? How then should this sacrifice
 of warre be acceptable vnto God, which cannot be but vnclane, full of murder & rapine? D
 And this he amplifieth with many places of Scriptures. And this, saith he, we com-
 maund thee, and thy souldiers to doe, in remission of your sinnes &c. Here I know not
 what I should say, or whether to turne my selfe: For if I should turne over the whole vo-
 lume of the old and new Testament, and all the auntient expositors that writ thereupon,
 I should neuer find any example of this Apostolike commaund. Only Pope Hildebrand hath
 offered violence to the sacred Canons, whom we read, commaunded the Marquesse Ma-
 thilda in remission of her sinnes to make warre against Henric the Emperour. And so
 hauing discoursed out of the Scriptures, and some places of Gregorie, of the
 true manner and meanes of the remission of sinnes, and shewing to a sinner his
 sinnes, and making him to confesse them, to feele the burthen of them, to bee
 sorie for them, to seeke the remedie by a liuelie faith in Christ Iesus, the church
 of Liege concludeth in these words: This manner of binding and loosing thou
 hast heretofore held and taught vs, O my mother the Church of Rome: From whence
 then comes this new authoritie, by which there is offered to offendours without confes-
 sion or repentance an immunitie from all sinnes past, and a dispensation for sinnes to
 come; what a window of wickednesse doest thou hereby set open to men? The Lord de-
 liuer thee from all euill; Let Iesus be the doore vnto thee, let him be the Porter,
 that no man enter into thee, but to whom he shall open; He deliuer thee I say and
 thy

Gregor. l. 7.
Regist. c. 1.Gregor. Ho-
mil. 26.

thy Bishop from those who (as the Prophet Michah speaketh) seduce the people of God, A that bite with their teeth and yet preach peace. This was the letter of the church and Clergie of Liege to Pope Paschal the second, fortified with the testimonies of the holie Scriptures, and authorities of the Fathers. Neither need we doubt that such in those times, was the voyce of the greatest part of the Churches of Christendome, who consequently acknowledged Satan to be let loose, waisting the Church of God, in the person of Antichrist sitting in his Throne: which the Emperour Henrie instructed by his Prelats, spake plainly in his Epistle to the Christian Princes, exhorting them to haue regard to their posteritie, the royall Maiestie, and the saluation of all Christian people; because (saith he) the Pope vnder the honest title of Christ goeth about to oppresse the publike libertie of all Christian B people, whom Christ hath bought with his blood, and indeauoureth day and night to bring vpon all Christians a slavish seruitude, except the Kings and Princes of the earth prevent it; neither will he cease to doe it, vntill like Antichrist he sit in the Temple of God, and be worshipped of all, as if he were God. These and the like letters (saith Auentine) are to be found in many ancient Libraries, written to the kings of France, Denmarke, England, and to other Kings and Princes of Christendome, who neuerthelesse became not the more strange vnto him, but being rather sorie for this his condition, detested the author.

Auent. 145.

An. 1104.

Two Epist. 133.

It was at this time that Two Bishop of Chãrtres writ a letter to Richard Bishop of Alba, the Popes Legat, who would censure his Clergie of simonie, whom he C openly giueth to vnderstand that he had done his best endeauors to mend that fault, but all in vayne, because they maintained it by the custome of the Church of Rome: If the Deane (saith he) and Chapter, or other officers, doe exact any thing of those that are made Canons, my selfe forbidding it, and persecuting the fault, they defend D themselues by the custome of the Church of Rome, wherein they say the Chamberlaines, and other officers of the Palace doe exact much of such Bishops and Abbots as are consecrated, which they couer vnder the name of oblations or benedictions; for there, they say, neither penne nor paper will be had without money: and with this collop they stop my mouth, not hauing any other word to answer them, but that of the Gospell, Doe that which they say (that is to say the Pharisies) and not that which they doe. If therefore I cannot pluck vp this plague by the root, impute it not onely to my weaknesse, because from the first growth of the Church of God, the Church of Rome hath been sicke of this disease, nor to this houre cannot free herselfe of those that seeke their owne gaine. Moreover, the same man being much molested by the Clergie at Rome, makes a grievous complaint vnto Paschal against the Appeales to Rome, which are the cause of much disorder & rebellions in the Clergie against their superiours, whom (abusing that libertie) they slander at Rome: he neuerthelesse not long before in the cause of Godfrey appealed to Rome, whose place by the authority of the Pope he supplied; out of the selfesame humor as aboue, acknowledging reason and justice when it E made for their owne purposes.

Epist. 75.

43. PROGRESSION.

Of the turbulent estate of the Church and Common-wealth, through the factious pride of Pope Paschal.

Now to follow againe the course of our Historie. Auentine concealeth not ratiunculas, some small reasons (as he calleth the) why these Popes since Hildebrand pre-

A pretended a right to deiect from their Throne *vcl potentiſſimum Imperatorem*, any Emperour how mightie soener: That all power had been giuen of God to Christ, and from Christ vnto S. Peter, and to the Bishops of Rome his successors, vnto whom by Religion of oath, all Christians were bound perpetually to obey; and to other Princes onely a limited time, and vnder condition so long as it shold please them: That therefore it was lawfull for the Pope, if the Emperour disobeyed him, who represented Christ on earth, to excommunicate and depose him no lesse than any other Christian; insomuch as he raigneth but by precarie right, and holdeth the Empire in homage of him: That in case he should rebell, he might root him out of the Common-wealth, as a Tyrant, by any meanes whatsoeuer: And the people, B saith he, bewitched by Hildebrand with such reasons, as they are subiect to let themselves be carried away with euerie mind of doctrine, Fraunce, Italie and Germanie were pierced to the heart for the space of three and thirtie yeares. Namely Paschal following from point to point this instruction, who seeing his enimie dead, reenforced the rigor of his Decrees, and will not receiue to absolution the inhabitants of Liege, till they had taken him out of the Sepulchre where they had layed him: when Henrie also his sonne demaunded permission of him to giue him buriall, he flatly refused him, saying, that the authoritie of holie Scriptures, and of diuine miracles, and of the Martyrs receiued vp into heauen repugned thereunto. This writeth Peter the Deacon l. 4. ca. 38. And Auentine noteth expresly, that till that time the Bishops C of Rome had accustomed to date their Bulls, Epistles, and other affaires, from the yeeres of the Emperours raigne; which he first ceased to doe, and began to date from the yeere of his Popedome. He was also the first that gaue immunitie to Colledges, though erected by others than himselfe. He noteth further, that till then in Germanie Ecclesiasticall persons, Bishops, Priests, Abbots, Monkes &c. had not any care of their worldlie goods, but employing themselves in the seruice of God, and at their studie, referred the managing of those affaires to some neighbour Lord, ordayed of the Emperour, who administred vnto them prouision of meat, apparell, and other necessaries for life, and distributed also to the poore; and this they called Vogt, Patron or Curator, which the Roman Lawes call gouernour or Steward: But from D that time forth, the Churchmen reiected them, and took the administration into their owne hands, promising to giue euerie yeare to the Pope nummum aureum, quem Bizantium vocant diplomata, a piece of gold, which the Bulls call a Bizantium; nothing being more easie to Paschal, than in giuing away anothers right, to take neuer thelesse tribute of it. And hereupon for the space of sixteene yeares, all things diuine and humane were in confusion, vntill in the end he had attained his purposes. In Italie also his power encreased by two occasion: The one was the death of the Marquesse Mathilda in the yeare 1115: who in the time of Hildebrand had made donation of Lumbardie and of Tuscan to S. Peter: which ministred new matter of contention betweene Henrie and him; because he pretended to be her E heire, and comming into Italie, endeauoured to take possession thereof, and so did of a part. Blondus and Platina make the limit thereof to extend from the Riuer of Pissia, & S. Quirico in the Countrie of Siena, vnto Ceperan betwixt the Apenine and the Sea, adding thereunto Ferrara. Auentine saith here, that Eneas Silius, which is Pius the second, saith that Mathilda bequeathed by Testament to the Bishop of Rome, that which is called Patrimonium Petri, the Patrimonie of S. Peter; And there was heard a voyce from heauen, as I haue learned of most graue Diuines; Venenū melle litum foemina propinasse Christianis, that a woman had giuen Christians poyson to drinke, tempered with honie. The other occasion was the diminution of the Archbishopricke

An. 1115. Platina in Paschal. Vrspergenis in Chronico.

Platina ibidem.

Sigon. de regno Italie. l. 10.

Guliel. Tyrius l. 11. c. 26. & l. 9. ca. 17. & l. 11. cap. 14. & 15. 16.

bishopricke of Rauenna, which (as the Histories of those times say) had oftentimes, till then, opposed it selfe against the Church of Rome, whose power to abate, he caused a Councell to be held at Guastall, wherein was decreed, that the Cities of Romania, Placentia, Parma, Regio, Modena, and Bononia, should no more acknowledge the Archbishop of Rauenna. Let vs adde yet a third, That *Arnulfe* Patriarch of Hierusalem, being accused by his Clergie, was deposed in another Synod held in Syria by the Bishop of Orange by authority from the Pope; who neuertheless being come in person to Rome, *Larga munerum profusione*, by his many gifts, saith *William* of Tire, pleased again *Paschal*, & by him was absolved & reestablished in his seat: A thing neuer before seene, that one of the antient Patriarches should be judged by the Bishop of Rome. But this was because they that commaunded in the holie Land were *Western* Princes; and to maintaine their enterprise, had need of his good fauor. In effect, *Dabert*, Bishop of Pisa Patriarch of Hierusalem, saith *William* of Tire, is created in an assemble of Princes, by the common consent of the people, and presently after installed in the Throne. There was no speech offending to Rome. The onely extremitie he found himselfe in, being injured by the King, whose dissolute life he would not winke at, made him take this course against *Ebremarus*, whom he moued thereunto. And as for this *Arnulfe*, who by his gifts, had (saith the author) circumented the Religion of the holie See, it is he, who (as he saith elsewhere) had when hee was but Archdeacon, set the whole Church in confusion: *Inuita Diuinitate, uti credimus, Gibelino substitutus*, created for successour (saith he in another place) of the Patriarch *Gibelino* in despite of the Diuinitie, as we beleue. And such a one was it behoofesfull he should be for to fit *Paschals* liking.

But let vs come againe to the principal quarrell of inuestitures, for that it is the Theame of this age. *Paschal* by setting the sonne against the father, had so ruinated the credit of the Empire in Italie, shaken euen in Germanie it selfe, that hee thenceforth thought any thing lawfull for him. And Historiographers doe particularly obserue, that vnder this confusion the Cities of Italie had taken a new forme, and vsurped libertie, the Pope fauouring the same, who had rather their forces should be diuided, than vnited together vnder the authoritie of the Empire. And yet thereby shall we see so much the greater disorders and ruine hereafter. *Paschal* then being inuited to be present at *Augsbourg* for ordering of affaires, being in good hope of this sonne, whom he had authorized against his father, resolued in the yeare 1106 to goe thither: But by the way he held that Synod of *Guastalla*, a Towne of the Countesse *Mathilda*, where were present the Embassadors of *Henrie* the fourth; he fore-judgeth the sayd affaires, confirming all the rigours of *Hildebrand*, *Vrban*, and his owne; prouideth absolutely for the Bishopricks of Germanie, *Gebhard* to Trent, *Cowrade* to Salzbourge, and others; to the Ecclesiasticall Colledges he giueth immunities; on all Churchmen impoeth a certaine tribute, and reenforceth his faction: To such, saith *Auentine*, as take his part, he giueth preferment without delay; others if within a certaine day they change not opinion, he forbiddeth their office, pronounceth, and will haue all men beleue, that all Lawes are resident within the closet of his breast, and maketh no scruple of any lie: So that he must more aduisedly be dealt withall than before, and men must hold for Law whatsoeuer he saith, he being resolued to destroy all that oppose themselves against him, and his seat. These are the Authors words. This was hard newes to the Emperour, who expected better for his seruices, thinking at least before he had passed further, he would haue conferred with him about it. Which the Pope vnderstanding

An. 1106

Auent. l. 6.

A standing at Verona, changed his journey, and in the yere 1107, passed the Alpes, came to Clugni, and from thence to Troyes in Campania, where he thought to hold a Synod more fauourably for his pretences; *Philip* the first then raiging in Fraunce, in trouble for his Concubine *Bertrade*, and withal troubled by the Princes, Barons and Prelats of his kingdome, borne out (namely) by the king of England, and therefore not in good estate to dispute himselfe for his priuiledges. This was the renewing of a quarrell betwene the Pope and the Emperour, wherein *Henrie* the fourth clearly shewed, that what he had done (by the Popes instigation) against his father, had not bene for zeale of Religion, but rage of ambition, seeing he now contended for the same right being come to the crowne, as in the person of his father, he had detested and blamed of heresie. *Krantzius* though wel affectioned to the Pope, hath these words, *Henrie stayeth some time for Paschal at Augsborg: who being hereupon warned by some about him, that the German Nation would not easily receiue his Decree, and that the great heart of this young King was not yet wholly Dominico iugo habilis, apt to receiue the Lords yoke (that is to say, the Popes) he turned through Burgondie towards Fraunce with the Legats of Spayne, pronouncing with a sigh, that the dore was not yet opened vnto him, into the Regions of Germanie: Thus abused he the words of S. Paul, as if the preaching of the Gospell of Christ, and the inuestitures by the Pope had bene one, and the same thing. Note that from *Hildebrand* Popes haue obserued, the more to bind Archbishops to their homage, not to giue them the Pall vnlesse they were present in person; whereas their predecessours did send it vnto them, euen to the furthest places of Europe, and more in token of honour, than of subiection. *Paschal* desirous to hold that rigour to *Raph* elect Archbishop of Canterburie, to make him fetch it at Rome, his trustie friend *Tuo* Bishop of Chartres perswaded him, if he would not see new troubles in the Church of England, to dispense him from it, especially seeing that it was no matter of faith, and that our Sauour had dispensed of the Lawe of the Saboath, preferring mercie before rigour of justice. With such flatteries must these monsters be applauded: So that he sent it him by a Legat of his, Nephew of the late Archbishop *Anselme*.*

Krantzius in Saxonia lib. 5. cap. 30.

Tuo Epist. 252.

OPPOSITION.

Now *Paschal*, in the yeare 1107, commeth to Troyes to hold a Councell: And in the same time *Henrie* draweth nere Maigne to oppose himselfe against it. *Paschal* confirmeth his Decree; *Henrie* by his Embassadors maketh his declarations to the contrarie; *Paschal* proceedeth, and in despite of *Henrie* excommunicateth the Patriarch of Aquilia, and the Bishops of Liege and Cambray, deposeth the Bishops of Minde and Halberstat, suspendeth the Bishops of Cologne, of Maigne and of Constance, for being present at the Synod of Maigne. And which is more, saith *Auentine*, He taketh away from the Emperour all knowledge of the election of Popes, and taketh, and ordaineth to be taken of Bishops an oath, not to depend of any but onely of the Pope. On the contrarie *Henrie* contesteth, That it appertayneth not to French Bishops to be liberall of that which is another mans: That he holdeth his Empire of God almightie: That he knoweth well how, according to the Lawes of God, and the most antient ordinance of the Fathers, in the time of *Charlemaine*, to provide that the Common-wealth suffer no damage; namely an ordinance that excommunicateth *Paschal* and his, if they depart from it &c. That Popes haue none other drift, than to vsurpe the Christian Empire, and will neuer rest, till they haue put all power vnder their yoke: That

Auent. l. 6. Krantzius l. 5. Sax. ca. 30. 31. Fem in Metro. poli l. 5. c. 33.

Abbas Vissert gen. in Chronico.

in them is perceyued the same rage, as was in them that persecuted Iesuu Christ: That by their guile, when he was young, they had armed him against his most deare father, and hauing oppressed him, they conspired against himselfe: That to the end (in a word) it might be lawfull for them to doe whatsoeuer it shall please them, they take an oath of euerie Bishop, to hold for Law whatsoeuer they shall say, being readie the first day to expect that men should adore them as God. These reasons were published as well in that Councell, as elsewhere by Patents; the same concluding thus, That although by right and armes he might retain the auncient custome, obserued for so many yeares, by so many holie Fathers, concerning the election of Popes, and inuestiture of Prelats, yet he would not trouble himselfe in it, provided that the Bishops and other Churchmen, which the Pope hindered from taking inuestiture of him, should put againe into his hands the Lands in fee, and Castles which they held, and should content themselues with the Tithes, for the maintenance of their persons, and of the poore. And thereupon great difficulties arising, the matter was put off by Paschal to be ended within a yeare in a Synod at Rome, betweene him and Henrie, the thing remaining (as we gather out of *Auentine*) respectiue in the state: But *Krantzius* dissembleth not, that Paschal remayned resolute, that none, betweene this and then, should take Ecclesiasticall inuestiture from the hand of a Lay person. And so was his practise. In the yere 1110, Henrie passeth into Italie with a mightie armie, with iatention to agree with Paschal, to take of him the Crowne, and in his journey to make the Cities and Prouinces to acknowledge him, beeing assisted with a great number of men, learned both in diuine and humane knowledge, as well to decide the question as to doe justice. But when Paschal perceyued him comming, he assured himselfe by a new oath of the Romas against him; holding in a readines the forces of the Princes of Apulia & Calabria, & also of the Countesse *Mathilda*, & prepareth to make all things difficult vnto him. In the meane time Henrie marcheth forward; many places by the way yeelding obedience vnto him; so that to auoyd further inconuenience, an agreement was passed at Sutri betweene deputies on both sides, as saith *Otho* Bishop of Frisingen and *Leo* Bishop of Ostia, That Henrie should release to Paschal the inuestiture of Bishops, and that Paschal should resigne vnto Henrie their Royalties, namely, *Dukedomes, Marquisships, Earledomes, Prouost-ships, customs and other rights which they held of the Emppire*: a thing saith *Krantzius* which he had not yet treated of with the Prelats of Germanie, and which was verie hard for him to warrant. In the meane time hostages were giuen on both sides; whereupon Henrie marched to Rome: But, the same Authors say, when Paschal pressed him by oath to renounce the inuestitures, and that he refused to doe it, except hee caused his Royalties to be restored him, which Paschal would not, holding himselfe strong enough, by the good order he thought he had taken in the Citie, Henrie by the aduice of the Archbishops, that assisted him, committed him to prison, declaring vnto him that he was not come thither, to hold the Crowne of the Empire by any other title, than as did *Charles* and *Lewis*, and after a bloudie sedition thereupon happening in the citie, led him away into his armie. Histories say, that this was done with the applaud of all the Bishops of Germanie, that were there, sauing of *Conrade* of Saltzbourg (who indeed had beene created by him) a thing easie enough to be beleued, considering how lightly he would haue assured himselfe of the inuestitures, with the losse of their Lordships and Royalties. The end was for this time, that Paschal was deliuered, & the siege raised from before Rome, on condition that he should neuer excommunicat the Emperour, nor his people; and should giue him a priuiledge in writing vnder excommunication, whereby it should

Krantz. in Metropoli. l. 5. c. 33.

An. IIIIO.

Otho Frisingen. l. 7. c. 14. Sigon. l. 10.

Petrus Dia. in Chron. Cass. l. 4. cap. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. & seq.

- A should be lawfull for Henrie to inuest Bishops and Abbots freely chosen by most voyces, without Simonie, with the ring and the staffe, and commaund the Archbishop to consecrate him: Contrariwise forbidding, That any should consecrate them that had beene chosen by the Clergie and people, vnlesse they had beene first inuested by the Emperour. These conditions were solemnly sworne vnto by Paschal, and all the Cardinals, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, that assisted him; and moreouer, the day that he crowned him, in confirmation of this agreement, he gaue him the Communion in these words: *Lord Emperour Henrie, we giue thee the bodie of our Lord, borne of the virgine Marie, crucified for vs, as the Catholike Church holdeth, in confirmation of a true peace and concord betweene me and thee, Amen.*
- B Some, & namely *Sigonius*, report the same in other words, that in giuing him part of the Host, he said vnto him, *As this part of the quickening bodie is seperated, so let him be diuided from the kingdome of Christ our Lord, that shall attempt to violate this agreement*: Which is worth the noting, in respect of the faithfulness he vsed afterward. And this oath and priuiledge was dated in the yere 1111, in the moneth of Februarie. In this confidence Henrie returneth into Germanie, where being arriued, he made his father be solemnly buried at Spire, with the consent of the Pope, by means of the agreement abouesaid; which till then he had refused him, as forbidden by the holie Scriptures. But in the yere 1112 Paschal, whether returning to his naturall disposition, or that he was moued thereunto by *Bruno* Bishop of Signe, and Abbot of Montcassin, holdeth a Councell at Lateran, to reuoke all: where notwithstanding he plaied so well his part there, that hee would seeme to be as it were enforced thereunto, by the liuelie persuasions and reproaches of the Bishops: And after he had excused himselfe, That by force and necessitie this priuiledge had beene extorted from him, he concludeth the last day of the Councell in these words, *That he approved and reiected all things that Gregorie and Urban had decreed and reprobued*; thereby ratifying all that had beene by them done against Henrie the father, and reuoking all that himselfe had done with Henrie the sonne: and with tearmes most expresse, and so absolute, as we read in the Abbot of Vrsperge, *That which they have praised, held, confirmed, sanctified, refused, forbidden, in all, and through all, therein will I perseuere for euer*: whence he plainly shewed what a strange taste he had taken in this businesse: Which done, this priuiledge is made void in full Councell, & declared *pruilegium contra Spiritum sanctum*, contrarie to the holie Ghost. Henrie is excommunicated; & not in Italie only, but in France also, by *Guydo* Archbishop of Vienna. And thereupon not long after arose new commotions in Germanie; the Archbishop of Menterebellung against the Emperour, he is constrained to put him into prison, & many others. Also, saith *Auentine*, the Emperour of Greece *Calo-iannes*, sonne of *Alexius*, being awakened at the report of this tumult, sent to exhort Paschal and the Romans, to returne to the auncient and lawfull Empire; in detestation of those barbarous Germans. Paschal placeth his embassadours on his right hand, their Oration being applauded by the people, *Perplacet, we desire it, we restore the Diademe to the auncient Prince of Romans: let vs see once more auncient Rome ioyned to the new, the East to the West, Paschall cruelly declaiming against the Henries, father and sonne*. In so much that Peter Leo, Iohn of Gaicta, Hugh Abbot of Clugni, and others, desirous of peace, protested against him, and brake off this treatie, as proiected against all lawes diuine and humane: And notwithstanding Paschal and his partakers are obstinately bent against Henrie, who vpon these nouelties returneth with the Queene and all his household into Italie, in the yere 1115: and then began Paschal againe to renew

Sigon. de regno Ital. l. 10.

An. IIIII.

An. IIII2. *Sigebertus & Abbas Vrspergens in Chron.*

Abbas Vrsperg. Malm. l. 5. c. 40. Petrus Dia. in Chron. Cassin. l. 4. c. 47.

Auent. l. 6.

An. IIII5.

his

his practises: And to this effect holdeth a solemne Councell at Lateran, the Bishops assembling from all parts; to whom he declared, That as he was a man, and consequently but dust and ashes, and for that he saw himselfe in the power of Henrie, he had granted him this priuiledge; but thereof he confessed himselfe vnto them, and prayed them to aske pardon of God for him: That he detested this priuiledge as heresie, and prayed them likewise to pronounce as much, which they did. And thereupon some Bishops inferred, *If that writing contained heresie, that he was then an heretike that wrot it*, namely Paschal himselfe. And Iohn of Gaieta had much adoe to stop their mouths, and could not salue vp the matter, but in giuing the lye to the companie, *That the writing was in truth euill, but not for all that hereticall*. Paschal himselfe, after silence was made, appeared them onely in contradicting, *My brethren, this Church had neuer any heresie*. Wherefore then doth he set all Christendome in combustion for an opinion that is not heresie? And yet the Decree is confirmed in this tenor against Henrie, who being not able to mitigat it, continueth his journey, and maketh the Pope (hearing of it) withdraw himselfe into Apulia. Henrie being arriued at Rome, that he might not hold his Crowne of him, maketh himselfe to be crowned the second time, by Maurice Bishop of Bracare. And a while after, in the beginning of the yeare 1118, Paschal died, vpon the Emperours returne from Rome. This is the summe of that which passed vpon the question of Inuestitures of Germanie, and other Prouinces depending vpon the Empire.

An. 1118.

An. 1108.

In France also Paschal, in the yeare 1108, had made an attempt vpon our priuiledges, taking aduantage of the controuersies betweene Philip the first and the Clergie of his kingdome, touching his concubine Bertrade: For Manasses Archbishop of Rheimes being deceased about the time of the Councell of Troyes, where the Pope was President in his owne person, he would conferre the Archbishopricke of Rheimes on Richard Archdeacon of Verdune, as well to draw him from the Emperours side, as to establish his affaires in France, according to the counsell that Tuo of Chartres gaue to Urban his predecessor, in one of his Epistles; To haue some one at his deuotion in a Prelatship of such consequence. Which Richard hauing refused, because that at the same time the Emperour made him Bishop of Verdune; he inuested therewith Rodolph with full authoritie, who without repairing to Lewis the Grosse, who then succeeded to the Crowne, put himselfe in possession of the Bishopricke. But the said Lewis, though greatly busied at his entrance, by the rising of the Barons of the Realme against him, would in nowise approue of him, but on the contrarie made himselfe to be crowned at Orleans, by Giselbert Archbishop of Sens, notwithstanding the complaints that Rodolph made of the wrong done to his Bishopricke; and prouided and inuested Archbishop of Rheimes one Geruain chosen from among his domesticall seruants, by reason whereof the citie was tossed with many troubles, and for receiuing Geruain was interdicted and excommunicated. This we learne of Tuo Bishop of Chartres, in his Epistles, namely in the 206, directed to Paschal: *We haue*, saith hee, *opportunitie and imporsunately requested the King of France, to reestablish Rodolph in the Metropolitan Church of Rheimes, receiuing him into favour, and that he should put out Geruain vsurper of the same*: Thus he spake the Popes language: *He hath in the end condescended to our prayers, and permitted that we should bring him safely to his Court, which should be holden on Christmas day at Orleans, there to treat with him, and with the Princes of the Realme, of the affaires of Rheimes: But by reason of the contradiction of the Court, notwithstanding our requests and intercessions multiplied, we haue not bene able*

Tuo Carnutenf. Epist. 117.

Richard. de Vassenburg. in Chron.

- A to obtaine a full peace, except Rodolph did yeeld fealtie to the King, per manum & sacramentum, By hand and oath, such as to the Kings his predecessors from all times the Archbishops of Rheimes, and other Bishops of the Realme of France haue done, how religious and holie soeuer they were. &c. We therefore intreat thee, even with bended knees, that in regard of charitie and peace, your fatherlie moderation would hold for veniall, that which the eternall law (that is to say, the law of God) makes not vnlawfull, but the onely prohibition of those that doe preside (that is, the Popes) with an intention of gaining libertie. And this agreeth with that which he defended afterwards against Iohn Bishop of Lions, That in this inuestiture there was nothing that concerned heresie: and with that which he writ to Hugh the Popes Legats in France, in his 65 Epistle, complaining of an Archbishop of Sens inuested by the King: *For as much as it hath not any force of a Sacrament, whether admitted, or omitted, we see not how it can any way be hurtfull to faith or religion*; especially when we read, that kings were woont to be intreated by the Popes, to grant Bishoprickes to those that were canonically chosen, and that the Popes deferred the consecration of those which had not as yet bene admitted by the kings: *And that kings intended not the gift of any spirituall thing, but yeelded at the request of the petitioners, temporall things onely, to those that were elected, which the Churches obtained from the bountie of kings*. For prooffe whereof he alledgeth S. Augustine vpon S. Iohn in his first treatise. So likewise writing to Paschal himselfe, who endeouored to alienat those of Tournay from the Bishopricke of Noyon, he saith, *We your faithfull sonnes humbly beseech, and aduise you to suffer the Churches of France to continue in the same state wherein they haue bene for almost these foure hundred yeres, least by this occasion that schisme grow strong in France, which hath already taken root in Germanie, against the Apostolike See, &c. For your Holinesse cannot but know, that when the Kingdome and the Priesthood agree together, the world is well governed, and the Church flourisheth and fructifieth; but when they are at discord one against the other, not onely small things doe not prosper, but the greatest that are doe miserably vanish and passe away*. And the selfesame judgement of Paschal gaue Sigebert Abbot of Gemblous in Brabant, a man of that singular commendation, that Platina doubteth not to place him in the same ranke with S. Bernard, and thought that Age blessed wherein he liued, yea in playner tearmes, King Henrie, saith he, *went to Rome, to appease the discord betwixt the Kingdome and the Priesthood, begun by Pope Gregorie the seventh, who was called Hildebrand, and renewed by his successors, Victor and Urban, and especially by Paschal, who was a scandall to the whole world. The king would vse the authoritie, customes, and priuiledges of the Emperours, who since Charles the Great for three hundred yeares and upward, gouerned the Romans vnder sixtie three Popes, lawfully conferring Bishoprickes and Abbies, by the ring and the staffe. Against this authoritie of the Elders, the Popes ordained by a Synodall censure, That Bishoprickes, or any other Ecclesiasticall inuestiture, could not, nor ought to be giuen by the ring and the staffe, by any lay man. And whosoever did so receiue any such inuestiture, was excommunicated*. Moreouer, Trithemius saith, that he made an Apologie for the Emperour against Gregorie the seventh, and another against the Epistle of Paschal, in which he shewed, That the Popes had no superioritie ouer the Emperours, That it is heresie to absolve the subiects of their oath and allegiance to their Prince. And he noteth besides, in the time of Paschal, many extraordinary prodigious wonders, which all the Chroniclers of those times doe likewise obserue.

Tuo Carnutenf. Epist. 206.

Idem Epist. 238. & 239.

Tuo Epist. 138.

Sigebert. in Chron. an. 1111.

Trithemius de Scripturis Ecclesiasticis.

In England Paschal proceeded in the execution of his Decree, which Anselme with no good success had begun. And when Henrie the first maintained in the

yeare 1103, his inuestitures against *Paschal*, protesting, That he would rather hazard A his kingdome, than yeeld vnto *Paschal*: *Nether will I, saith Paschal, for the redemption of mine owne head, suffer him freely to obtaine them.* But yet by the mediation of *Anselme*, he mercifully dispensed with those Prelats who had receiued their inuestiture of *Henrie*. But *Mathew Paris* expoundeth this mercie: *This merciful Chaire, saith he, which is neuer wanting to those that bring with them either white or red, reestablished those Bishops and Abbots that were suspended, to their auncient dignities, and receiued them with ioy. Anselme thought that this office he had done vnto the king would haue bin well accepted of, and he the better welcome into England: But the king vnderstanding, that neither Paschal nor Anselme abated any thing of their purpose therein, he joynd the Archbishopricke to his owne demaines, and confiscated the goods of Anselme, whom neuertheless in the yeare 1107 he reestablished: And in a Councell held at London it was agreed, That from thenceforward no Bishop or Abbot should be inuested by the King, with the ring and the staffe; the Archbishop likewise agreeing thereunto, and that for their homage done vnto the King they should not be deprived of their charges.* The letters of *Paschal* to *Henrie* are worth the noting: That by occasion of this inuestiture hee had made himselfe the doore: That they who entred not by him, forsooke God, who is the true doore, and were theeuers and robbers: applying that vnto himselfe which our Sauiour spake of himselfe, and was to be communicated to no other, putting himselfe thereby into his place: *This, saith he, is to handle the Church as a handmaid, not as a spouse: This repugneth the Canons of the Apostles, and the Synod of Antioch.* And yet was there euer word spoken hereof? By which allegations neuertheless he abused the ignorant and simple people.

Math. Paris in Henric.

An. 1107.

Epist. Paschalis ad Henric. Regem Anglorum data Beneuenti.

45. PROGRESSION.

Of the strange pride of Calixtus the second, and of his barbarous crueltie towards Gregorie the eighth. Of the degrading of married Priests, and of that which happened to Cardinall John of Creme, the Popes Legat, coming into England, to put downe the marriage of Priests.

John of *Gaieta* succeeded *Paschal*, called *Galasius* the second, being created without the knowledge of *Henrie*, who remained at *Paui*, but vnderstanding hereof, went directly to *Rome*; wherewith *Galasius* being amazed, fled by sea to *Tarrachina*, and there caused himselfe to be consecrated by the Bishops of his owne faction, at the same time that *Henrie* caused *Mauritius Burdinus* to be consecrated at *Rome*, who crowned him the second time, and was called *Gregorie* the eighth. Whereupon *Galasius* excommunicated them both, being upheld and defended by the Princes of *Apulia*. He restored to *Gualterus* Archbishop of *Rauenna*, the jurisdiction ouer the Bishops of *Emilia*, whom his predecessors had taken away, that he might draw him away from the Emperour. And yet neuertheless finding no safetie in *Rome*, by reason of the *Frangepans*, was resolved to leaue there the Bishop of *Port*, and to goe into *France*, where in the yeare 1119 he held a Councell at *Vienna*, but died soone after at *Clugni*: in whose place the Cardinals that were there present, with the helpe of the Clerkes and Laitie of *Rome*, chose *Guido* Bishop of *Vienna*, the brother of *Stephen* Duke of *Burgondie*, vnclie to *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, and a neere kinsman of *Henries*, who was called *Calixtus* the

An. 1119.

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A the second: but it is to be doubted, whether their great affinitie could support him in the Popedome, which otherwise would be verie feeble and subiect to ruine. But let the Reader note, touching their pretended succession, what this election might be without *Rome*, in a monasterie, made by the followers and traine of a Popenewly dead, and a few others, although the Romans afterward gaue their consent thereunto, *Haning*, saith *Auentine*, corrupted the Romans with money he bestowed vpon them, which he had borrowed and begged of his friends. In the meane time *Cunon* Bishop of *Preneft*, the Legat of *Galasius*, continued his practises in *Germanie*, withdrawing, vnder the shadow of excommunication, the Princes from the seruice of *Henrie*, and to this end holding diuers Councels at *Cologne*, *Fritzlare*, and elsewhere, alwayes vnder a pretence to reconcile the kingdome with the Priesthood, that is to say, to draw to the Popedome the authoritie of the Empire: So that in the end, in a Councell at *Wormes*, in the yeare 1122, the Emperour wearied with so many molestations, and seeing no other end but the ruine of the State, granted to *Calixtus* what soeuer he would. The forme of whose agreement, written by *Vrsperge*, is as followeth: *I Henrie, by the grace of God Emperour Augustus of the Romans, for the loue of God, and the holie Church of Rome, and our Lord Pope Calixtus, and for the soueraigne good of my soule, I leaue to God, and to his holie Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paule, and to the holie Catholike Church, all inuestiture by the ring and the staffe, and I grant election and consecration to be made in all Churches.* See here for what Gopell these Popes did striue. *Calixtus* in like sort: *I Calixtus, &c. grant that the election of the Bishops and Abbots of the kingdome of Germanie be done in thy presence without simonie and violence, &c. but let him that is chosen receiue his inuestiture of thee by the Scepter, except in all things which are knowne to belong to the Church of Rome, and doe all things which by right belongs vnto thee.* But in token of this insolence, the Legats of *Calixtus* would that these letters should be published with a lowd voice, in the open fields neere the *Rhene*, where were assembled people from all parts. But *Calixtus*, when they were brought to him, caused them to be hanged in the church of *Lateran*, to the end that all men might behold them. But *Otho* of *Frisingens* saith, That the Romans boasted that this agreement was but onely for *Henrie*, and not for his successors, by which covenant, saith he, the Church vnder *Calixtus* the second, in *magnum montem creuisse, encreased to a great height*: Whereupon this was written of him at *Rome*;

Ecce Calixtus, honor patrie, decus Imperiale, Burdinum nequam damnat, pacemq, reformat.

Behold *Calixt*, our countries honour, worth Impetiall,
That wicked *Burdine* punisheth, and peace reforms with all.

E Neither did his affaires lesse succeed at *Rome*, for *Gregorie* the Antipope, vnder the fauour of certaine Earles, was maintained at *Sutri*: But *Calixtus* returning out of *France*, to win his fauour they deliuered him into his hands. And here the notable insolencie of *Calixtus* is recited by the Abbot *Suggerus*; in the life of *Lewis* the Grosse: *They put, saith he, this Antipope, or rather Antichrist, cuertwart the backe of an ill fauoured Camell, clothed with raw and bloudie Goats skinnes; and the better to reuenge the ignominie of the Church of God, they carried him through the midst of the citie, Calixtus condemning him to perpetuall prison in the mountaines of Campania: and to preferue the memorie of so great a reuenge, they painted him in the cham-*

C c ij

D. 12. c. Non Decet.

Auent. l. 6.

An. 1122.

Abbas Urspergens. in Chron. Kyantz. Saxoz. l. 6. c. 41. 42. 43. Sigon. de regno Italie. l. 10.

Otho Frising. l. 7. c. 16.

Abbas Suggerus in vita Ludouici Croffi.

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ber of the Palace, troden vnder the feet of Calixtus. This Gregory neuerthe-
 A lesse held the See of Rome three yeares; but no fault was imputed to them,
 D. 12. c. 1. when *Calixtus* was not ashamed to write to all the Bishops, *It is not lawfull in
 the least point to wander from the rules of the Apostolike church* (that is, the Roman)
*for as the sonne of God came to doe the will of his father, so fulfill you the will of your mo-
 ther, whose head is the Church of Rome.* The Reader may note in this comparison,
 not so much the absurditie as the blasphemie; when neuerthelesse this Canon did
 still continue reformed in a Decree by *Gregorie* the thirteenth, and strengthened
 by a lye: For, whereas the old Decree said simply, *Calixtus Papa omnibus Episcopis*,
 that he might make this Gregorian Canon more auncient by a thousand yeares,
 faith, *Calixtus Papa primus*, and addeth, *in the first Epistle to Bishop Benediēt*, that it
 B seemed to be taken from an Epistle evidently supposed to bee *Calixtus* the first;
 which if we marke either the fence or manner of stile, we shall find to fauour of no
 antiquitie: and the like besides was supposed by diuers others, and all the learned
 among them, euen before these controuerfies were. Furthermore, that it is like-
 ly that this *Benediēt* was he that is mentioned in the first creation of Cardinalls
 made by *Calixtus* in the yeare 1120, as we read in *Onuphrius*. With the like cre-
 dit they attribute the Decree of single life to *Calixtus* the first, which this second
 An. 1120. *Calixtus* ended, being President of the Councell at Rheimes in the yeare 1119,
 An. 1119. That all married Priests should be degraded. But let the Reader judge with what
 spirit these good Bishops were led, that in the same Councell they pronounced
 C authentike the historie of *Charles* the Great, written by the Archbishop *Turpin*,
 euen and by the judgement of *Baronius* fabulous and ridiculous. In England
 likewise, in a Synod holden at Westminster, the Cardinall *John* of Creme, his Leg-
 at, caused to be published, after diuers disputations, *Summum scelus esse, To be a
 great wickednesse to arise from the side of a harlot* (for so they called the lawfull wiu-
 es of Priests) *to goe to create the bodie of Christ: He notwithstanding hauing the same day
 made and consecrated the bodie of Christ, was the night following surprisid in the com-
 panie of an harlot, as many Authors of that time doe affirme, and for the most part
 Monkes: A thing so manifest as could not be denied, whereby he changed that great
 honour he had gotten, into the greatest dishonour and reproach, and by the iust judgement
 D of God with shame & discredit returned to Rome.* And so the staine of Discipline doth
 always accompany the corruption of doctrine. *Baronius* wold call this historie into
 doubt, because *Mathew* of Westminster addeth, that this good Cardinall had for
 his excuse, *That he was no Priest, but a corrector of Priests*, who neuerthelesse, saith he,
 was a Priest. But he did not see that it was spoken in that sense wherin Abbots de-
 nied to be Monkes, because they were the gouernours & masters of Monkes, that is
 to say, they were not Monkes onely. And what he addeth besides is all friuolous.
 An. 1124. Now about the later end of the yeare 1124, *Lambert* Bishop of Ostia succe-
 ded *Calixtus*, who through his diligence had brought the Emperour *Henrie* vnder
 the yoke of bondage, and was called *Honorius* the second: and not long after died
 E *Henrie* without heire, which caused diuision in the Empire, one part holding for
Lotharius Duke of Saxonia, the other for *Conradus* Duke of Sueuia, who murder-
 ed each other with mutuall wounds, whilest in the meane time *Honorius* and his
 An. 1125. successors lost no time. *Honorius* purposing to inuade the Normans in Apulia, the
 onely obstacles in Italic of his greatnesse, stirred vp all the nobilitie to armes a-
 gainst them, *Pardoning all their sinnes that should die in this expedition for him, and re-
 mission for the one halfe onely that should liue.* So vsed he his Indulgences to the de-
 An. 1127. struction of Christians. And yet neuerthelesse finding the matter full of danger,
 determined

*Fasciculus
 Temporum
 Ann. 1119.
 Matthæus Paris
 in Henric. 1.
 Rogerus de Ho-
 uend. & Hun-
 tington, in Hen.
 Ranulph. in Po-
 lythro. l. 7. c. 7.*

*Matt. West-
 monasteriens. in
 Chron.
 Baron. to. 12. an.
 1125. art. 2. &
 sequent.*

*Romual. Epist.
 Sacerdian. in
 Chron.*

A determined with himselfe to make peace with *Roger*, yielding vnto him the title
 of Duke of Apulia and Calabria, vpon condition he should hold them of the
 See of Rome. And not long after in the yeare 1130 he died. Neither would I
 willingly omit, that at the same time *William* an Englishman was created Archbi-
 shop of Tere in an assemblie of the King, and Patriarch, and the Peeres of the
 realme, and soone after consecrated by the Patriarch of Hierusalem (for hitherto
 there was no speech to attend the Bulls of Rome) This *William*, to the end he might
 get the more authoritie to himselfe, goeth to Rome to obaine the Pall, which
 B *Honorius* was verie readie to giue vnto him. But it is expressly noted by the Author,
 that he made this voyage, *Inuito & renitente suo consecratore, Against the will and li-
 king of the Patriarch Waremond, who consecrated him.* And so through the wicked
 ambition of the Prelats, he got power and authoritie in the East countries. Neuer-
 thelesse *Stephen* the succesor of *Waremond*, was chosen not long after by the Cler-
 gie and people, without the helpe of Rome.

*Guilielm. Tr.
 l. 106. c. 23. & 25.
 An. 1130.*

OPPOSITION.

But among the enterprises of these Popes there were not wanting those who
 barked at the theefe vndermining the wall of the Church. *Hildebert* Bishop of
 Mans, famous in that Age, in a certaine Epistle speaking of the Court of Rome,
 faith, *Their proper function is, Inferre calumnias, deferre personas, afferre minas, au-
 ferre substantias* (that is to say) *To slander, to backbite people, to threaten, to carrie away
 C other mens goods: Their praise is to seeke businesse, these in peace, among weapons flight,
 victory in banquetts: Employ them in your causes and they delay them, employ them not and
 they hinder them: If you sollicite them they scorne you, if you enrich them they forget you:
 They buy proccesse, they sell intercessions, they depute arbitrators, they dictate iudgements,
 and when they are pronounced they reuerse them, &c. They denie vnto Clergie men their
 due reuerence, to the Nobilitie their originall honour, to superiours their place, to equals
 their familiar meetings, and to all, iustice: They loue not any kind of men, of what order,
 or of what age soeuer: In the Palace they are Scythians, in chambers Vipers, in feasts Scu-
 lions, in exactions Harpies, in discourses Statues, in questions Beasts, in their treatises
 D Snailes, in their bargaines Bankers; Stonie in vnderstanding, woooden in iudgement,
 firie in stirring up anger, yron in forgiuing; In friendship Leopards, in their meriments
 Beares, in deceits Foxes, in pride Bulls, and Minotaures in denouring: Their firme-
 st hopes are in changes, they loue best doubtfull times, and yet still fearefull of their wilkantie
 through a guiltie conscience: Lions in their counsells, Leuorites in armies: They feare
 peace least they should be shaken off, warre, least they should fight: whose nostrils if they
 vent the ayre of an rustie purse, show shalt presently see the eyes of Argus, the hands of
 Briarius, and the wit of Sphynx. In another, after that he was made Archbishop of
 Tours, he complaineth to *Honorius* the second, *That all things were brought by Ap-
 peale to Rome, which we, saith he, on this side the mountaines haue not yet heard, much
 E lesse learnt in our holie ordinances, that all Appeales are to be receiued at Rome: and if
 perhaps such a noueltie hath risen, That all Appeales without difference be admitted, the
 Pontificall censure will perish, and the strength of all Ecclesiasticall discipline be ouer-
 throwne. For is there any disolute person whatsoeuer, who at the onely threat of an Ex-
 communication will not appeale? What Clerke or Priest vnder the refuge of this vaine ap-
 pellation, will not rot, nay burie himselfe in his owne dung? What Bishop shall haue any
 meanes to punish any disobedience, euerie Appeale shall shake his rod, dissolve his constan-
 cie, mollifie his severitie, imposing silence vpon him, and giuing impunitie of offences to
 the wicked. So it will come to passe, that sacrileges, rapes, fornications, and adulteries,
 C c iij will**

*Hildebert. in
 Epist. ad Ho-
 nor. 2.*

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Jdem l. 8. in Math.

Jdem l. 9. c. 11. in eundem.

Trithem. in Chron. Hirsaug.

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An. 1125.

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Platina in Honor. 2. Sabell Emmead. 9. l. 4.

An. 1125.

Barnard Epist. 56. ad Gaufrid. Carnotens.

secution of the Church: which truly he saw not long after, if he obserued it, against them that were called the Waldenses, and so bloudie and cruell as hardly was ever any. But the mischiefe was, That Antichrist walked about the Theatre of the world, but so disguised as few knew him, and they that did know him, durst not speake ill of him. The Abbot of Vrsperge telleth vs. of this Norbertus, That he was at the Councell of Colen vnder Calixtus in the yeare 1119, where he was accused of all that were there touching many things, whereof he wisely excused himselfe: whereupon it is writen of him, That the hands of all these were against him, and he against them all. Vpon what occasion he sheweth not.

Vrspergen. Ab-
bas an. 1119.

46. PROGRESSION.

Of the factions in the Popedome betweene Innocent the second and Anaclet the second: and how Innocent requited the Emperour Lotharius in defending him against Anaclet. Of the militarie enterprize of Innocent against Roger Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and the successe thereof.

BY the death of Honorius arose a great schisme in the Church of Rome, the one part hauing chosen Gregorie the sonne of Guido, who was named Innocent the second; the other Peter the sonne of Peter Leo, who was first consecrated, and called Anaclet the second, both citizens of Rome, but Anaclet of the more honourable familie; so that Innocent after he was consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia, was constrained for his safetie to flie into the towers of the Frangepanes, riualls of Peter Leo, and at length to leaue the citie. Anaclet in the meane time being possesit of the Vatican, and finding therein crownes, cups, crosses, and crucifixes of gold, siluer, and other rich ornaments, caused them to be molten, and made into money, to content those that were of his faction and followers. And it is likely the other would haue done no lesse, if he had had power and meanes according, as the election of the Popes at these times were carried. Innocent therefore imbarked himselfe with his Cardinals, and came to Pisa, and there excommunicated Anaclet: and presently went into France, and sent to King Lewis the Grosse, declaring vnto him the equitie of his cause, to be protected by him. This was the occasion of the Councell of Estampes, where our Bishops disputing with those of the Popes, S. Bernard held for Innocent, who at the same time was inuited by Legats to take his refuge in France. For hauing S. Bernard on his side was a great helpe vnto him. And our Frenchmen were willing to bind the Pope vnto them, who for a good turne receiued, might afterward requite them in Italie. There was also by chance at the same time in France, Henrie the first, King of England, whom Bernard perswadeth in the behalfe of Innocent, against the opinion of all his Bishops; through whose persuasion he went to Chartres to meet him. Then both the Popes endeoured to defend each others part: but Anaclet thundered his Excommunications at Rome, against Innocent and his partakers: Innocent at Clermont and Rheimes did the like against him and his followers. And moreover, in Italie the Princes of the Normans defended the faction of Anaclet (for he had bound Roger with a new benefite, in giuing him the title of a King) and Anselme also, Archbishop of Milan, with all the Bishops of Lombardie his Suffragans. And as on the one side S. Bernard defended Innocent, so Anaclet was authorized by Simacus Abbot of Mont Cassin, and all those of his Order, who were of great authoritie, especially in Ita-

Vincens. l. 17.
t. 6.
Bernard. vita
l. 2. c. 1.
Suggerus Ab-
bas in vita Lu-
douici Grosse.

Leo Hostiens.
suo Petrus Di-
aconus l. 4. c. 99.

lic, where it was a question of holding his seat at Rome. Innocent therefore in the yeare 1132, endeoured to procure an enteruiew and conference betweene him and the Emperour Lotharius, at Liege: where, according to the example of Charls and Otho the Great, he requested him to take vpon him the protection of the Church: A thing which he willingly yeelded vnto, but vpon condition, That the inuesting of Bishops, which the Church of Rome had taken away from his predecessor Henrie, should be restored vnto him: At which word, saith the Author of the life of S. Bernard, the Romans were amazed, and waxed verie pale, thinking they had incourtried greater danger at Liege, than they had auoided at Rome; vntill S. Bernard, whom he had alwayes neere vnto him, caused Lotharius to change his opinion, telling him, That it stood not with his generous mind, to make a benefite of the diuision of the Church, because it was a thing that could not be done without much slaughter and blood. Wherefore Lotharius was therewith content, so that he would promise him to crowne him Emperour so soone as he should be reestablished in the See at Rome. Then Lotharius came into Italie in the yeare 1133, and finding Innocent at Pisa, carried him along to Rome. But Anaclet and his followers, when they could continu no longer masters of the citie, fled into the towers, leauing the citie to the will and pleasure of Lotharius; so that Innocent being receiued of the citizens, he crowned Lotharius in the Lateran, whom he could not doe in the Vatican, according to the vsuall manner, being possesit by the followers of Anaclet. But behold how Innocent requited this benefite of the Emperour: He caused to be painted vpon the wall the solemnitie of his entrance and coronation, that is to say, Innocent sitting in a Pontifical chaire, and Lotharius vpon his knees receiuing the Crowne of the Empire of him: And with these verses:

*Rex venit ante fores iurans prius urbis honores,
Post homo fit Papa, sumit quo dante Coronam.*

The King before his gates doth come, which sweares first to the towne,
Whom both the Pope his seruant makes, and after, him doth crowne.

Whereby he gaue all men to vnderstand, that Lotharius was become the Popes man, that is to say, his vassall and feudarie; so farre off was he from restoring vnto him the inuestitures, and that he receiued the Crowne of him in gift. They of Gennes were more gently vsed, not so much in respect of their thankfulness, as in despight of Anselme Archbishop of Milan, who tooke part with Anaclet: he gaue them an Archbishop, and exempted them from the obedience of that of Milan. Lotharius in the meane time, whether the pride of Innocent had discontented him, or the state of his affaires called him backe, returned into Germanie: whose absence so soone as the faction of Anaclet vnderstood, descended the towers, & violently set vpon the part of Innocent, in so much that he was constrained to leaue Rome, and flie to Pisa. And hereupon Saint Bernard writ to the Pisanians in fauour of Innocent: *Pisa is taken in stead of Rome, and of all the citie in the world is chosen the principall of this postolike See.* Why then should it seeme strange vnto them, if we refuse the Princesie to Rome? But note what he further addeth, *This hath not fallen vnto thee by chance, or through the counsell of man, but by diuine providence, and the speciall fauour of God, who loues those that put their trust and confidence in him, who said to Innocent his annointed, Take thy habitation at Pisa, and I will blesse it, and will dwell there, because I haue chosen it.* Innocent therefore held a Councell in the yeare 1134, but for the reformation of the Church (though it were verie famous) there was not a word spoken,

Vita Bernardi
l. 2. c. 1.

Vrspergen. in
Lothario.

An. 1133.

Kyranzium in
Metro. l. 6. c. 35.

Bernardi E-
pist. 30.

An. 1134.

An. 1137.

spoken, onely *Anaclet* was excommunicated, and *Innocent* confirmed. And at length, through the mediation of *S. Bernard*, *Lotharius* returned againe into Italie with a more puissant armie than before, to bring *Anaclet*, or rather *Roger* Prince of Sicilia, into order, who onely stucke firmly vnto him: *Henrie* then Duke of Bawaria, *Lotharius* sonne in law, in the yeare 1137, being Generall of this expedition, laid first siege to Mont Cassin, held by the Abbot *Rainold*, who summoned him to forsake *Anaclet*, and deliuer the monasterie to *Lotharius*. And drawing neere in person with his armie to *Amalfá*, commaunded him to come vnto him, assuring him vnder his faith to reconcile him to *Innocent*, and that he should confirme all his priuiledges vnto him. But *Innocent* carrying a malicious mind, commaunded *Rainold*, that before he entred into the army, he should come with his Monks bare footed, as a token of repentance, to satisfie him: whereupon *Rainold* being suddenly troubled herewith, calleth the Emperor his protector and reuenger; & entering the campe by the commaundement of *Lotharius*, pitched his tent neere to the Emperours, protesting to goe wherefoeuer he would appoint him. And hereupon began a new enuie of *Innocent* towards *Lotharius*, who being accompanied with *Peregrinus* Patriarch of Aquilia, and many Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, notwithstanding tooke notice of this cause, and the Counsellors of both parts being commaunded to be called, heard the Pope by his Legats, and *Rainold* and the Monkes by their Aduocats, who complained vnto him, That if they had erred, or done amisse in any thing, that *Innocent* was the cause thereof, who had forsaken them. At length *Innocent* alledging after many reasons and circumstances, the fulnesse of his absolute power and authoritie, *Lotharius* declareth what he had done for him, and his memorable labours for the Church of Rome, that if he would not receiue the Monkes at his request into fauour, he would no more bee subiect vnto it, or defend it, and that there should be a difference betweene him and the Pope; at which saying all the whole armie gaue a shout. And so they were abloshed, *Anaclet* and his faction being accursed; but yet there remained stil a malicious mind in *Innocent*, thinking himselfe not sufficiently reuenged for the injurie offered him by *Lotharius*. *Peter* the Deacon, who reciteth this historie at large, obserueth many notable circumstances; for the Emperour through certaine troubles and interruptions he procured to *Innocent*, receiued not onely the Monkes, the Commissioners appointed by *Rainold*, but also commaunded them to be lodged neere his tent, albeit they were excommunicated by the Pope. Also this Excommunication the Emperour calleth into question, & willeth *Innocent* to nominat those whom he would make the Aduocates of his cause, that he might decide the difference, the parties being heard: So *Gerard* Cardinall of the holie Crosse appeared in the behalfe of the Pope, and *Peter* the Deacon for the Abbot; who as the Emperour had caused *Gerard* to sit directly against him, and *Peter* at his feet, *Gerard* affirmed, That an excommunicated person ought not to sit at the feet of a child of the Church. The Emperour neglecting the Excommunication, commaunded *Peter* to sit still: whereat the Cardinall *Gerard* said vnto him, *The Catholike Church you and your predecessors haue made rulers of the whole world*. He answered, *We haue receiued the Crowne from the Apostolike seat*, not the dominion and soueraignie, but the marke thereof: whereof *Innocent* maketh an instance, that the Monkes should take an oath of faith and loyaltie toward him, but be free from all oath towards the Emperour, or priuiledges of the Empire. The Emperour desiring *Innocent* to obserue the Imperiall lawes, which he could not by any meanes auoid, hee verie furiously answered him, That hee would rather cast off the Papal Mantle, and trample

Ebron. Cass.
l. 1. c. 29.Idem l. 4. c. 109.
20, 11, 12, 13,
14, 15, 16, 17,
18, 19, 20, 21,
22, 23.

trample it vnder his feet. To conclude, the Emperour in the presence of the Patriarch of Aquileia, and the Archbishops, Bishops, Cardinals, Abbots (the Author nameth them in this order) judgeth the cause for the Abbot of Mont Cassin, and dismisseth him. Whereupon *Innocent* grew into such choler, that he seemed as if he would depose all those that were at this judgement; in so much that to assuage his anger the Emperour was content to send certaine of his followers to persuade him. About this time Salerne yielded to the gouernement of *Lotharius*; whereupon grew a new contention betweene the Pope and the Emperour, for the right thereof: for they creeping as it were into his bosome, and seeking to bee protected and defended by *Lotharius*, did the more inwardly fret him euen to the heart. Likewise, as it was a question to inuest *Ranulph* Duke of Apulia into the place of *Roger*, being a fauourer of *Anaclet*, and that the Pope and Emperour together were to giue him the Ensigne and Standerd of a Duke; it was no maruell if *Lotharius* wearied with so many troubles, was resolued being come to Rome, to returne into Lombardie: in whose absence *Roger* lost no time, recouering by the farre distance of *Lotharius*, that which he lost by his presence. In the meane time died *Lotharius*, in the yeare 1137, neere to Trident, as he past into Germanie; a Prince commended by all histories, for his great pietie, justice, and vertue, and of such patience and moderation, as he could without any passion support the hereditarie insolencie of this Pope.

After him succeeded *Conradus* the second, duke of Sueuia, who before had contested with him for the Empire, through whose oppositions *Henrie* Duke of Bawier, *Lotharius* sonne in law, could not so readily order the affaires of Italie. At this time *Anaclet* died, *S. Bernard* being at Rome, through whose authoritie the See remained peaceable to *Innocent*. And now to consolidat the former wounds, he held a Councell at Lateran in the yeare 1139, where assembled all nations of the West, neere to a thousand Bishops and Abbots: and in this mightie multitude notwithstanding, we read of nothing that was there propounded, or decided, touching the reformation of the Church, either in doctrine or discipline, though it was manifestly most corrupt, both before and at this present; which many bewailed, with the hope of a better state. This Councell therefore had no other end but to establish *Innocent*, and condemne the fauourers of *Anaclet*, vnlesse they would performe the penance they were appointed; to weaken the ordinances made by him, or by those whom he had ordained. And here let the Reader iudge what scruples they left in the consciences of so many and diuers nations, when both *Anaclet* and the ordinances made by him almost for the space of eight yeres, were farre the better. *Roger*, remaining Duke of Apulia, and Calabria, and naming himselfe King of Sicilia, these good Fathers resolued also to suppress and bring into order. *Innocent* therefore hauing prepared an armie of the Romans, he in his owne person intended to lead them against him, yet had hee the same successe as sometimes had *Leo* the ninth: for *Roger* retiring himselfe to the castle of Gallutz, he verie sharply besieged it; but *William* the sonne of *Roger* Prince of Tarent, comming with a valiant companie of souldiers, put the Popes armie to flight, tooke him with all his Cardinals, and carried him to Naples: But he was set at libertie not long after vpon two conditions, that is, To absolue *Roger* of the Excommunication, and to declare him King of Sicilia, Duke of Apulia, and Calabria, and Prince of Capua, and a liege man of the Church, which *Anaclet* before had done. And in this manner the Popes naturally regard not any but themselves, thinking all others, how great foeuer, to be borne to doe them seruice: In the meane

An. 1137.
Abbas Vrsperg.
de Lothario.
Petrus Diaconus
in Chron.
Cassin. l. c. 21. &
sequent. Et Sigon
ex eodem
regno Ital. l. 10.Ottho Frisingens.
l. 7. c. 23.
Abbas Vrsperg.
an. 1139.

meane time *Ranulph* and *Robert* were robbed of their right, whom *Lotharius* and he, for their good seruice some few yeares before had inuested in these dominions. Now as he thought he had ended all his affaires, the Romans themselves vexed with the pride of the Popes, and their Clergie, in the yeare 1143 earnestly studied to recouer their libertie, and restore the auncient customes of the Clergie, whom when he could neither repress by feare of excommunication, nor by taking away the libertie of Suffrages in the election of the Popes, and bring it onely to the Cardinals (a notable augmentation of their greatnesse and honour) being spent and overcome with griefe & sorrow, ended his life. But because this motion had his progresions, it were fit we should further discourse thereon: neither is it in the mean time to be forgotten, that we make it appeare, how by diuers degrees their pride rose alwayes against God, and not onely against men. For this *Innocent* in the yere 1131 holding a Councell at Rheimes, a certaine Monke speaking in fauour of him, thus began: *Great and weightie is the charge that is imposed vpon me, that is, to teach the Doctōrs, to instruct the Fathers, seeing it is written, Aske the Fathers and they will shew thee: But this Moses (Innocent that was present) commaundeth me, whose hands are heauie, who is to be obeyed not onely of me, but of euerie one, and is here greater than Moses. To Moses was committed the people of Israell, but to him the Vniuersall Church: Behold, he is here of greater power than any Angell, for to whom of the Angels did God euer say, Whatsoeuer thou bindest vpon earth, &c. alluding to that which the Lord said of himselfe. And he hath more here than Salomon (he followeth on) I say according to his office, not according to merit: Except God there is none like vnto him (mark like) either in heauen or in earth: This is that Peter who cast himselfe into the sea, when the other Disciples sayled vnto Iesus. Euerie one of you (Bishops) is content with his barke, that is, his Archbishopsricke, his Abbie, his Priorie; but this man hath authoritie in all Archbishopsrickes, Abbies, Priories, &c. He saith Mistise. And truly he casts, he puts, may he intrudes; sent of himselfe, not of God, without mission, without commission. This Sermon in the meane time to deceiue the world, is inserted into the workes of Saint *Bernard*; but *Baronius* himselfe denyeth *Bernard* to be the author thereof. Furthermore, this *Innocent* was the first who ordained, *That the Pope should celebrate the Masse sitting*. If this then were to be done before God, if holding him really in his hand, did he thinke he should yeeld him too great reuerence? Neither is it to be forgotten, that vnder *Innocent* succeeded to the Archbishopsricke of Tire, *William* the author of the holie warre, who according to the imitation of his predecessors, after he had bene consecrated by the Patriarch of Ierusalem, went to Rome to receiue the Pall. He himselfe says that the Patriarch hindred him by all the meanes he could, and that *Innocent* (abusing the necessitie of the East) handled him hardly by his letters. Moreouer, *Radulph* Patriarch of Antioch compared his Church to the Roman, as being no lesse, nay rather the seat of *Peter* than Rome, & tooke the Pall of himselfe. This *Innocent* being fauored by the king of Hierusalem, who hated *Radulph*, sending a Legat into those places, depofed him as guiltie of high treason in regard of his seat. But what violence he vsed, the same is declared more at large, for being oppressed with forged crimes, he was constrained to appeale to Rome: Whereupon intelligence being giuen of his comming, to *Roger* king of Sicilia, who lay in wait for him, he tooke him, and cast him into prison, and afterward sent him back again into Palestina, to be censured by *Alberick* the Legat of *Innocent*, Cardinall of Ostia, the king being knowne to be his professedemie. To conclude, he, appearing not at the Synod where the Legat was President, was depofed for his disobedience.*

O P P O

O P P O S I T I O N .

These two Popes in the meane time mutually pronounced each other Antichrist, by authoritie of famous Synods of the Bishops and Abbors of each side: and in that one thing they verie well agreed. All the Bishops of England (as we haue seene) refused no lesse *Innocent* than *Anaclet*. The like difficultie had *Innocent* found in France, had it not bene for the fauour of *S. Bernard*, when *Gerard* Bishop of Angolesme tooke part against him. *Hildebert* also Archbishop of Tours, a man then of great authoritie in the Church, stood a long time doubtfull; whom *S. Bernard* hauing first admonished, that the most part had already acknowledged him, soliciteth in these words: *And herein, father, your sentence, though late, is expected as raine vpon the fleece: we blame not slownesse that saoureth of grauntie, for it abollisheth the note of lightnesse, &c. yet I say, as one well knowne to the Bishops, Ne quid nimis, I speake as a familiar, be not more wise than is needfull. I am ashamed, I confesse, that the old Serpent with a new audaciousnesse, seemeth to haue left waduised and ignorant women for to tempt the strength of your breast, and to shake such a pillar of the Church.* And note that he calleth him *Magnum Sacerdotem & excessum in verbo gloria*, *Great Priest and high in the word of glorie.*

But within Rome it selfe from the time that *Innocent* was established, he wanted not aduersaries. The Clergie of Rome as we haue seene, hauing murdered *Arnulph* that reproued his pride, another *Arnulph* notwithstanding of Bresse (some call him the Bishop) being nothing terrified therby, presumed to do the like, & euen in the midst of his glorie and authoritie, when he held that famous Councell at Lateran, wherein were present neere a thousand Bishops and Abbots. And this man the Authors of those times, and for the most part Monkes, call an Heretike; but they accuse him of no other heresie, but for that he mightily inueyed against the insolencie of the See of Rome: This man, say they, hauing bene brought vp in learning in France, taketh vpon him a religious habit, & returning into Italic, preacheth against Bishops and their royalties, and that they ought to leaue them vnto Princes, contenting themselves with such things as are necessary for the seruice of God: he presently is accused, and conuented in this Councell, and there being charged with heresie, is constrained forthwith to depart Italic. If they had had any other matter of greater moment to object against him, it is to be vndoubtedly thought, they wold haue farther proceeded against him. Neuertheless his sermons had taken such effect, that three yeares after the people of Rome inuaded the Capitoll, resolving to recouer againe their auncient libertie, & leaue to the Pope onely the care of Ecclesiasticall matters. To this purpose they writ to the Emperour *Conrade*, That what they did was for him and the glorie of the Empire, and to restore vnto him that which the Popes vsurped, and had taken from him: That to the same end they had plucked downe the fortresses, and rased them to the ground, which they abused against him: That now hee should hasten his comming, for the bridge *Miluius* should be readie to receiue him: And concluding with these verses in fauour of him:

*Imperium teneat, Rome sedeat, regat orbem
Princeps terrarum, ceu fecit Iustinianus:
Cesaris accipiat Caesar, que sunt sua Præsul,
Vt Christus iussit Petro solmente tributum.*

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An. 1143.

An. 1131.

Baron. an. 1131.
art. 4. vol. 12.Bernardus E.
lib. 1. 24.Ligurinus de
gestis Fred. 1. 13.Ordo Frisingen.
de gestis Fred. 6.
27. & 28.
Idem bish.
l. 6. 27.
Onuphr. in
anno. 2.
Sign. de regno
Ital. 1. 2.

He holds our Empire, sits at Rome, and ruleth ouer all,
Like Monarch of the world, as once *Institian* was said:
What *Casars* is let *Cesar* haue, the Bishops his withall;
Christ so commaunded *Peter*, when the tribute should be paid.

But when they heard, that *Conrade* being croft in Germanie could not intend the affaires of Italic, they delayed no time, set to their owne hands, reestablished the Senat, and provided both for peace and warre. *Innocent* in the meane time trieth all meanes, spareth neither threats nor gifts, excommunicateth all the people, and excludeth them from the election of the Popes, wherein they had till then a principall part: but at length being brought into feare of losing the gouernment of Rome, died with grieffe and discontent. *This contention* (saith the Author) *beginning with Innocent, was of that moment, that it dured vnder all the Popes to Celestine the third* (that is, about fortie fiue yeres.) *Wido Castellanus*, a citizen of Rome, called *Celestine* the third, succeeded *Innocent*, being created according to the ordinance of *Innocent*, by the Cardinals onely, adding this aduantage to the Cardinals, in stead of the losse they otherwise sustained. By the same law not long after *Lucius* succeedeth *Celestine*, vnder whom the Romans not content with the Senat onely which they had established, chose a Patricius to be their head, to whom they gaue all the tributes and rights both of the citie and countrey, taking them away from the Popes, and allowing them for the maintenance of their dignitie nothing but oblations and tithes. The first in this dignitie was *Jordan* sonne of *Peter Leo*, a man mightie in the citie both for his auncient nobilitie, and fauour of the people. *Lucius* then hauing raised an armie, besieged the Senators, whom the Patricius *Jordan* presently fet vpon, and droue both him and his from the Capitoll. *Viterbiensis* saith, That in this broile *Lucius* received such a blow with a stone, that to his dying day, which was in March 1145, he was not able to sit vpon his Pontificall throne. *Eugenius* the third, who succeeded *Lucius*, in the seuen yeres that he continued could not preuaile against them. But in the meane time as hee thought to suppress them, *Arnold* returneth out of Germanie, and by his Sermons stirreth vp the courage of the Romans. Therefore, whether seeming as it were to scorne the citie, or for that he saw himselfe there in contempt, he departed thence to Viterb, and was there consecrated contrarie to auncient custome. But when he thought he had appeased them, by the meanes of *S. Bernard*, returned to Rome, but soone after was constrained to depart againe, and from thence vnder shew of renewing the warre of the Holie Land, passeth into France, persuaading himselfe, that by feeling the hurt of his absenee they would become more tractable. But they being nothing grieued at it, he returned into Italic, and died in the year 1153 at Tiuoli: as if the drift of the Romans had beene to shew, that they could be without a Pope; and of *Eugenius*, that he could be without Rome. And yet in these dayes on the contrarie, we heare of nothing more than the Pope sitting at the Varican, & of the chaire of *S. Peter* eternally appointed at Rome. And this is that which then passed in Italic.

In France, notwithstanding the good offices that *Innocent* had there receiued, he letted not to attempt against the liberties of the French Church, neither wanted he there such as resisted him: For the Archbishopricke of Bourges being vacant by the death of *Alberick*, the Pope without attending the presentation of young king *Lewis*, by full power ordained Archbishop one *Peter* the sonne of *Emerick* his Chancellor. The historie saith, that the king thereat was so much moued,

A yed, That in the presence of many, *Propositis publice sacrosanctis reliquijs*, He publickly *swore* vpon the holier reliques, That this Archbishop, so long as he liued, should not enter into the citie of Bourges. Whereupon *Innocent* proceeded to excommunicat the king, so that into whatsoeuer citie or towne he entred, diuine seruice was presently suspended. And this dured for the space of three ycares. Here againe in the meane time commeth *S. Bernard*, and because there was a great contention betweene the king and him, for that *Rodulph* Earle of Vermandois hauing put away his wife, had with his priuie married *Petronilla* the Queene, his wiues sister, he addeth one quarell to another: and notwithstanding that solemne oath of the king, which he called *Herodianum iuramentum*, the oath of *Herod*, not to be performed and kept, he maketh him consent to receiue the said *Peter*; *S. Bernard* truly being noted by many, to haue beene too liberall in giuing those things that were ours to the Popes: which was either because he feared their vnbridled obstinacie, the cause of so many troubles before, or for that our Princes sometimes abused their power, in giuing Ecclesiasticall things at their pleasures. Here followeth that which himselfe speaketh in his Epistle to the foure Roman Bishops, after hee had warned them of the danger of schismes: *which is worse* (saith he) *humane affaires are come to that euill passe, that neither the guiltie will humble themselues, nor the Iudges haue pitie: We say to the wicked, Doe not wickedly, and to transgressors, Lift not vp your horne, and they heare vs not, because it is a house bearded.* We intreat them, whose part it is to rebuke sinnes, to preserve sinners, that they breake not the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax; and it is then with a more vehement wind they break the ships of Tharsis, &c. Scarcely is the wound of the Church healed vp, when behold it fettereth and is opened againe. And thus oftentimes the most obstinat is fauoured at the cost of the more tractable. Yet it appeareth plainly out of many places, that he was not content neither with the Church of Rome, nor with *Innocent* himselfe. In the Epistle 178, writing to the same *Innocent*, he saith, *It is the voyce of all the faithfull among vs, that exercise their charge ouer people with a faithfull care, That iustice is perished in the Church, that the keyes of the Church are come to nothing, the authoritie of Bishops wholly debased, whilst none of the Bishops hath power in his hand to reuenge the iniuries done to God; it is not lawfull for any to chastise euen in his owne Parish any vnlawfull thing. The cause of this is laid vpon you, and vpon the Court of Rome: Ye destroy the things, say they, that they haue well done, and establish the things that they haue iustly destroyed.* Yet more boldly in the 176 Epistle going before, written by an Archbishop of Treues to the Pope, wherein the stile of *Bernard* evidently appeareth, for he is not afraid to threaten him, that the Church was able to consist without Rome: *Know* (saith he) *that our Church on this side the mountaines, as well in our realme as in the realme of France, is strong in faith, peaceable in vnitie, deuout in your obedience, readie to serue. The losse of Beneuent, nor of Capua, nor of Rome it selfe, will in no sort astonish vs, God so iudging it, knowing that the state of the Church is not to be esteemed by armes, but by merits.*

In the matter of diuorce of *Rodulph* Earle of Vermandois, dispensed with by *Innocent*, he writeth to him thus: *God had conioyned Earle Rodulph and his wife by the Ministers of the Church, and the Church by God, who hath given such power vnto men; how hath the chamber* (namely of the Pope) *seperated that which God hath ioyned together? in which fact it is manifestly foreseene, that these workes of darkenesse are done in darkenesse.* In that same allo which he wrote to the Cardinall of Hostia, he describeth vnto him in the person of Cardinall *Jordan*, the actions and behaviours of the Popes Legats: *Your Legats* (saith he) *haue trauesed from nation to nation, and*

Mathew Paris
in Stephan.Bernard, Epist.
219.Bernard, Epist.
178.Idem Epist.
78.Bernard, Epist.
216. ad Innoc.

Epist. 199.

Otto Frisingen.

Godesfr. 17.
12rb. m. 145.
parte 17. Chron.
an. 1145.

from people to people, leauing filthie and horrible traces of their steps euerywhere, from the foot of the Alpes, and the kingdome of Germanie, passing through almost all the Churches of France and Normandie vnto Rouan, this Apostolike man hath filled all, not with the Gospell, but with sacriledge: (alluding to the journey of Saint Paul, who had filled all with the Gospell from Hierusalem to Illicum:) It is reported that he committed in all places dishonest things, carried away the spoiles of the Churches, promoted, where he might, formofulos pueros, faire boyes to Ecclesiasticall honours, and would haue done it where he could not. Many haue redeemed themselves, that hee might not come vnto them: Of them that he could not come to, he exacted and extorted by his deputies: In scholes, in Courts, in highwayes, hee made himselfe a mocking stocke to the world. Seculars and religious persons all spake euill of him; the poore, Monks, and Clerks complaine of him. But for the Popes in generall, It seemeth, saith he, oh good Iesus, that all Christendome hath conspired against thee, and they are the chiefest in persecuting thee that seeme to hold primacie in the Church, and to haue principalitie; according as it is written, He that did eat my bread magnified vpon me supplantation, made it a brauerie to supplant me; transferring to the Pope that which the Apostle expounded of Iudas, from one sonne of perdition to another. In the Sermon of the conuersion of Saint Paul, speaking to the people, Ah, ah, Lord God, they are the first in persecuting thee, which seeme to loue Primacie and beare chiefe sway in the Church: They haue possessed the fort of Sion, they haue seised vpon the strong places, and afterward liberè & potestatiue, freely and with full power, haue set the whole citie on fire. Miserable is their conuersation, and miserable the subuersion of thy people; and would to God they did hurt in this part alone, &c. The last of their thought is the saluation of soules: Can there be any greater persecution to the Saniour of soules? Others doe also wickedly against Christ, and there are many Antichrists in our times: yet by good right he esteemeth more cruell and more grieuous the persecution that he suffereth of his owne Ministers, &c. These things Christ seeth, and is silent; these things the Saniour suffereth, and dissembleth; and therefore it is necessarie also that we dissemble them, and in the meane time be silent, chiefly of our Prelats and Masters of Churches. Neither let them thinke here to escape, by saying, That this is meant of schismaticall Popes: hee speaketh of the same whom he acknowledged; Thy friends (said hee before) and thy neighbours haue drawne neere and set themselves against thee. It seemeth that the whole world of Christian people haue conspired against thee, from the least cuen to the greatest, from the sole of the foot to the crowne of the head is not any soundnesse: Iniquitie hath proceeded from the Elders and Iudges, from thy Vicars, which seeme to gouerne thy people (note thy Vicars.) In his Sermons vpon the Canticles, which the Author of his life witnesseth to haue bene written after the death of Anaclet, when Innocent was established at Rome, after he had spoken of the diuers temptations of the Church; by persecution, which the Martyrs haue overcome; by heresie, which the Doctors haue conuincid, Behold, saith he, our times, through Gods favour, are free from them both, but wholly defamed with the businesse that walketh in the darke. Woe be to this generation for the leuen of the Pharises, which is hypocrisie, if notwithstanding it may be called hypocrisie, which now for the aboundance thereof cannot be hid, and for the impudencie thereof seeketh not to be hid. A stinking Vicer creepeth in these dayes throughout all the bodie of the Church, being the more desperat by how much the more it is spread abroad; and the more inward it is, the more dangerous: For if an open enemy should rise against her, he might be cast out and there wither; if a violent enemy, she might perhaps hide her selfe from him: But now whom shall shee cast out, or from whom shall shee hide her selfe? All are friends (namely in shew) and all are ene-

Ayud Hagonem
in postilla super
Johann.

Jdam in sermo-
ne de Conuer-
sione B. Pauli.

Vita Bernard.
l. 2. c. 3.

Bernard. in
Cantic. serm. 33.

A enemies, all are necessarie, and all domestike, and none are peaceable; all neighbours, and yet all seeke their own. Could he more significantly expresse vnto vs this disease, spread ouer all the bodie of the Church, this running canker feeding vpon all the substance thereof? But he proceedeth further: They are the ministers of Christ, & serue Antichrist: They go honoured with the goods of the Lord, and giue no honor vnto the Lords benediction, as you daily see, meretricious nitor, that whorish glittering, that apparell of stage players, that royall furniture, gold on bridles, saddles and spurres: and spurres do shine more than Altars &c. It is for these, they will be heads of Churches, Deames, Archdeacons, Bishops, and Archbishops: For all these are not giuen to desert, but to that worke which walketh in darknesse (in hipocrisie): long ago this was foretold, and now is come the time of the accomplishment. Behold how in peace my bitternesse is most bitter: Bitter before in the death of Martyrs; more bitter after in the conflict of heretikes; now most bitter of all in the manners of domestikes. The Church can neither put them to flight, nor auoid them, so great is their force, so much are they multiplied aboue number. The wound of the Church is inward and incurable; and therefore in peace the bitternesse thereof is most bitter. But in what peace? It is both peace and no peace; peace from Pagans, and peace from heretikes, but not from children: The voice of her that lamenteth in these times, I haue nourced children and brought them vp, and they haue despised me: They haue despised and defiled me with their filthie life, with their dishonest gain and commerce, and lastly with that businesse that walketh in darknesse. It remaineth, that now should come forth that Demon of Mid-day for to seduce, if there be yet any residue in Christ, abiding yet in simplicitie: for he hath deuoured the foulds of the wise, and the streames of the mightie, hee trusteth that he can draw vp Iordan into his mouth, that is, the simple and humble which are in the Church. There rested but the name, and here it presently followeth; Ipse enim est Antichristus, For this is very Antichrist, who will want himselfe not only to be the day, but the mid-day, will exalt himselfe against all that is called God, or that is worshipped, whom the Lord Iesus shall slay with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightnesse of his comming, as he that is the true and eternall mid-day, the Bridgrome and Aduocate of the Church. For to whom may this last claufe be referred, but to the Pope, distributor of all the dignities abouesaid, head of all that commerce, which he calleth the businesse of darknesse. In his 77 sermon of the Pastours of his time: Whence thinkest thou aboundeth vnto them that great abundance, glittering of apparell, &c. but from the goods of the Spouse? Hence it is that shee is left poore and needy, and naked, with a face to be pitied, unhandosome, undressed, blood-les: For this, is not at this day to adorne the Spouse but to despoile her, this is not to keepe her but to lose her, not to defend but to abandon her, not to institute but to prostitute her; this is not to feed the flocke, but to kill and deuour it, &c. Wherefore let vs leane those, which find not the Spouse, but which sell her, &c. All would be successors, but few imitators, &c. It sufficeth not our watchmen that they keepe vs not, vnlesse also they lose vs. Out of which we may thinke, what opinion he henceforth had of them. In his sixt sermon vpon the 91 Psalme, where he testifieth that he wrote those sermons after his other on the Canticles, that is, after the Schisme was abolished, what before hee there had spoken of Antichrist, hee now here taketh vp againe almost in the same words: Then proceeding; The offices themselves (saith he) of Ecclesiasticall dignitie, haue passed into filthie gain and into the businesse of darknesse, neither seeke they in these the saluation of soules, but the superfluitie of riches. For this are they shorne; for this they frequent Churches, celebrate Masses, sing Psalmes, &c. They impudently strue, in these dayes, for Bishopricks, Archdeaconries, Abbotships, and other dignities, that they might wast the reuenues of Churches in such waye and su-

106. 40.

2. The. 2.

In Cantic. serm.
77.

Bernard. in
Psal. 91. Serm.
6. & 7.

persuuous wises. It remaineth that the man of sinne be revealed, the sonne of perdition, the Damon not of the day onely, but of the mid-day, who not onely transformeth himselfe into an Angell of light, but exalteth himselfe above all that is called God; or that is worshipped &c. This shall be indeed an exceeding great assault; but from this also the truth shall deliuer the Church of the Elect, &c. Poore Bernard stayed for him at the doore, who had alreadie entred the house. And thus much be spoken to *Baronius*, who affirmeth that *S. Bernard* inueighed onely against schismaticall Popes: Writing to Pope *Eugenius*, nere vpon the yeare 1151, who had been his disciple, and had not obeyed his admonitions, being entred into the Popedom: *Who will let me see, before I die, the Church as in the dayes of old, when the Apostles did cast forth their nets, not to take siluer or gold, but to take soules? O how I desire to see thee inherit the voyce of him, whose seat thou hast obtayned! Thy money perish with thee. In his booke of consideration, what doth he omit for his amendment? Tell me, I pray thee (saith he) when art thou euer free? vbi tuus, where thine owne? Euerie where is tumult, euerie where the yoke of thy seruitude presseth thee: replie not vnto me in the Apostles voyce, who saith, when I was free from all, I made myselfe a seruant of all: That is verie far from thee, was it in this seruitude that he serued men, in the getting of filthy gaines? Was it in this, that from all parts of the world did flock vnto him the ambitious, the covetous, such as exercise Simonie, sacrilegious persons, whoremongers and incestuous, and such other monsters of men, that by his Apostolicke authoritie, they might either obtaine or retaine Ecclesiasticall honours? This man then hath made thee a seruant, to whom Christ was life and death, aduantage, that he might win many vnto Christ, and not that he might encrease the gaines of his covetousnesse &c. And truly euerie day the voyce of *Lames* are heard in thy Palace, but the *Laws of Iustitian*, not of Christ &c. Thou Pastour then and Bishop of soules, with what mind dost thou suffer that to be ever silent before thee, and these to bable? I am deceived if this peruersnesse moue not in thee some scruple. I then for to bring him backe to the auncient bounds, he saith: Thy high dignitie need not flatter thee, thy care is the greater. And if them we would thinke rightly of our selues, we shall iudge that a ministerie is imposed vpon vs, not a domination giuen. Thinke thy selfe as some one of the Prophetes: Is not that enough for thee, yea too much, &c. If thou be wise, thou wilt be contented with the measure that God hath measured vnto thee: For what is more, is from that wicked one. Learne by the example of the Prophet (to wit, *Jeremie*) to be in authoritie, not for to commaund, but to doe as the time requireth. Learne, that hast need of a weeding hooke, not a Scepter, for to doe the worke of a Prophet, &c. It was sayd to the Apostles, thy predecessors, The harvest is great, but the labourers are few. Take to thee the paternall inheritance; for if thou be a sonne, thou art an heire: That thou maye prone thy selfe heire, watch on this care, and bee not ydle, least it be sayd vnto thee, why standest thou here all day ydle & much lesse to be found idle in delights, or wallowing in pompes. The will of the Testator, assigneth vnto thee none of these &c. Dost thou thinke, that he hath giuen thee domination: heare him: Not as though we were Lords, saith he, in cleero, ouer Gods heritage, but as made ensamples to the flocke. And thinke not that he saith it onely in humilitie, and not also in truth. It is the Lords voyce in the Gospell: The Kings of Nations rule and haue power of them &c. But it shall not be so among you. It is plaine that domination is forbidden the Apostles. If thou wilt haue both, thou shalt lose both: Otherwise thinke that thou art not excepted from the number of them of whom God thus complayneth: They haue reigned, but not by me: They haue bene Princes, but I knew them not. And this speech he extendeth verie long. How farre different from the Diuinitie of *Hildebrand*, who would vnto his Mytre, the temporall Monarchie of all the world: For Appeals: How long*

Baronius anno
1130. art. 6.

Benard. Epist.
137.

Ad Eugen. de
consideratione
lib. 1.

Lib. 2.

1. Peter 5. 3.

A long dost thou dissemble, or not perceiue the murmure of the whole carib? How long dost thou slumber? How long dost thy consideration sleepe, as this great abuse and confusion of Appeals? How many haue we knowne or haue appeared, that by the helpe thereof they might be suffered to continue the greater wickednesse. Against all Law and right, against all custome and order they are made. There is no discretion had of place, of time, of the person, nor of the cause. And this matter he discourseth of at large, shewing the inconueniences thereof, and illustrateth it by many examples, which it sufficeth vs onely here by the way to point at. There were Pastors as one that, who gaue themselves wholly to the feeding of their sheepe &c. Their onely gaine, portie and pleasure, to prepare and render them vnto God a perfect people. Where is now, I pray you, this custome? There is another, unlike vnto it, come in place thereof, affections are much changed, and would to God it were not into worse: Yet rare, anxietie, emulation and possiuensse doe continue; but translated not changed. I heare you witness, that you spare not your substance, no more than before: But the difference is in the diuersely employing of it. Great abuses, few haue respect to the mouth of the Lawgiuer, but all to the hands: Yet not without cause, they doe all the businesse of the Pope. Can you shew me one of all that great Citie, that hath receiued thee for Pope without money, or without hope of hauing some for it. And here let the Reader see (that we be not tedious vnto him) the description he maketh there of the Romans and especially of the Clergie, in all kind of wickednesse far worse than others. In the midst of all this, saith he, Thou Pastour marshall abblayed with gold, compassed about with so much varietie. Thy sheepe, what desire they? These pastures (if I durst so speake) rather of Diuels than of sheepe: Thinke you *S. Pater* and thou, or *S. Paule* played thou? Thou seest that all Ecclesiasticall zeale is seruent for the keeping onely of dignitie: All is giuen to honour, little or nothing to sanctitie. If the cause so requiring, you endeuor to beare your selfe a little more humble and sociable: Ear be it (say they) it becommeth not, it fitteth not the time, it agreeth not with *Maestie*, consider what person thou bearest. Of pleasing God, is the thing they last of all speake: with the losse of soules they trouble not themselves, vnlesse we call that salutarie, that is high, & that iust, that shouereth of glorie &c. The feare of the Lord is counted sanctitie, that I say not, foolishnesse: what then wilt thou doe &c. I know where thou dwellest; vnbeleeuers and subverters are with thee, wolues they are and not sheepe: yet of such art thou Pastour. It is good to consider, how, if it be possible, thou mayest conuert them, least they subuert thee &c. Here, here I spare thee not, to the end that God may spare thee. Eyt her denie thy selfe a Pastour to this people, or shew thy selfe one. Thou wilt not denie it, least thou shouldest denie thy selfe to be heire of him, whose seat thou holdest. It is that *S. Peter*, who was neuer knowne to haue gone adorned with precious stones, or with silkes, nor covered with gold, nor carried on a white horse, accompanied with souldiers, and a troupe of seruants making a waye about him: Yet, without these things, he beleued he might sufficiently fulfill that wholesome commaund: If thou loue me, feed my sheepe. In these things, thou hast succeeded not *Peter*, but *Constantine*. Though thou goe in purple, and gold, yet thou shouldest not neglect thy Pastoral worke or charge, thou shouldest not be ashamed of the Gospell. Howbeit, if willingly thou preach the Gospell, thou hast glorie among the Apostles. To preach the Gospell is to feed, doe thou the worke of an Euangelist, and thou fulfillst the worke of a Pastour. Tea, say you, thou warrest not to feed Dragons and Scorpions, not sheepe. Euen for that, I say, so much the rather vnderstand it, but with the word, not with the sword. And hence he enlargeth himselfe, feriously to shew vnto him, of what weight and moment is the charge that hee pretendeth, how largely the same is extended, and that if he will well discharge his dutie, he hath a greater burthen vpon him than can euer be well borne. Therefore at bet- ter

Lib. 3.

Lib. 4.

lib. 5.
lib. 6.
lib. 7.

ter stood with wisdom, that he should renounce all other affaires, and namely A
 secular, which haue their Iudges, the Princes and Magistrats of the earth, there
 being no need he should thrust his sickle into other mens harvest. A lesson truly
 far different from that of the Palatines (so call they them of the Court of Rome.)
 Seeing then neuertheless *Eugenius*, sticketh in the mud, being so mightily adiu-
 red by *Bernard*, and leaueth the true inheritance of Saint *Peter* for that of *Constan-*
tine, of feeding sheep for to deuoure the world, what iudgement hereupon might
 Saint *Bernard* make, or what might he leaue for vs to make? but euen this, that
 this is the second beast, that hath taken (as *S. Iohn* had prophesied) the place of
 the first, and vnder the name of the seat of *S. Peter*, hath invaded the throne of
Constantine, hath changed his sheepe-hooke into his Scepter, vnder pretext of
 the Church of Christ, hath stollen into the temporal Monarchie; that kingdome
 which the Apostle had foretold should perish, before the man of sinne were reuea-
 led to build vp his ruines, and which now sheweth it selfe reuiued and renewed.
 For in many of his Epistles he leaueth vnto vs traces, whereby it appeareth, that
Eugenius was not bettered by his admonitions. Whence he oftentimes sayd, *Ego*
liberaui animam meam, I haue deliuered my soule and discharged my conscience &c. But
 in one Epistle he telleth vs, that the Beast mentioned in the Revelation, to whom is giuen
 a mouth speaking blasphemies, and to make war with the Saints, occupieth the Chaire of
S. Peter, as a Lion prepared for the prey. If they will needs haue it, that he speaketh
 of an Anti-Pope; yet, doth it not remaine firme out of this verie place, that it is C
 possible, that Antichrist should sit at Rome, and hold the Chaire of *S. Peter*, and
 that *S. Bernard* hath so beleued and thought? How far is this from the Doctors
 of these dayes, which suppose he is to be expected out of Babylon? Neither is
 it here to be omitted, that when by the diligence of good *S. Bernard*, our French
 Church had held a famous Councell at Poitiers, to reduce into a better life by
 authoritie thereof, one *Gilbert Porresan* Bishop of that place, holding an ill opi-
 nion concerning the Trinitie, and there had conceived in a certaine writing, what
 ought to be held and beleued concerning that point, the consistorie of Cardi-
 nals being greatly moued thereat, came thus to reproch the same to Pope *E-*
ugenius: *What hath that thy Abbot done, and with him the French Church? with what D*
impudencie haue they dared to erect their heads against the Primacie of the See of Rome?
For it is this alone, that shouteeth and no man openeth, openeth and no man shouteeth: Shee
alone can discourse of the Catholike faith, and in her absence may suffer preiudice of none
in this singular honour. Surely if the same had bene done in the East, as in Alexandria
or Antioch before all the Patriarkes, yet were their authoritie of no force without ours,
for to define any thing that might hold firme and stable &c. At length *Eugenius* was
 brought by them to that passe, that he earnestly resolued without delay to punish
 so great a rebellion and noueltie. Insomuch, that *S. Bernard* is constrained to go
 to Rome, with great submission, to purge himselfe: And the Symbole of the
 French Church, though it were good and approued of all good men, was ac-
 counted for none: So hard a matter it was at that time, to doe well and to please
 them both together. *Osbo* of Frisinge noteth, that *S. Bernard* disputing with that
Gilbert, had vttered some words that might displease the Cardinals, whereup-
 on *Gilbert* had sayd, *Et hoc scribatur, let this also bee written, S. Bernard* repli-
 ed, *Yea, and with an iron stile and mayle of Adamant*: And this perhaps did sting
 them.

Bernard. Epist.
125.

Osbo Frisingen.
de gestis Frede-
rici. 3. c. 57.

Petrus venera-
bilis Abbas
Cluniacensis. 16.
Epist. 47.

Peter Abbot of Clugni, who liued in these times, could neuer satisfie himselfe
 with praying Pope *Eugenius*, especially in his seuen and fortieth Epistle of the
 sixt

A sixt Booke of *S. Bernard*, in which neuertheless he ingeniously saith: *But some*
man may say, the Church hath no sword, Christ hath taken it away, when he said to Pe-
ter, Put up thy sword into the scaberd; who soeuer smiteth with the sword shall perish with
the sword. Verum est, inquam, verum est, it is true, I say it is true: The Church hath
not the sword of a King, but the rod of a Pastor, of which the Apostle saith, what will yee,
shall I come vnto you with the rod, or in the spirit of meeknesse? And what say I, she hath
a rod, yea, she hath a sword also, according to the same: Take vnto you the helmet of sal-
uation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, &c. And yet by that which
 followeth it is apparent, that against some which had troubled him he would not
 haue refused the helpe of another sword. I let passe the Satyres of *Bernard* a Monk
 of Clugni, vnder this *Peter* his venerable Abbot, wherein he wonderfully disci-
 phereth the Pope and the Court of Rome: not to wearie the Reader, I wil quote
 onely some few verses to this purpose, although the rest be of the same nature.

*O mala secula, venditur infula pontificalis,
 Infula venditur, haud reprehenditur emptio talis;
 Venditur annulus: Hinc lucra Romulus auget & urget.
 Est modo mortua, Roma superflua, quando resurget?
 Si tibi des sua, non repleat tua guttura Cresus
 Marca vel aureus à modo non Deus est tibi Iesus.*

C O wicked times, wherein the Crowne and See is sold,
 And yet the merchandise thereof is vncontroll'd:
 The Ring is also sold: But *Romulus* doth gaine.
 Superfluous Rome now dies, when shall it rise againe?
 Not *Cresus* could suffice, if Rome should giue he his,
 Nor any gold, for now no God or Christ there is.

Also *Peter* Deacon, continuer of the Chronicle of Mont Cassin, sheweth, that
 when the Emperour of Greece had sent his embassadours to *Lotharius*, when hee
 D assisted *Innocent* in the warre against the Monkes of Mont Cassin, there was a-
 mong others a Greeke Philosopher, who disputed against him (*Peter* Deacon)
 that Pope *Innocent* was excommunicated: his words are these, *In the westerne cli-*
mat we see that prophesie fulfilled, As the people is so shall the Priest be: whilest Bishops
goe out to warre, as your Pope Innocent doth: He distributeth money, presteth souldiers
for the warres, and is clothed in purple. No doubt but hee alledged other reasons
 which he telleth not.

Chron. Cassinens.
Petri Diac. 4.
c. 116. & 117.

But besides them, that in the midst of the Roman Church we haue heard thun-
 der it out so lowd against Popes, and the Court of Rome, and their actions, there
 are found some in these times which openly fell away from it, assailing their do-
 E &trine it selfe; and in our France by their preaching drew many Prouinces from it,
 and from thence, as hereafter we shall see, spred themselues into neighbour nati-
 ons. These were *Peter Bruis* in the yeare 1126, and after him his discipule *Henrie*
 about the yeare 1147, the first being a Priest, and the other a Monke, who first in
 the Diocesses of Arles, of Ambrum, and of Gap, then after throughout all Au-
 uergne, Languedoc, and Guienne, preached against Transubstantiation, the sacri-
 fice of the Masse, Masses, Suffrages and Oblations for the dead, Purgatorie, wor-
 shipping of Images, inuocation of Saints, single life of Priests, Pilgrimages, su-
 perfluous holydayes, consecrations of water, oyle, Frankincence, and other Ro-
 mish

mish trash: but especially they inueyed against the pride and excessē of Popes, A
 and of his Prelats, whom they called *Princes of Sodome*, and the Church of Rome
 they tearmed *Babylon the mother of fornication and confusion*. Which we learne from
 that venerable *Peter*, Abbot of Clugni, in some of his Epistles, where he taketh
 vpon him to confute them. And it is great pitie that their bookes are with so great
 diligence abolished, that we are constrained to vse the writings of our aduersaries,
 for to picke out their doctrine; whose testimonie, by reason of their hatred and
 calumnie, may justly be suspected. For it is imputed vnto them, That they beleue-
 ued onely the foure Euangelists, and reiected all the other bookes of the Bible. B
 And here *Peter* truely skirmisheth with his owne shadow, seeing that they verily
 affirme, following the auncient Fathers, That the rule of religion is to be sought
 onely out of the Canonick Scripture. And the Abbot himselfe seemeth to haue
 perceiued that he had done them iniurie, when he saith of these things and the
 like: *But because I am not yet fully assured that they thinke and preach so, I will deferre*
my answer vntill I haue vndoubted certaintie of that they say. Also, *I ought not easily*
give assent to that deceiuing monster, rumour, or common report, &c. I will not blame
you of things vncertaine. So Saint *Bernard* more credulous than reason required,
 reprocueth them, That like the Maniches they condemned the vse of matri-
 monie, and of flesh, and denied also baptisme to infants: But especially against
Henrie he objecteth, the keeping of a concubine, and playing at dice. In like man-
 ner we read in *Tertullian*, That monstrous opinions and crimes were imputed to
 the first Christians. Yet *Bernard* in the meane time saith, *They are sheepe in habit,*
Foxes in craft, Wolves in crueltie. These are they that would seeme good, and yet are not,
wicked, and yet would not seeme so. It must needs be then, that their outward con-
 uersation was good. It is also confessed, that their disciples went cheerefully to the
 fire, and constantly suffered all extremities for the doctrine of their faith. Can that
 agree with a dissolute life & doctrine? And they were in the meane time follow-
 ed with such a multitude, that the Temples, saith *Bernard*, remained without people, the
 people without Priests, Priests without their due reuerence, & Christians without Christ,
 the Churches (to wit, the Romish) were reputed *Sinagogues*. The argument brought
 against them, was as in these dayes: *Haue our Fathers then so long a time cryed? are*
so many men deceiued? Yet were they defended by notable persons, both of the
 Clergie and Laitie, and by some also of the Bishops and nobles of the realme,
 namely by *Hildefonsus* Earle of S. Giles, vnder whose protection they preached
 in his countries: The people of Tholouse also, where *Peter* preached the word of
 God: the space of twentie yeares, with great commendation, and in the end was
 burned. *Henrie* also his disciple, some few yeares after, being betrayed to *Albe-*
ricus Cardinall of Ostia, was carried bound to in chaines into Italie, and neuer af-
 terward seene: notwithstanding the persecution was hot all that time against the
 poore people, without any difference of age or sex.

Now as we haue noted, that the corruption of doctrine euer accompanied the
 iniquitie of this Mysterie, there arose in this time *Peter Abayllard*, a man of most
 subtile wit, who brought in againe the opinions of *Pelagius*, and others following,
 who destroyed, as we haue eliewhere shewed, the free justification in the faith of
 Christ Iesus, that is to say, rooke the Christian Church by the throat: against
 whom Saint *Bernard* writeth diuers treatises, and maintaineth the auncient truth,
 taught by *S. Augustine*, *S. Hierome*, *Prosper*, and *Fulgentius*, in the Church, swee-
 peth away by the same meanes many filthie doctrines, which the Semi-Pelagians,
Faustus, *Casianus*, and others, had brought in, easily getting foundation of their
 doctrines, D

Petrus Abbas
Clumacen. l. 1.
Epist. 1. & 2.

Bernard. in Can-
onic. serm. 66.

Epist. 240. &
241. & in vita
Bernard. l. 2. c. 5.

doctrines, out of the naturall pride of men. But Saint *Bernard* being once dead,
 the schole of *Abayllard* continued in the Schole-men, who haue so followed his
 methode, that he by right may be acenowledged their father: It little wanted
 then, but that the tares choked the good corne, when with them little or no
 mention is made of justifying by faith, the fortreffe of saluation is thenceforth
 placed in dead workes; as if Christian doctrine, that most profound secret, hidden
 before all time, and reuealed in his time, were nothing but a certaine morall disci-
 pline. In the same time also *Gratian* compiled his Decrees, not more fortunately
 than *Iustinian* his Pandectes, out of the Canons and auncient Decrees, which hee
 in many places applieth to the abuses of the time, and especially to the Roman
 ambition, although he leaue vs therein many good footsteps, by helpe of which
 the diligent searchers may find out the ancient doctrine & practise of the Church.
 B
Auentine, an Author most studious of antiquitie, teacheth vs, that before *Grati-*
an the Canon law was farre otherwise; For, saith he, *as it is perfect and whole in our*
Libraries, it containeth two parts, the first the Acts of vniuersall Councils, which are ma-
nifestly received; the other of the Constitutions, Epistles, and Rescripts of Popes, as euerie
thing was done, the causes, assistants, witnesses, with the circumstances of places and
times. Would to God he had not taken so much paines. And in the meane time
 Pope *Eugenius* approueth it, and commaundeth it to be read in all Vniuersities,
 because without doubt he reduced the whole Church vnder the Popes yoke, lit-
 tle remembering the good counsels that Saint *Bernard* gaue him in his bookes of
 Considerations. The same methode hath *Peter Lombard* (this *Gratian*'s brother) in
 his foure bookes of Sentences, collected out of the places of auncient Fathers,
 compiled into a certain order, which he oftentimes maketh to serue by changing,
 leauing out, or adding some word to the corrupt diuinitie of his time: so that
 from thenceforth onely *Gratian* is consulted with, and onely *Lombard* is read in
 scholes. In these two consists all Christian law and diuinitie. No man hence careth
 for seeking to the fountaine in the holie Scriptures of the old and new Testament,
 in the monuments of the Fathers, or Acts of auncient Councils, to looke more
 neerely into the matter, is counted heresie. *Auentine* to this purpose saith: *I haue*
learned, and heard of my Masters Iacobus Faber, and Clitonous, more than a thousand
times, That this Lombard had troubled the pure fountaine of Diuinitie with muddie que-
stions, and whole riuers of opinions, which experience, if we be not blind, doth more than
ynough teach vs. Which notwithstanding, as well as himselfe, are most famous a-
 mong them of the Church of Rome.

47. PROGRESSION.

Of the humilitie of the Emperour Frederick, and the pride and insolencie of Pope
Adrian the fourth. The Pope stirreth up the subjects of William
King of Sicilia to rebell against him.

TO the Emperour *Conrade* succeeded in the yeare 1152 *Frederick* his nephew, An. 1152.
 in the Empire of Germanie; a Prince, by the testimonie of all writers, qua-
 lified with many vertues: And in the yeare 1153 dieth *Eugenius*, whom *Anastasius* An. 1153.
 succeedeth, created (as aboue said) by the Cardinals alone; who continued but one
 yeare neuerthelesse, peaceable at Lateron, because he let the Romans doe what
 they listed. Then beheld *Adrian* the fourth, an English man borne, entreth in-
 to the Popedom, who could not be consecrated at Lateran, vntil first the peo-
 ple

Auent. l. 6.

Auent. Annal.
Baion. l. 6.

ple chased away *Arnold*, who (as we haue said) preached at Rome against the superfluous pompe of Popes; and withall would put downe the Senat which they had established. Both which being refused him, he waxeth angrie, forsaketh the citie, and with his Court retireth to Orvietto. *Frederick* in the meane time setteth forward to be crowned in Italie, who in his way inuested *Anselme* of Hauelburge with the Bishopricke of Rauenna, then vacant by the death of *Moses*, being chosen by the voyce of the Clergie and of the people, and moreover maketh him Exarch: whence he tooke the title of *Seruant of seruants, Archbishop and Exarch of Rauenna*. This set *Adrian* already into an ague, who neuertheless met him at Viterbe; where *Frederick* stepping to him, held his stirrop for him, to light from his horse, and conducted him into his tent. There the Bishop of Bamberge speaking for the Emperour, declared vnto him with much respect, *That all the Church was come from the end of the world for to bring him this Prince, and that seeing prostrat at his feet he had rendered him due honour, he besought him to doe what lay in him to set the Imperiall Crowne vpon his head.* *Signonius* saith here, that he paused a while, seeming as it were to conceale from vs the insolencie of this Pope (which we read in *Helmold*, an Author not to be suspected) because he was rightly ashamed of it. The answer then of *Adrian* was this; *Brother, these are but words that thou tellest vs, thou sayest thy Prince hath giuen due reuence to Saint Peter, but Saint Peter hath rather been thereby dishonored; Instead of holding our right stirrop he hath held the left. This being told againe by the Interpreter to the King, he humbly answereth, Tell him, that it was not want of deuotion, but of knowledge, for I haue not much learned to hold stirrops, and he is the first (to my knowledge) that euer I did that seruice vnto. The Pope replied, if he haue through ignorance neglected that which is most easie, how thinke yee that he will acquit himselfe of that which is greater? Then the King somewhat moued, I would be better instructed, saith he, whence this custome hath taken footing, from good will, or of duetie? if from good will, the Pope hath no cause to complaine, that I haue failed in a seruice which is but arbitrarie, and not of right: but if you say, that of duetie from the first institution this reuence is due to the Prince of Apostles, what importeth it betweene the right and left stirrop, so that humilitie be obserued, and that the Prince prostrat himselfe at the Popes feet? Thus (saith the Historie) was this point long and eagrelly disputed, and in the end they departed each from other, sine osculo pacis, without the kisse of peace.*

Let the Reader note here the charitie of this Bishop, to reiect an Emperour onely for hauing held the left stirrop for the right, and an Emperour endued with such vertues, as the Author faileth not to say, *That his wisdom and courage was greater than of all the inhabitants of the earth.* And he addeth, *The principall Lords, which were as the pillars of the realme, were afraid to returne without doing something, & won the Kings heart with many persuasions, to intreat the Pope to come againe into the campe, and comming againe he receiued him integrato officio, with intire duetie, that is, hee held his right stirrop. But whilest they all reioyced as it, thinking all matter was well, Adrian saith vnto them, There remaineth yet one thing for your Prince to doe, hee must conquer Apulia for Saint Peter, which William of Sicilia possesseth by force, and that doe let him come to vs to be crowned. And verie hardly obtained they of him, to deferre this conquest till after his coronation. The Acts of the Vatican produced by *Baronius*, doe onely say, That *Frederick* refused to hold the stirrop, & in the end was brought to doe it, *Stregulam*, say they, fortiter tenuit, that otherwise *Adrian* would not receiue his kisse. Yet this is the *Adrian* that said, *To couet the Popedome is not to succeed S. Peter in feeding the sheepe, but Romulus in committing parricides, because a man cannot attaine thereto without shedding the bloud of his breshren;* and now he is entred*

Signon. de regno Ital. l. 12.

Helmold, in Histor. Sclanorum c. 82.

Helmold. l. 1. c. 73.

Otto Friefing, de gesta Frederici l. 6. c. 20.

Baron. an. 1155 art. 8. & sequent.

entred is as hot in the businesse as any of the rest. Now *Frederick* at the last hauing recovered his good fauour, *Arnold* was apprehended in Tuscan by the seruants of *Adrian*, and deliuered vnto him, and was condemned vnder pretence of heresie, and burned aliue, and his ashes cast into the riuer Tiber. But when *Frederick* returned into Germanie, either because of the hot season of the Canicular dayes, which the Germans could not well endure, or for the cold satisfaction he had receiued from *Adrian*, or some other affaires calling him backe thither, *Adrian* in his absence made so good vse of his opportunitie, that *William* Duke of Calabria, and King of Sicilia, who had vnderaken the inuestitures of Bishops in his lands, by the rebellion that he stirred vp of the Lords his subiects against him, is constrained to fall downe at his feet to obtaine pardon, and to acknowledge himselfe his liege vassall. And so this successe, besides his naturall disposition, raised vp his heart against *Frederick* vpon the first occasion offered. A Bishop of London then was taken by robbers in Germanie, and it seemed vnto *Adrian* that *Frederick* stirred not in it as he ought, who in the meane time was at Bezanson in Bourgondie, whither he was come to marie *Beatrice* the Earls daughter. He sendeth to him his Legats, the Cardinall *Rowland*, & *Bernard*, with his letters of complaint, or rather of reproach, for that he ill remembered, saith he, *Quanto studio Imperialis Corone insignie tibi contulerimus, with what affection we haue giuen him the Imperiall Crowne, & beneficia, and the good turnes, or rather benefits.* Thus saith mildly *Signonius*. But *Radicus*, an Author of that time, Canon of Frisingen, produceth a copie of the letters in rougher tearmes. Remember thou *Quantam tibi dignitatis plenitudinem & honoris contulit mater tua Romana Ecclesia, what ample dignitie the Church of Rome hath bestowed vpon thee, and that thou hast receiued from her hand, maiora beneficia, the greatest benefits that might be.* Clauses which properly offended the Princes: as if the Pope should haue said, That the Emperour held the Empire by homage of him, and that the Empire was his fee. And so much the more, saith *Radicus*, did they hold themselves to the strict interpretation of his words, because they knew that the Romans rashly affirmed, *That the Empire of the citie, and the realme of Italie, had not beene possessed till then by our Kings, but of the donation of Popes. Which they were not content onely to say, but represented in writings and pictures, and so conueyed to posteritie: Insomuch,* saith he, *that there was written ouer a certaine picture of the Emperour *Latharius*, which was set up at the Palace of Lateran:*

*Rex venit ante fores iurans prius urbis honores,
Post homo su. Pape, sumit quod ante Coronam.*

The King before his gates doth come, which sweares first to the towne,
Whom both the Pope his seruant makes, and after, him doth crowne.

That after he had taken his oath he was made the Popes seruant, and receiued the Crowne in gift of him. When *Frederick* was told of this picture, being then about Rome, he complained thereof to *Adrian*, who promised him to cause both the writing and picture to be taken away, least so ruine a thing should giue matter of strife and discord betwene two the greatest persons in the world. And indeed that such was the meaning of *Adrian*, appeareth by his owne letters to *Arnulph* Archbishop of Mence, *Fredericke* of Cologne, and *Hillin* of Treuers, in these words: *The Roman Empire was translated from the Greekes to the Germans, so as that their King was not called Emperour till after he was crowned by the Pope. Before the consecration he is King, after he is Emperour.*

E c whence

Anton. ex Joh. Sarisbur. & Halimando Part. 2. Tit. 17. c. 1. § 9.

Radicus Canon. Frising. l. 1. c. 10. Signon. de regno Ital. l. 12.

Auent. l. 6.

Whence hath he then the Empire but from us? From the election of his Princes he hath the name of King, from our consecration the name of Emperour of Augustus, and Caesar. From us then he hath the Empire. Call to mind antiquities, Zacharie advanced Charls, and gaue him a great name, that he might be Emperour: to the end that fro thenceforth for euer the king of Germanie might be an Aduocat of the Apostolike See, & that Aulus by him reduced, might be subiect to the Bishop of Rome, which is ours, with the citie of Rome, and not the Emperours: For Rome is our seat, the seat of the Emperour is Aix in Ardenne. All that the Emperour hath he holdeth of vs. As Zacharie translated the Empire of the Greeks to the Germans, so may we from the Germans to the Greekes. Behold it is in our power to giue it to whom we will, and for this are we established of God ouer nations, and ouer kingdomes, for to destroy and plucke vp, to build and to plant, &c. Thus you see the enterprife of Adrian; it remaineth for vs to shew what Frederick doth thereupon, without forgetting by the way, that this is that Adrian, who writing to Henrie King of England, was not ashamed to say, That Ireland, and all islands on which Christ the Sunne of righteousness hath shone, by right appertaine to Saint Peter, and to the Church of Rome: Therefore that he should honourably receiue him thither, without preiudice of the said rights, and namely pay him a penie pension by the yeare for euerie household.

Adrian, Epist. ad Regem Anglie Henr. apud Matth. Westm. naster.

OPPOSITION.

Kyantz. l. 6. c. 35

So soone as Frederick had seene that picture of Lotharius doing homage, hee suddenly turned away his sight, and fretted at it without speaking a word, for there was Innocent the second sitting in his Pontificall chaire, and Lotharius prostrat at his knees receiuing the Imperiall Crowne: and when he was returned into Germanie, the Pope by two Cardinals sent him the Epistle aboue mentioned. Therefore all the Princes of the Empire which assisted him, were greatly offended hereat; and as some of them complained of so insolent a Legation, one of the Popes Legats, *Quasi gladium igni addens*, as it were adding the sword to fire, replied, for to take away all ambiguity, Of whom then doth the Emperour hold the Empire, if not of my Lord the Pope? At which words Otho Count Palatine set his hand to his sword, and would haue slaine him, had not the Emperour withheld him, who also without any other answer sent away the Legats in safetie to Rome, by the neerest way, for feare least they should goe vp and downe suborning the people. In the meane time Frederick writeth to all the States of the Empire, complaining of this insolencie; and sent them a copie of the letters, obseruing vnto them the clauses aboue said, *Flowing*, saith he, from the Mammon of Iniquitie, that puffeth him vp with a heape of pride, of haustinesse, of arrogancie, and of execrable losincesse (elatione) of heart: notwithstanding that he held the Empire by the election of the Princes, and from God alone: That the Apostle S. Peter himselfe had instructed the world in these words, *Fear God, honour the King*: So that whosoever shall say he holdeth the Imperiall Crowne by the benefite of the Pope, is contrarye to diuine institution, to the doctrine of S. Peter, and convicted of lying. To this he added moreouer, That he was resolute, as he had begun, to warrant the libertie of the Churches from the bands of the Egyptians, to wit, from the Pope, as from a *Reus*, exhorting them to lend him their helping hands. And it is not to be forgotten, that he found about the Legats many blankes signed and sealed, to be filled at their discretion, for to sow their venime of iniquitie through the Churches of Germanie, to despoyle the Altars, carrie away the vessels of the house of God, cruces excoriare, to slea or fleece the crosses, that is to say, to plucke off the gold and siluer that couered them; which was the cause that he made them take the neerest way, that hee might cut off such practises. The Legats being come to the Pope, who besides was in con-

tention

attention with the Romans, resolved vpon their answer to write to the Bishops of Germanie, complaining that Frederick had misconstrued the good meaning of his letters, and namely these words, *Insigne beneficium tibi contulimus*. We haue giuen thee this notable benefite of the Crowne: And much harder were the words in his letters. He requested them to pacifie his mind, and to induce him to make such satisfaction of the speeches to his Legats, as that all men might be edified thereby: So doing they should doe a good seruice to Saint Peter. But the Bishops and Prelats of Germanie being vpon this Legation assembled together, doe answer him, That all the Commonwealth of the Empire was moued at the clauses contained in his letters: that the cares of the Emperour could not patiently heare them, nor of the Princes endure them: that themselues, for that sinister ambiguity, could not approue them, being vnusuall, and neuer before heard of till then: That in consequence of his letters they had admonished the Emperour, *From whom, thanks be to God*, say they, *we haue receiued such an answer as became a Catholike Prince*. Note here his words as followeth: There are two things, saith he, whereby our Empire ought to be gouerned, the holie lawes of Emperours, and the good custome of our Fathers and predecessors. These bounds of the Church we neither will nor can transgresse, neither admit anything that departeth from them. We willingly yeeld to the Pope his due reuerence, but we hold the free Crowne of our Empire onely from God and his diuine bountie. The first voyce of election we acknowledge is from the Archbishop of Mentz, and then of other Princes euerie one in his order, the royall vnction from the Bishop of Cologne, the last, which is the Imperiall vnction, from the Pope. Whatsoeuer is more than this, ex abundanti est a malo, is superfluous, and from that wicked one, &c. Wee haue not, neither will we by Edict stop the entrance and passage of Italie from them that goe to Rome, be it for voyage, or other reasonable causes, hauing the testimonie of their Bishops and Prelats, but we haue an intention to remedie the abuses wherewith all the Churches of our realme are grieved, and almost all cloister all disciplines dead and buried. In time past God exalted the Church by the Empire, now the Church (not by God, as we beleene) ruinateth the Empire. They began by a picture, from that they came to writing, and now writing endeuouret to passe into authoritie: we will not endure it, we will not suffer it, we will rather forgoe our Crowne than consent, that by us it shall fall into decay. Let them deface the pictures, let them withdraw these writings, that there remaine not an eternall memorie of enmitie betweene the Kingdome and the Priesthood. In these tearmes represented they to Adrian the resolution of Frederick, concluding with a supplication, That he would mitigat the former writings by other more mild, for to appease the magnanimitie of the Emperour. And in the mean time the Emperour sent into Italie Otho of Wittelsbach Palatine, and Renold Earle of Assell, his Chauncellor, great personages, for to keepe all men in obedience, and to receiue the oath of the Lords, Bishops, and Comminalties; the forme whereof was this, *I promise that from henceforth I will be faithfull to Frederick the Emperour of the Romans, my Lord, against all men, &c. namely I will not take away from him his royalties of such a Countie, or Bishopricke, &c. I will execute all his commaundements that he shall commaund me by himselfe, or by letter, or his embassadour, to doe iustice, &c.* So that Adrian seeing the commission of these forerunners of the Emperour prosperously to goe forward, and perceiuing him about to passe into Italie with an armie, he sent vnto him two Legats, Henrie and Iacynth, Cardinals, with letters; wherein he correcteth his plea: VVhich Legats (saith the Author) reuerently with an humble countenance, and a modest voyce, began their Legation in these words: *Præsul Sanctę Romanę Ecclesię, the Bishop of the holie Church of Rome, and most deuout Father of your Excellencie in Christ,*

E e ij

saluteth

Radenicus l. 1. c. 15. & 16.

Radenicus l. 1. c. 16.

Sigm. de regno Jua. l. 12.

Radenicus l. 2. c. 18. 19.

Radenicus de gestis Frederic. l. 1. c. 11.

saluteth you, as his most decre and speciall sonne of Saint Peter: Our venerable brethren, your Clerkes, all the Cardinalls, doe also most humbly salute you, as Lord and Emperour, vrbis & orbis, of the citie of Rome and of the world. How different is this stile from that we read before in his letters to the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, & Treuers. Then they presented their letters which Frederick gaue to Otho Bishop of Frisingen to interpret, the tenor whereof we may read in *Radeuicus*, full of submission, satisfaction, & reuerence. The particular clauses are: *By occasion of the word Beneficium thy heart (as I am informed) hath bene moued, which truly ought not to moue the heart of an inferiour, nor yet of so great a man: For although the word Beneficium be taken by some in another signification, yet it should then haue bene taken as we meant it, and in the sence it hath from his originals, for it is composed of bonum & factum, and with vs we call beneficium, non feudum, not a fee, but bonum factum, a good action, in which sence it is found in all the bodie of holie Scripture, where it is read, That we are governed and nourished, ex beneficio Dei, by the benefits of God, non tanquam ex feudo, not as by a fee, but by his blessing. And so your magnificence knoweth, that wee haue so honourably set the signe of Imperiall dignitie on your head, that all men may iudge it to be, vt bonum factum, as a good deed, or a good action. And thus corrected he not only his former letters, but also the inscription of the picture of Innocent the second, Post homo fit Papa, He was made the Popes vassall. He proceedeth: Some haue also turned these words to another sence, Contulimus tibi insigne Imperialis Coronæ, we haue giuen thee the signe of Imperiall dignitie (he had said more harshly, plenitudinem dignitatis, the fulwesse of dignitie, that is to say, the whole dignitie) but without cause, and of set purpose, because they loue not the peace of the Kingdom and of the Church, for by this word contulimus, we vnderstand nothing but imposuimus, we haue set it upon thy head. And thereby he renounced also the rest of the verse of Innocent, Sumit quo dante Coronam, That the Emperour received the Crowne in gift from the Pope. And by this mild interpretation of Grammar Frederick was appeased, who moreover declared vnto the Legats, and gaue them in writing certaine articles, in default of which a seed of discord would continue betwixt them; to which they promised the Pope should satisfie, being in no manner willing to derogate from his royall dignitie. So for this time he yeelded them peace. And note here with D. what faithfulness the same was done: *Adrian* (saith *Baronius*) did it in wisdom, for to giue place to wrath, interpreting also this word beneficium for to auoid discord, and not in good earnest, for these things could not long subsist. This was in the yere 1158. And neuertheless Frederick passed the Alpes for to appease the rebellions of Lombardie, and to refresh his armie, not long after he led it into the Popes lands, whereby ariseth againe a new quarell. It was an auncient custome, saith *Otho* Bishop of Frisingen, since the time that the Roman Empire was deriued to the Frenchmen, vntil this presents, that so often as the Kings had a purpose to enter into Italie, they sent some of their seruants afore, being men of vnderstanding, who visiting euery citie and town, demanded those things that belonged to the Kings reueneue, which the inhabitants call Fodrum: whence it came to passe, that at the Princes comming the cities, townes, and castles, which either altesogether refused to pay the same, or did not wholly pay it, were oftentimes rased euen with the ground, for an example to posteritie. Another iustice also followeth from auncient custome, that the Prince entring into Italie, all dignities & magistracies ceased, and all matters were ordered ad ipsius nutum, according to the laws & iudgement of the Lawyers. When Frederick therefore by his officers thought to vse these rights, namely in Fodro colligendo, *Adrian* began, through the instigation of some, to be grievously offended, saying, That he had received euill for good, and that the Empe-*

*Radeuicus l. 1.
cap. 13.*

*Baron. an. 1158.
art. 6.*

An. 1158.

*Otho Frisingens.
l. 2. c. 13.*

*Radeuicus l. 2.
cap. 13.*

70117

A row was ingratefull for his benefits, especially when hee heard that as well the Cities, and Lords, as the Bishoppes and Abbots had acknowledged the Royalties of the Prince: And thereupon hee wrote Letters vnto him, in shew mild, but in deed beeing well considered, full of sharpe reproofe, which hee presented vnto him by a wild and base messenger, who before they were read, was suddenly vanished. At this, *Frederic* was againe greatly moued, and the rather, for that a litle before, he had refused, at his request, to confirme *Wydo* sonne of the Earle of Blandrara, in the place of *Anselme* Archbishop of Rauenna, being by the people and Clergie chosen therunto, vnder pretence that he was sub-deacon of the Church of Rome, who could not be translated, to any other Church without his commaund; although *Adrian* in many other things, & of greater importance, dispensed withall as it pleased him: wherefore neuertheless resolved to trie him in this, yet once more, by sending the Bishop of Verde with verie honourable letters, is againe refused. He therefore then commaundeth his Secretarie, That thenceforth in the Letters that hee wrot to the Pope, Nomen suum præferrens Romani Episcopi subsecundum, he should set his name first and the Popes afterward, and should speake to him onely in the singular number. Adding that either the Pope ought to write vnto him after the custome of his Predecessours, or else not thinke it straunge, if he followed in his letters the auncient manner of Princes. *Adrian* was not pleased at this, & therefore admonished him, that this was not to giue due reuerence to *S. Peter*, **C** redemanding of him an accompt of his Royalties and other rights abouesayd. *Frederic* answered, that he had followed the auncient custome, and agreeable to reason, that Bishops should render vnto *Cæsar* the things belonging vnto *Cæsar*: For his Cardinals, hee had shut the gates of Cities against them, because they came, non ad prædicandum, sed ad prædandum, not to preach, but to make spoyle. And to encrease this mischief, in the meane time the Letters of *Adrian* are intercepted, written to them of Milan, and some other Cities, whereby hee stirred them vp to rebellion against *Frederic*: And thereupon also *Frederic* sent his Embassadors to Rome to the Senat and people. Then *Adrian* growing verie impatient, sent foure Cardinals to *Frederic* at Bononia, who post lene principium, after a gentle beginning, propound vnto him these hard Articles: That hee should (vnto him) send no more messengers to Rome, seeing all the Magistrats there, were of *S. Peter*, with all the Royalties: That he should not collect the Fodrum of the Demaines of the Church, except in the time when he commeth to receive the Crowne: That the Bishops of Italie should giue him oath of fidelitie, but not of homage: That his Embassadors should not be lodged in the Palaces of Bishops: That he should restore the possessions of the Church of Rome, and the tributes of Ferrara, of Massa, Figarnola, of all the Land of the Countesse *Mahilda*, and from *Aquapendente* to Rome, of the Duchie of *Spoleum*, and of the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*. And when the Emperour constantly offered to doe them iustice in these things, if they would doe him iustice in other matters; they would onely receive iustice, and doe none, alledging that it was not in their power, to iudge the Pope: And on the contrarie the Emperour made his complaints against him, who had broken the concord he had promised him in word of truth: That he would not receive the Grecians, Sicilians, and Romans but with common consent: That he had sent without the Emperours leaue, his Cardinals, who passed freely throughout his Realme, entred into the Royall Palaces of Bishops, and vexed the Churches of God with vntust Appeals, and many other things: which the Pope refusing to satisfie, *Concordia verbum*, saith *Radeuicus*, diu desideratum, peccatis nostris exigentibus, euacuatum est. The word of concord so long desired, for our sinnes was made voyd. Notwithstanding *Frederic* to omit

*Radeuicus l. 2.
cap. 18.*

*Sigon. de regno
Ital. l. 12.
Radeuicus l. 2.
cap. 18.*

*Radeuicus l. 2.
cap. 30.*

no duetic of his side, answereth by letters the Articles of *Adrian* in these words: *I A* affect not the homage of the Bishops of *Italie*, If they will hold none of our Royalties: But if they take pleasure to heare the Pope say vnto them, *Quid tibi & Regi*, what hast thou to doe with the King? Let him not thinke it strange, if consequently the Emperour say vnto them, *Quid tibi & possessioni*, what need hast thou of the possession? I am content, that my Embassadors be nat receiued into the Palaces of Bishops, provided that the sayd Palaces stand on their owne ground, and not on ours: Otherwise, if they stand on our ground, seeing euerie building solo cedat pertayneth to the ground whereon it standeth, they be our Palaces. It is therefore an iniurie, to forbid our Embassadors from the Royall Palaces. whereas he saith, the Emperour is not to send Embassadors to Rome, seeing all the Maiestrates there, are of *S. Peter*, with all the Royalties: This thing I confesse is great and graue, and hath need of graue and mature counsell: For seeing I am called, and am by diuine ordnance Emperour of *Rome*, I haue but the shew of raigning, and beare but the wayne Title, and name thereof, without the thing, if the power ouer the Citie of *Rome* be plucked out of our hands. At length it was propounded that six Cardinals on the Popes side, and six Bishops on the Emperours side should be chosen arbitrators in the matter, to decide the same: But (saith he) of the Romans part this Councell is sayd to be voyd, alledging that the Pope was not subiect to the judgement of any. And when *Frederic*, vpon this refusall was earnest by his Embassadors, that he would referre himselfe to the judgement of a generall Councell, he answered, *I ought to call, not to be called; I am to iudge, not to be iudged*; an answer which was verie much detested of all the elder sort, that he refused the judgement of the Church: Now followeth out of *Nauclerus*, the recipocall Epistles of *Adrian* and *Frederic*: That of *Adrian* began thus: *The Law of God, as it promiseth long life to them that honour their Parents, so it pronounceth sentence of death, against such as curse them. And the voyce of truth teacheth vs, that whosoener exalteth himselfe shall be humbled. And thereupon he reproudgeth him, that he had set his name, first, against the Loyaltie sworne to S. Peter; That he required homage of Bishops, who are Gods, and all sonnes of the most high, and presumed to put their sacred hands, within his prophane hands, imputing vnto him arrogancie and infidelitie. To this Frederic answered, vsing this salutation: Adriano Ecclesie Catholica Pontifici, omnibus illis adharere, que caeperit Iesus facere & docere, To Pope Adrian greeting, and to cleaue and to sticke vnto all things that Iesus began to doe and teach. And whereas *Adrian* had sayd, The diuine Law pronounceth sentence of death &c. *Frederic* likewise beginneth, The Law of iustice rendreth vnto euerie man, that which belongeth vnto him &c. Then he proceedeth, I pray you, had *Siluester* in *Constantines* time any Royalties? But by the graunt of his pietie, libertie & peace is restored to the Church &c. whatsoener your Popedom hath of Royaltie, that is from the bountie of Princes &c. Turne ouer the *Annales*, and you shall find it to be so. He reproudgeth him of infidelitie, in that he had taken oath and receiued the homage of Bishops, whom hee called Gods, and sonnes of the most high: Whereunto *Frederic* answereth, why may we not exact homage and royal oaths, from them which of God by adoption hold our Royalties, seeing that he which is our Authour and your, receiuing nothing from any earthly King, but bestowing all good things to all men, did yet pay tribute to *Cesar* for himselfe, and for *Peter*, giuing you example to doe the like, and he teacheth you so, saying, Learne of me, for I am meeke and humble of heart. Lastly, hauing repeated againe the foresayd clauses, he concludeth: For we cannot answer reports, when we see the detestable beast of pride, crept to the seat of *S. Peter*. And these two Epistles are written by *Nauclerus*, taken out of the Librarie of *Hirsauge*. And vpon this died *Adrian* at *Anania*, in September 1159: *William**

Radenicus l. 2. cap. 31.

Nauclerus Gen. 30 vol. 2.

Signo de regno Ital. l. 10.

William of Tyre saith, he was taken with the Squinancie: But the Abot of *Vrsperg* saith, that hauing newly excommunicated the Emperour *Frederic*, he went walking to a fountaine, where taking some water, a flie got into his mouth and strangled him, the Phisitions being not able to helpe him. *Baronius* is herewith offended, yet is he the Authour he most vseth against the Emperours, in fauor of the Popes.

Johannes Stella in Pontificib. *Wilhelm. Tyr.* l. 18. cap. 26. *Abbas Vrsperg.* an. 1156.

Johannes Sarif-
burienfis in *Po-*
licro. l. 6. c. 24.

Now to this is to be referred the conference of *John* of *Sarisburie* Bishoppe of *Chartres*, with Pope *Adrian*, which he himselfe hath left vs in writing: *I remember*, saith he, *I went into Apulia* to visit Pope *Adrian* the fourth, who admitted me into great familiaritie, & I remayned with him at *Beneuent* about three moneths. When therefore we conferred together often of many things, as the manner is betweene friends, hee diligently and familiarly inquired of me, what opinion men had of him, and of the Roman Church, I plainly layed open vnto him with libertie of speech, the euill words I had heard in diuers Prouinces: For thus it is sayd: The Church of *Rome*, which is mother of all Churches, behaueh herselfe, towards others, not as a mother, but as a stepdame: The *Scribes* and *Pharases* sit in the same, lading mens shoulders with burthens, heauie to be borne, which they themselues touch not with a finger: They haue dominion ouer the Clergie, and yet are not an example to the stocke, leading the right way to life: They heape vp pretious moueables, load their Tables with gold and siluer, beeing sparing to themselues, through ouermuch cometsnesse: For the poore, they are neuer, or verie seldome receiued, and then not so much for the loue of *Christ* as for wayne glorie: By force of terrour they wrest from the Churches, they stir vp contentions, incite the Clergie and people the one against the other, haue no compassion of the paynes & miseries of the afflicted, they delight in the spoyle of Churches, and doe all account gayne for godlinesse: They do iustice, not for the truths sake, but for gaine: All things to day are done for money, but to morrow thou shalt obtayne nothing without reward: They often hurt, wherein they imitate *Diuels*, and they are thought then to doe good, when they cease from hurting, some few excepted, who fulfill the name and office of *Pastour*: Yea the Pope of *Rome* himselfe is burthenous to all, and almost intollerable: Moreouer we see that although the Churches, which the deuotion of our Fathers haue builded, goe to ruine, and altars to be without ornament, yet in the meane time he buildeth for himselfe Palaces, and goeth not onely in purple, but all couered ouer with gold: The Palaces of Churchmen glitter in beautie, but in their hands the Church of *Christ* is foule and without furniture: They take by violence the spoyle of Prouinces, as if they purposed to repaire the treasures of *Cresus*: But the most high humblyeth them well, giuing them as a prey vnto others, and often vnto most vile persons, and (as I thinke) whiles they wander out of the way, the scourge of God will not depart from them: For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, that with what iudgement they iudge they shall be iudged, and their owne measure shall be measured to them againe: This is it (saith he) O Father which the people say, seeing you will haue me shew you their opinions: And surely he sufficiently also declared thereby his owne opinion, when he sayd as I thinke: But *Adrian* putteth him vpon the racke: And thou, saith he, what is thine opinion? I am in a strait euerie way (sayd I) for I feare I shall incurre the blame of lying and flatterie, if I alone doe contradict the people, and if otherwise I feare to be accused of high treason, and be thought to deserue the gibbet, for opening my mouth against heauen: Yet seeing that *Guido Clemens* Priest, Cardinal of *S. Potenciana*, witnesseth vnto the people, I presume not in any sort to contradict him; for he saith, that in the Church of *Rome* there is a certaine root duplicitatistis of donblenesse, which is contrarie to the simplicitie of a *Doue*, which is so much commended to Christians: A nourishing also of all cometsnesse, which is the head and root of all euils: And this he publicly protested, *not*

not in a corner, but to the Cardinalls his brethren sitting in Consistorie, before Eugenius, A when the Ferentines were hot against my innocencie. Yet, I boldly say, my conscience bearing me witnesse, that I have now here seene more honest Clergie men than in the Church of Rome. And here he nameth vnto him Bernard of Redon, Cardinall Deacon, and the Bishop of Prenest; without doubt, that he might prepare a way to that which he had to say. Because therefore that you instantly urge and commaund me, and that it is not lawfull to lye vnto the holie Ghost, I confesse what you command must be done, and yet all are not to imitate you in all workes; for he which dissenteth from the true doctrine is either an heretike or a schismatike: but through Gods mercie there bee some which imitate not the workes of all of vs, &c. But I feare least in continuing to enquire of me what you will, you heare of an imprudent friend that which you would not. What is this B Father, that thou examinest the life of others, and doest in no wise search into thy selfe? All men applaud thee, all men call thee Lord and Father, and the whole oyle of a sinner is poured on thy head. If then thou art a Father, why doest thou expect gifts and retributions from thy children? If a Lord, why striketh thou not a feare in thy Romans? and repressing their temeritie, why doest thou not call them backe to the faith? For he had said a little before, That God tooke away godlie men from Rome, because being corrupt, it was found with God unworthie of such men. But thou wilt preferre the Ciste to the Church by thy gifts; did Siluester obtaine it by gifts? In inuio Pater es, non in via, Father thou art out of the way, and not in the way: it is to be preserved by the same gifts whereby it was gotten. That which you haue receiued freely give freely: Iustice is the Queene of all C vertues, and blasphemeth to be changed for any price whatsoeuer: for to be gracious it must be freely bestowed. Let not her by any meanes be prostituted to price of money, which cannot be corrupted. Iustice is entire, and euer uncorrupt. In oppressing others thou shalt be more grievously oppressed. The Pope, saith he, laugheth at it, and congratulateth my libertie. But what saith the Pope to this? surely he telleth him that fable of Æsop, of the members of one that sometime mutined against the stomacke, for it receiued all and did nothing; and when they had determined to send no more any thing into it, after some few dayes the whole bodie pined away: thereupon concluding, that euen so would it be with all Christendome, if from all parts they sent not riches to Rome. But whence would he haue proued vnto him, that Rome, as the stomacke, D holdeth little or nothing to it selfe, but digesteth and distributeth whatsoeuer is put into it, for the good of the whole bodie, & of euerie part thereof? Thus spake this good Bishop to the Pope, hauing doubtlesse more in his mind than hee durst expresse: for he purposely set forth a treatise, the title whereof was *Obiurgatorium Cleri*, wherein he grievously reprehended the whole Clergie; and likewise in many places of his Polycraticon more stoutly: and in another place saith, One hoping in the multitude of his riches (entred into the Church) Simon leading him by the hand (that is to say *Magus*) and findeth not there any to say vnto him, Thy money perish with thee. Another feareth to come neere S. Peter with gifts, and neuer thelesse prinely, as sometime Iupiter did into the lap of Danae, so this incestuous sutor by a golden shoure slideth himselfe into the lap of the Church, &c. Alreadie all things are openly bought, vnlesse the modestie of the seller hinder it. A prophane heat of couetousnesse doth so honour ouer the sacred Altars, that these things are bought as forchand, &c. As for manners, they are the last they make mention of, and the Canon lawes were in no sort made for these men; alluding to the words of the Apostle, *Lex non posita est iusto*, They are free from iustice, and are led with that spirit, that they haue no need to be vnder the law, &c. Openly mocking them, Thou wouldst wonder that Simon were come againe to deceiue the credulous and simple. In another place, who would beleue that the Fathers of the Church, the

Idem l. 7. c. 17.
38, 19.

Idem l. 8. c. 17.

Judges

A Judges of the world, and that I may so say, the most cleere lights of the world, lone gifts, follow rewards, Prouincias concutiant vt excutiant, By their concussions ruinate Prouincies, emptie other mens purses to fill their owne, preach poverie in words, and by crimes hunt after riches; condemne the trafficke of spirituall goods, but to the end men may contract with none but with them, hauing no other end, but to be feared of all, and loued of none: preaching peace, that they may raise contentions, seeming humble to dissemble their owne pride, beating downe other mens couetousnesse to feed their owne avarice, inuoyning liberalitie, and persist themselves in niggardnesse: and to knit up all in a word, putting their portion with all sorts of wicked people, and applying themselves to wickednesse, in solidum, wholly, that they may seeme a Councell of vanitie, the wicked Synagogue of the Gentiles, Ecclesia malignantium, the Church of the enuious and euill doers, in whose hands are iniquities, and their right hand filled with gifts. Of the head of this Synagogue what may then be thought? Wee must not here forget the matters of the East, that Pope Adrian for to oblige vnto him the Templers, hauing exempted them from the iurisdiction of the Patriarch, which the Author calleth *Perniciosam libertatem*, a pernicious libertie, the Patriarch, with his principall Bishops, being neere an hundred yeares old, is constrained to come to Rome to make his complaints vnto him; whom the Pope deluded long with many fained delays, till at length consumed with griefe and great charges he is forced to giue ouer his cause. William the Archbishop of Tyre saith plainly, The Templers had corrupted the Pope with gifts, and therefore bee held them for his lawfull children, C and the Patriarch with all his for bastards, and as unworthie put them away from him. Moreouer, Of so great a troupe of Cardinalls there were scarcely found two or three, who following Christ would fauour his minister the Patriarch in his cause, all the other hunting after rewards, haue followed the wayes of Balaam, as sonnes of Bofor. Soone after died the poore Patriarch, to whom succeeded *Almaricus*, who receiued the Pall from Rome, but by meanes of great bountie and liberalitie. Thus spake they of the corruption of Rome.

Guiliel. Tyrius
l. 18. c. 7. 8.

48. PROGRESSION.

D Of the factions in the Popedome, and the diuers molestations procured by Rowland, called afterward Alexander the third. Of the strange pride and insolencie of the said Alexander, and how he insulted ouer the Emperour Frederick doing him all the honour he could. How this Alexander was the first Pope that tooke vpon him the canonizing of Saints.

E Adrian was no sooner dead but this fire began to kindle more and more. The Cardinals being diuided fell to sedition, and the one part of them chose *Ostian* Cardinal of S. Cæcill, whom they called *Vicior* the fourth, the other Rowland Cardinal of S. Marke, whom they named Alexander the third. This Rowland was one of the two Legats whom Adrian had sent to Frederick into Germanie with his sharpe and thundering letters, which caused their welcome to be the worse, and thereby nourished, as it seemed, some inward hatred in him toward Frederick. These two therefore vsed their best indeouours to iustifie and fortifie their owne causes, from whence arose those two famous factions in Italie, of the Guelfes and Gibellines. Rowland alledged for himselfe, That he was chosen by the voices of twenty three Cardinalls: *Ostian* albeit had he but five, was the first that

wore

wore the scarlet Robe, and sat in S. Peters chaire, with the consent and approbation both of the people and Clergie. But Rowland not daring to contend with Octavian, in the Citie, being a Citizen of Rome, retired himselfe to Tarracina, and there was the first that was consecrated, and then condemned all those to the pit of hell that should consecrate Octavian: Neuerthelesse he within few dayes following was consecrated by his owne companie, and requited him with the like execrations; But with the helpe of Otho Countie Palatine he invaded Campania, and the Patrimonie of S. Peter: Both in the meane time abiding without Rome, because the Senat of Rome held authoritie in the Citie, a thing not compatible with the Papacie. So Alexander the third held his residence at Anaigne, Victor the fourth at Sienna; both the one and the other had need of the Emperours fauour, who then lodged at Creme in Lombardie; but Alexander who had offended him, had the lesse hope to be supported by him: This is that which we haue vnderstood by their Letters, related by Radeuicus to the Patriarches, Archbishops, and Bishops &c. of which Letters those of Alexander are more sharpe, wherein speaking of Victor, these words are to be noted: *He prefiguring the time of Antichrist, is exalted so high above himselfe, that he sits in the Temple of God, as if he were God, and many haue beheld with their owne eyes the abomination of desolation in the holie place, not without great effusion of teares.* And it is not to be doubted but that Victor saith the like of Alexander, so that the aduerser part of either judgeth the other Antichrist, by which name they excommunicat one another with burning lights, and condemne the contrarie part of each other to the pit of hell, with the Dinell their Authour. These are their verie words. Frederic gaue them to vnderstand that he would not meddle in this controuersie, either with the one or with the other, thinking it fitter to be referred to the judgement and censure of the Church. Therefore according to the example of the auncient Emperours he assembled a Councell at Pauia by his authoritie in the yeare 1160. And to summon them both he sent two reuerent and prudent men Daniel Bishop of Prague, and Herman Bishop of Verde: whereby it should appeare, he would not doe any prejudice either to the one, or to the other; and thither also inuited the Archbishops, Bishops, and Priests, not onely of the Empire, but of Fraunce, England, Spaine, Hungarie, Denmarke, with protestation of all *securitie and safe conduct* for their persons, and sincere iustice in the conduct of these affaires; *Having truly vnderstood* (saith he) *of the Decrees of the Popes, and Statutes of the Church, That a Schisme arising in the Church of Rome through the dissention of two Popes, it is our dutie to call both parties, and according to equitie and iustice to decide the controuersie.* The day therefore being come, he ordayned fasting and publike prayers, for the good successe of this Councel: then declared he first vnto them, That albeit the conuocation of Councils rightly appertayned vnto him, For so (saith he) haue Constantine, and Theodosius, and also Iustinian, besides those of later time, Charles the great and Otho Emperours done; Neuerthelesse the authoritie of defining and deciding this great and important businesse he thought fit to commit to their wisdome and iudgement. For since it pleased God to ordaine them Priests, in those things that belonged vnto God, It is not (saith he) *our parts to iudge of you, to whom God hath giuen power to iudge of vs,* Onely we exhort you (saith he) *that you so carrie your selues in this businesse, as you will answer the matter at the iudgement seat of God.* This done he retired himselfe from the Councell leauing the examination thereof to the Church and Ecclesiasticall persons, that is to say, to fiftie Archbishops and Bishops, and Abbots without number, besides Embassadors from diuers Prouinces, who promised they

Radeuicus l. 2. cap. 43. & 59.

Radeuicus l. 2. cap. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55.

An. 1160.

Radeuicus l. 2. cap. 55. 56.

Radeuicus l. 2. cap. 64. 65.

A they would stand to whatsoeuer should be decreed in this Synode. So the Bishops and all the Clergie continued in the canuasing of this cause the space of seuen daies: at length the lot fell to Octavian called Victor the fourth; the Councell or rather the Court giuing their sentence for him, and condemning Rowland, called Alexander the third, who being lawfully summoned, proudly refused to appeare. Blondus and Sigonius say, his reason was, *That he that ought to iudge all men, ought not to be iudged of any man.* But Radeuicus in his narration seriously admonisheth the Reader, *that in the inquisition of the veritie of this act, a man respect not his words, but the writings that came to his owne hands, which are inserted into this worke, and will not seeme tedious to the Reader.*

B But first he produced an Epistle of the Chanons of S. Peter of Rome to Frederic. wherein after they had bewailed the corruption of Rome as the Prophets before deplored the state of Ierusalem, in these words; *For the finnes of the Prophets, and the iniquitie of the Priests, they haue wandered like blind men in the streets, for the face of the Lord was turned from them;* They declare that in the time of Adrian one Boson, whom they call the first borne of Satan, possessed the forts and holds of S. Peter, by corrupting the gard, who were infort by oath to giue their faith vnto him: But Rowland seeing the lawfull election to fall vpon Octavian, without any contradiction ascended the same fort, and there lurked with his associats in a hollow vault of Neroes, I say the same vault whereinto the Romane Nero fled through feare of the Romans, yet could he neuer afterward attaine the pontifical Mantle for all the care and diligence of his followers. And heere let the Reader note a peece of strange diuinitie; that from a mantle cast vpon the shoulders of a man, whether by right or by wrong, by freewill or by force, an argument should be drawne of a lawfull or vnlawfull election; especially his that is accounted the chiefe Bishop of the Christian Church. They come afterward to the act of the Councell, which being plainely and simply propounded by the Author, by all circumstances iustificth the election of Victor, and weakeneth and disableth that of Alexander; But yet it is continually a question, *An immanatus Rolandus nec ne?* which is perpetually denied by all. Then was made a catalogue of all those that had giuen their consent with Victor, and Rowland himselfe said to his parakers; *De me non facietis ridiculum, sibi estis Papa, ite ad eum obedite, Make not me your laughing-stocke, the Pope is there, goe to him, and obey him.* The Councell therefore being led by these and the like proofes pronounced sentence, which was likewise ratified by the Emperour being presented vnto him. The Presidents of the Councell writ into diuers parts of the world, that for these causes aforesaid they had chosen Victor and abandoned Rowland, whom they had cast with booke and candle to the Deuill himselfe, because in the life of Adrian he would haue made a confederacie, that none but of the number of the confederats should be chosen Pope; and these Synodall letters were signed by Porgerinus Patriarch of Aquileia, with his suffragans, Arnaldus of Metz, Arsenius of Brema, Helmus of Treuers, Remulus of Collet, Wickardus of Metz, Arsenius of Brema, Helmus of Treuers, Remulus of Collet, Wickardus of Metz, Arsenius of Brema, Helmus of Treuers, with their followers; For France the Archbishops of Bisanon, Arles, Lion, Vienna, with their suffragans; The Embassadors of the Kings of England, Hungarie, Denmarke, grounding themselves vpon the commands and letters of their Lords, and an infinite number of Bishops, Abbots, and Prelates of Italy and Lords of the Empire, as well within as without Italy, did likewise subscribe thereunto: And the Embassadors that were sent from the Councell to worke a quiet approbation of what was done in that Councell, was the Bishop of Collen into Fraunce, of Verdune into Spaine, of Prague into Hungarie;

Jdem l. 3. c. 66.

Radeuic. l. 2. c. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76.

Hungarie. Which to this end be it spoken, that it might plainly appeare how justly and vprightly *Frederick* carried himselfe in that Councell, against the practises that were afterward made in diuers parts by *Alexander*. The Abbot of *Vrsperge* made a short abridgement of all this businesse: *There is law ynough*, saith he, *that the election of Rowland being disproued, Octavian should be iudged the right and lawfull Bishop of Rome, &c. And Rome continued in confusion through conspiracies, that shal might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, They that rise up against me shall be confounded; and againe, My seruant shall be replenished with ioy, &c.* *Alexander* had no sooner vnderstood these things, but he was the more eagre and forward to excommunicat *Victor* and *Frederick*; but first he sent to Milan the Cardinall of *Anaigne*, who excommunicated all those cities that fauoured *Frederick*, and joynd in a firme league with his enemies. But doubting it would not fall out well for his aduantage to hold a Councell in *Italie*, resolued with himselfe at the Spring of the yeare 1162 to passe into France, being the bolder because *Lewis* the younger, and *Henrie* the second, King of England, were yet wauering, and doubtfully affected the one towards the other, and that those of the Order of the *Cisterciens*, who then bare great sway in France, would be readie to take his part: He arriued at *Montpellier* about Easter, where he was receiued in the Kings name by *Theobald* Abbot of *S. Germaine*, neere *Paris*; from whence departing within some few dayes, he held a Councell at *Claramont* in *Auergne*, where he cursed and excommunicated *Victor* & *Frederick*, and all that tooke their part. *Frederick* in the meane time drew to *Bezancon*, and inuith king *Lewis* to meet him neere *Ararim*, to conferre touching the peace of the Church: But the mischief was, that *Frederick* arriuing about the euening at the day appointed, *Lewis* was already departed: whereupon these Princes grew afterwards so jealous and suspicious of each other, as they neuer afterward agreed vpon any point. Whereby it came to passe, that *Frederick* hauing in vaine attempted to renew this parley betweene them, few daies following *Alexander* the third was entertained at *Tossack* vpon *Loyre* by the Kings of France and England: from whence he went to *Tours* in the yeare 1163; and there celebrated a Synod to the same end; the rest was onely to make a shew of things, saue onely an Act against the *Waldenses*, whereof wee shall speake in his due place. And at the end of the yeare 1164 *Victor* happening to dye, the Cardinals presently created in his place *Guido* of *Cremona*, Cardinall of *S. Caliste*, who was called *Paschal* the third, approued afterward in the yeare 1165 by a Councell held at *Wurtsborge*. *Auentinus* noteth a memorable Decree which was then made, *That from thenceforth not any Pope should be created but after the auuncient manner, with the consent of the Emperour, nor should he otherwise styled but Nuntius duntaxat Christi, The messenger onely of Christ, and the successor of S. Peter, and to be no more a rinall of the Imperiall power*: In obseruation whereof all tooke their oathes not otherwise euer to admit of any, though the Emperour should dye: and who soeuer should refuse to doe it, to be deprived of their offices. *Alexander* making benefit partly by this change, and partly by the absence of *Frederick* being gone into Germanie, was resolued to passe into *Italie*, and so much the rather, because he vnderstood the cities began to be wearie of the gouernement of the Germans, especially the Romans being bewitched by the persuasions of the Cardinal *John* his Legat, desired his returne. Whereupon his affaires began to strengthen, albeit *Frederick* to intercept his proceedings, sent *Renaldus* Archbishop of *Collen*, and *Christianus* of *Mence*, into *Italie*, whilest he prepared an armie to come himselfe in person.

An. 1162.

Helmold. Hi-
stor. Sclauorum
l. 1. c. 91.

An. 1163.

An. 1164.

An. 1165.
Auent. l. 6.

Frede.

Frederick arriuing in *Lombardie*, all the cities thereof mutually condescended to complaine of the iniuries offered vnto them by the *Almane* Gouernours, and he made humble petition to be released from their seruitude and oppression. But he easily smelling the subtiltie of *Alexander*, resolued to march with his armie directly vnto him, and in the meane time deferred his answer. These on the other side, who gained nothing by attending the euent, concluded a league for the common libertie, in such sort that few cities there were that remained vnder his obedience. *Frederick* in the meane time hastened with his armie towards *Rome*, to establish *Paschal* in the throne; so that *Alexander* through the helpe and aid of the King of *Sicily* gallies was constrained for his safetie to flie to *Gaieta*. But the heat of the Summer drawing on, and the plague growing verie hot in his army, *Frederick* was constrained to leaue *Paschal* with a strong garrison in *Rome*, and retired himselfe into *Lombardie*; where he vnderstood at his returne, that the league of the cities were increased both in number, and strengthened with new oathes, yet adding this clause for fashion sake, *with exception of his seruice*: in so much that the *Venetians* themselues, flourishing in *Italie* both in reputation and wealth, were willing to joyne with them, and all at once gaue courage to the *Milanois* to reuolt. All this happened through that tickling desire of libertie, which the cities had tasted, by the absence or farre distance of the Emperour, being all reduced into the forme of *Commonwealthes*. *Frederick* therefore seeing his armie greatly weakened, in the yeare 1168 repassed the *Alpes*, and thereby gaue by his absence a fit occasion to *Alexander* for his aduantage, to whom in the meane time *Emanuel* Emperour of *Greece* offered to vnite the *Greeke* Church to the *Latine*, if hee would yeeld into his hands the Empire of the West; but it was farre from his meaning to establish the one or the other, but rather to destroy them both. In the meane time died *Paschal*, to whom succeeded *John* a Hungarian, called *Calixtus* the third, whom the Romans both chose, and vnderooke the protection of him against *Alexander*. Now whilest these things thus happened, and *Frederick* being returned about his affaires into Germanie, *Alexander* vpon this change propounded to the Romans, That if he might be receiued into the citie, he would be contented onely with the Ecclesiasticall administration, & would neuer meddle with any ciuile gouernement: which neuerthelesse he could not yet obtaine for the contradiction of *Fredericks* fauourers. But in the yeare 1175 *Frederick* being returned into *Lombardie*, at his first arriuall set vpon *Alexander*, where in the heat of the siege, *Henrie* Duke of *Saxonie* faining himselfe to be touched with scruple of conscience, for the Popes Excommunications, departed shamefully from him, and carried away with him the greatest part of the Germans, for which crime he was afterward accused in Germanie. The confederats by this diminution of their power gathered courage, and gaue him battell at *Lignane*, where after long and doubtfull fight they got the victorie: and of this vnhappie chance ensued other troubles and molestations in Germanie, and then his counsellors tooke occasion to persuade him to peace.

Then *Frederick* sent an embassage to *Alexander* being at *Anaigne*, the chiefe whereof was *Christianus* Archbishop of *Mence*, by whom a perpetuall peace was concluded betweene them, and with *William* king of *Sicilia* for the space of fifteen yeares, and with the cities of *Lombardie* for six yeares, vpon condition that hee should acknowledge *Alexander* the Catholike Pope, and *Calixtus* the third to liue a contented life in an Abbie, and the Cardinals created by him to returne to their pristinat state: The Acts of whose agreement and treatie, are extant in the writers

Ff

An. 1177.
Naucler. 2. vol.
Generat. 40.
Jacob. Belgom.
in supplem.
Chron. ad ann.
1163.
Petrus Justini-
an. l. 2. rerum
Venetarum
Papius Masso
l. 5. de Episcopis
urbis.
Aforius Iesuita
in Iulius. mor-
nal. parte 2. l. 5.
c. 43.
Hieronim. Bar-
dus in victoria
nauali.
Sabell. 7. Decad
1 de rebus ve-
netis.
Chron. c.
Codex Cardinal.
Bessarionis.
Aferuatus in
Bibliotheca Ve-
neta Plutco 17.
ciatus ab Hier-
on. Bard. in
Victoria nauali
p. 147. & 148.
apud Baron. an.
1176. art. 2.
c. 4.
Baron. an. 1177
art. 83.

An. 1178.

An. 1180.

Sign. de regno
Ital. l. 14.Extra de reli-
quijs sanctorum
venerat. c. 1.

ters of these times. But because this peace would not seeme firme ynough, vnlesse the parties came to enteruiew; in the yeare 1177, after certaine delayes on both sides, in the end Venice was appointed the place of their parley, and the performance of their othes to each other: and there, saith *Sigonius*, they drawing neere to the Palace of *S. Marke*, *Frederick* came to meet *Alexander*, and taking him vpon the right hand, leadeth him in, and after diuine seruice followed him out, where *Alexander* mounting his palfrey, the Emperour holding his stirrop, did him all the honour and reuerence he could: But for shame he durst not tell the rest; For the Emperour being prostrat before him, *Alexander* putting his foot vpon his necke, said, *It is written, Thou shalt walke vpon the Asse, and the Basillick, and shalt tread vpon the Lion and the Dragon.* *Frederick* answered, *Not to thee, but to Peter, whose successors I obey.* The Pope replied, pressing his foot the harder, *Et mihi & Petro, Both to me and Peter.* This pride, being in the sight of all the people, neuertheless was patiently endured by *Frederick*, partly fearing worser things, through the great priuiledges that *Alexander* had bestowed vpon this Commonwealt, namely, *The marrying of the Sea euerie yeare with a ring, &c.* and partly at the instance of his sonne *Henrie*, who exceedingly desired the kingdome of Italie: Some adde, That his sonne *Otho* being taken by the Venetian gallies, was set at libertie vpon this condition. *Baronius* in the meane time endeuoureth to make this historie doubtfull, although he relateth it at large by his owne confession, out of that famous Chronicle that is kept in the Librarie at Venice; and his reason is (let the Reader iudge whether it be otherwise) that there is no likelihood that a Pope so mild and patient would commit so arrogant, so insolent, and so monstrous an act. But first we must agree vpon that pretended equanimitie and modestie, and the prodigious pride of *Gregorie* the seuenth, in receiuing *Henrie* the fourth to doe penance, and we shall easily giue credit hereunto. But it is most certaine, and the Venetian historie affirmeth it, and the Iesuites themselues doe triumph therein; so farre are they, with *Baronius*, from blushing at it. Now the Romans in regard of this submission, by their embassadors inuite him to Rome, which he accepted, vpon condition that the Senators chosen by them should take vpon them an oath of fidelitie to the Church of Rome, before they entred into that office. And so in the yeare 1178 he came into the citie; and the yeare afterward 1180 he held a Councell at Lateran, where he ordained, *That if the Cardinalls could not agree in the election of the Pope, the Pope might bee chosen by two of the parts, and whosoever being chosen by the third part should carrie himselfe as Pope, should be deprived of the Communion; and so he declaxeth the ordinances made by Victor the fourth, Paschal and Calixtus the third (arch heretikes) to be of no force.* And iudge the Reader into what scruple of conscience he brought; by these vaine and idle ordinances, the best and greatest part of Europe. But he died not long after, *having more valiantly overcome, than moderately handled his enmitie with Frederick, as Sigonius* saith; seeming no doubt vnder these mild words to conceale that shamefull and horrible act which he was not willing to expresse.

Neither were this fit to be omitted, being both an argument, and an augmentation of the Papall authoritie, That this *Alexander* was the authour of that law, whereby the canonizing of Saints should be only in the power of the Bishop of Rome; *It is not lawfull* (saith he) *that any should be worshipped for a Saint without licence from the Pope;* By which law he chalenged to himselfe the authoritie of the ancient Bishops of the Panims, who placed whom they pleased in the number of the gods; and to giue the greater lustre, he began with *S. Bernard*, who was famous for his sanctitie, then followed *Thomas* of Canterburie, whom he pronoun-

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ced Martyr, because he defended his pontificall vsurpations against the kings royal authoritie in England. When notwithstanding (it is a thing worthie the noting) that after his canonizing it was publicly disputed among our Sorbonists, that he was damned, for rebelling against the King, the minister of God. Another law he also made that none should weare the Archbishops pall vnlesse he had taken an oath of fidelitie to the Pope. Farthermore he called to the distance of the places, or through other impediment could not appeare, were punished by the purse, which redeemed the fault of their absence, which was (saith *Neubrigensis*) more dishonestly exacted, than payed. We must likewise remember that he was Vicar vnto him that saith in the Gospell, *I will giue thee all these Kingdomes, if thou wilt fall downe and worship me,* for he graunted to *Alfonso* the first, Duke of Portugall, the title and dignitie of a King, vpon condition he should doe him homage, and pay him yearely a reuenew of two markes of gold, which by a letter from *Innocent* the third to King *Sancius* evidently appeareth, finding himselfe greued, that since that time his successours had neglected the payment thereof, giuing him to vnderstand that he had taken order with his Legat *Ramerius* to leuy the same by Ecclesiasticall authoritie.

OPPOSITION.

This is an opposition worthie the noting against the Papall tyrannic, when so great an Emperour, so great an Empire bent their wits, and endeuored with the utmost of their courages to resist and impugne it; the Romans themselues shur their gates because they knew him insupportable. But the opposition did best appeare when these Popes mutually striued with curses & execrations to put down each other, and pronouncing one another Antichrists in their Synodes; but it shal not be amisse to note some of the principall. *Auentinus* expressly telleth vs, that the greater part neutrum Pontificem recipiebant, would receiue neither of the Popes, vsing that saying of the Apostle, *all things are yours, be it Paul, be it Apollo, be it Peter, one faith, one God, and one Father of vs all; and the wordes of Christ, there is but one master, and yee are all brethren;* And furthermore he addes that *Gerochus* Bishop of *Richenberg* writ much vpon this controuersie, and the title of his booke is *de Antichristo*. This *Gerochus* was afterward Bishop of Halberstat, deposed, as *Sigonius* saith, through the treatie of a peace with *Alexander*, and *Vlrich* instituted into his place.

In England in the yeare 1164 *Henrie* the second assembled all the principall of his Clergie at Clarendon to confirme *auitus* consuetudenes, the customes of his ancestors, to the end they should serue as a barre betweene the vsurping enterprises of the Clergie, and the Kings Iustices, and the customes are comprehended in 16 Chapters, recited by *Mathew Paris*; the most important are as followeth; That the Churches which hold in fee of the King, be not graunted in perpetuic without his permission. That Clerkes accused of any crime, being aduertified by the Kings Iustice, may come to the place appointed and answered for themselues. That the Archbishops & Bishops may not depart the realm without the Kings licence, and without taking an oath, to do nothing, either in going, staying, or returning to and without taking an oath, to do nothing, either in going, staying, or returning to his preiudice. That the Archbishops, Bishops, and others, who hold of the King in Capite, and haue their possessions of the King, should answer to the Iustices after the same manner as the Lords and Barons of the realme. The vacation of a Church happening, the King sending for the principall persons thereof commandeth them to make choise of a successour in his Chappell with his consent, and the Councell of

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Casarius Monach. in Dialog. l. 8. c. 69.

Gulielm. Neubrig. l. 3. c. 20.

Baro. An. 1179. art. 16. & 17.

Auent. l. 6.

Sign. de regno Ital. l. 14.

An. 1164.

Mathew Paris in Henrico. 2.

the realme, in whose presence the man chosen shall doe homage, and loyaltie to the King, as to his liege Lord of his life, his body, and of his worldly preferment, except his order; and that before he be consecrated: and to this are sworne, all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, and the Nobilitie of the realme *viua voce*, in the word of truth to obserue towards the King, and his successours for euer. *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of Canterburie who was the first that had taken this oth, within few daies after, being corrupted by *Alexander* the third (who in a Councell held at Tours placed him vpon his right hand) requested his absolution, whom *Alexander* soone discharged both of the oth, and the sinne. But this is to be noted, that the thing that vrged him most, was, That they of the Clergie that were taken in *publico Flagitio*, in publike wickednesse, by the Kings officers, might bee deliuered to the Bishop without any punishment inflicted vpon them, contrarie to that order the King had ordained, that those whom the Bishops themselues should find faultie; ought to be degraded in the presence of his officers, and afterward be deliuered to the Kings Court to be punished. But *Thomas* did heere exclaime, that this was to be punished twice for one and the same thing, that is to say, degraded by the Bishop, and punished by secular authoritie. Now good Reader, hee that dies for such a cause, is he a Saint or a Martyr? For what wickednesse will not a man iustifie, if only degrading may discharge the punishment? Now *Thomas*, hauing wrought with al the Bishops of England his suffragans to renounce their allegiance, without the kings knowledge passed the sea towards *Alexander* into France, who from time to time delaied his answer vnto him, fearing to offend the King, his affaires then hanging but in a wauering and doubtfull manner; but as the authour saith *pensans periculo a temporis, weighing the dangerous times*, granted to the Archbishop of Yorke by a Bull the office of Legat; In somuch that *Thomas* displeasid with these delays, writing to the Archbishop of Mence, thus complaineth, *Matrem Romam factam esse meretricem, & pro mercede prostitutam, Our mother Rome is become a harlot, and prostituted to who soeuer will giue most*. From this wee may gather what the other Bishops of England might say, when *Thomas*, his pretended Martyr, had spoken in this sort. Now of this *Henrie* the second, whom *Thomas* had wilfully made his aduersarie, *Peter* of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath and Chancellour of Canterburie, writing to *Gualterus* Bishop of Palerme, hath left vs this worthie testimonie. *No man* (saith he) *is more wise and subtil in counsell, in speech more vehement, more carelesse in dangers, nor more constant and resolute in aduersitie &c. hauing alwaies in his hands either a bow, a sword, or a iaculin, except sitting in counsell, or busie at his booke; for when soeuer he had any respite from his important and waightie affaires, spent his time in private studie and reading, or in arguing with learned men; his daily life is as if it were a Schoole of learning in dissoluing continually difficult questions. None more mild than he in speech, more temperat in eating, more moderat in drinking, more bountifull in gifts, more liberal in almes &c. Our King is peaceable, victorious in warre, glorious in peace &c. None more gentle and meeke to the afflicted, more gracious and affable to the poore; none more seuer to the proud, for he euer studied as it were by an image of diuinitie to beat downe the haughty and proud minded, to raise the oppressed, and continually to persecute the swelling loftinesse of pride &c. But when according to the custome of the realme, he had in elections the greatest, and most powerfull part, neuertheless hee would haue his hands euer free from all partiality and corruption. For the death of this *Thomas*, who procured his wrath through so many mischiefs and iniuries, I tell you (saith he) in the word of our Lord, and by the faith and order of a Deacon, that in my conscience, he was no*

Epist. Thomae
Cantuariensis
ad Archiepisc.
Moguntin.

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A way culpable, or guilty thereof: And thus much the Lord Theodinus Bishop of Port, and the Lord Alberts Chancellour, who came hether as Legats to examine the truth, and haue knowne and reported his innocency, can affirme &c. which Legats after a canonically purgation by the commandment of the Pope, pronounced him cleare of this crime before God and the world. Notwithstanding these Legats made benefit, as the manner is, of the rebellion of *Henrie* his sonne; through certaine words that he had vttered in some choler, whereby the authours of his death were emboldened to attempt the life of the said *Thomas*, who inforced him to purchase his absolution with the hurt of his kingdome, abolishing those customes that were brought in against the liberties of the Church, and approuing all appellations to the sea of Rome, and all this for the remission of his sinnes. *Mathew Paris* discoursing of this Historie, giueth vs to vnderstand by certaine circumstances, that it was the pride of *Alexander*, or at least his Legats: *The King and the Archbishop* (saith he) *being come to Freteuall to be reconciled, they twice descended their horses, and as often mounted againe, and both these times the King held the raines of the Bishops bridle.* What dutie would the Pope haue looked for, when so much was done to his Legat? Againe, though the King alwaies protested, that he neuer commanded nor willed, nor by any deuise sought the death of *Thomas*, neuertheless because through some of his own words, not aduisedly spoken, these murderers had taken occasion thereby to kill him, this proud beast inforst him, asking his absolution, to submit his naked skin to the punishment of the whip, and that all the religious people there assembled, being a great multitude, should euery man giue him three or five lashes: which the King, miserably bewitched by those Romish sorceries, submitteth himselfe vnto. The saying of one *Gratian*, the Popes Legat, is worth the noting in this cause, to the King of England, who had said somewhat vnto him in threatenng manner, *Sir* (saith he) *threaten vs not; we feare no threatenings, for we belong to that Court that useth to commaund both Emperours and Kings*: And *Baronius* hath set downe this excellent Apothegme, in great letters. By the pride of the seruant we may iudge the modestie of the Master.

Doubtlesse the wisest of this world iudge otherwise of the power and authoritie of the Pope. *Otho* Bishop of Frisingen saith, *Two persons are constituted in the Church by God, the Priestlie and the Princelie; the one hath the administration of the Sacraments of Christ, and to exercise Ecclesiasticall discipline with the spirittuall sword; the other carries the materiall sword against the enemies of the Church, defending the poore and the Churches of God from the oppression of the wicked, punishing euill doers, and exercising secular iudgement.* These are the two swords wherof we read in the Passion of our Saviour; but *Peter* is said to use but onely one. Therefore euen as to the spirittuall sword spirittuall possessions belong, that is to say, the tithes, the oblations, of the faithfull, and others of like sort, so to the materiall are subiect all worldlie dignities, as Duke domes, Earle domes, and the like. Now God would that these things should be in his Church orderly, and not confusedly, that is to say, not in one person alone, but diuided betweene two, as I haue formerly named. Euen as these persons therefore that carrye the materiall sword are not to meddle with those things that are spirittuall, so is it not fit for the spirittuall to usurp the other. And to make good this saying, many testimonies of the Scriptures, and of our Lord himselfe, besides the example of Saints, may be alledged, as that Gospel that saith, *Giue vnto Caesar the things that belong vnto Caesar, and vnto God the things that are Gods.* That which our Lord Iesus Christ had deliuered in words, he declared also by effects, when yeelding tribute to whom tribute belonged, he gaue tribute for himselfe and *Peter*. And *S. Paul* acknowledged that we ought to yeeld honour to whom honour belongeth, considering that all power is from God; who being brought to iudgement, did not ap-

Math. Paris in
Henr. 2.

Baron. an. 1109.
art. 11.

Otho Frisingen.
in prologo. 1. 4.
Chron.

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peale to Saint Peter, who then possesseth the chaire at Rome, but to Nero, a most impious and wicked man, ordained by the will of God King of the whole world. And thus much touching the honour of Kings. But he goeth about to defend the Pope by some poore & weake reasons, but in the end concludeth, I confesse I know no other refuge but this, that we have known holie men, both of Apostolike faith and merit, as Sylvester, Gregorie, Flic, Boniface, Lampert, Gothard, and diuers others that haue had these things; but for my selfe to speake my owne opinion, I doubt whether this exalting of the Church in these dayes, be more acceptable to God, than the humilitie of former times. Verily it seemeth that sicate was the better, than the happier. Neuerthelesse I agree with with the Church of Rome &c. That is to say, to be rather temporally happie with the one, than spiritually happie with the Apostles and the holie Fathers; and shortly after he hides not from vs vpon what foundation he groundeth his reason; That all scruple, saith he, of that controuersie, being resolued by his authoritie and example, is a gaine secretly signified by that which was sayd to S. Peter, Duc in altum, Launch into the deepe, and cast your netts to take fish, Luke 5. yea it is so secret, that for the space of 500 of the first and best yeres, none of the auintient Doctours could perceiue this mysterie. But the same authour speakes more openly in another place; After the donation of Constantine, the Church of Rome affirmeth that all Realmes of the west belonged to it by the gift of Constantine; this he refuteth himselfe, In token wherof it doubted not to exact tribute euen to this present of all those except the two Kingdomes of the French, that is to say, the Gaules and the Germans, which hee would gladly draw into his Net, if they would suffer him.

But in our France, at the verie same time, they that were called Waldenses or Albienfes, earnestly set against the Church of Rome, condemning all the traditions thereof, rejecting the ceremonies, and declaring it in expresse words to be that Babylon in the Apocalyps, the mother of fornications; and the Pope verie Antichrist, the man of sin, foretold by the holie Scriptures. These people maintained the puritie, veritie, and simplicitie of the Christian Religion in all the Countries, both on the mountaines and vallies of Dauphine, Prouence, Languedoc, and Guyan, where the corruptions, and papall inuentions could not so easily penetrat: no otherwise than as we see the Tongues, customes, and habits of nations to be preserved in Countries more remote, against the inundation and mingling of the people; as the originall Tongue of Spaine in the mountaines of Biscay, and the auintient Tongue of the Brittons in Wales, with their manners and customes also; and so likewise of others: For, that so great a multitude of people spread from the Alpes euen to the Pirence by the instruction of *Wald* had bene as it were hatcht vp in one day, exceedeth all beliefe, all reason. Contrariwise, he that would retire himselfe from the world seriously to contemplate his owne saluation, it is likely he rather learned it of them, and afterward taught at Lyon, where for the renowne of the citie, they that were his followers, or affected his doctrine, were called Waldenses, as they who preached in the citie of Alba were called Albienfes, and not many yeres before Peter Bruis and *Wald* his disciple publicly teaching at Tholouse, were called Tholousians; and so likewise were they called at the Councell of Lateran held vnder Alexander the third. Of this antiquitie (to the end we need not doubt thereof) the aduersaries themselves auouch the truth; amongst whom Frier Rainerius, who writ about the yere of our Lord 1250, Amongst all the sects that are (saith he) in our world, none can be more pernicious to the Church of God than that of Lyons, for three causes; the first, because it hath continued a longer time than any some say that it had bene e-

Idem l. 3.
Chron. l. 3.

An. 1250.
Frier Rainerius
de Walden-
sibus.

ner since the time of Sylvester; others say from the time of the Apostles, that is to say, inasmuch as integritie euer went before corruption, and the same maintayned by them, as it is said of the true Church in the Apocalyps, that it was preserved euen in the desert: The second because it is more generall; for there is not almost any Countrey wherinto this sect hath not crept; whereas in the meane time they aske vs, where our Churches hath not crept; whereas in the meane time they aske vs, where our Churches hath not crept: The Third, because all the other procure horror by their blasphemies against God, thus of the Lionists hath a great apparence of pietie, in as much as they liue uprightly before men, and put their trust in God in all things, and obserue all the Articles of the Creed, onely they blaspheme the Church of Rome, and hold it in contemp, and therein they are easily beleewed by the people. To the end that all accusations may vanish away, which were spread against them among the people; although Baronius following the report of certain Monkes is not afraid to recite, that they haue fained the to be sometimes Arrians, & sometimes Manichees, but wrongfully as he himselfe acknowledgeth; although Rainerius was more impatient in his whole discourse against them, Iacobus of Riberia in his collections of Tholouse, hath these words: The Waldenses or Lagdamenses haue continued a long time, the first place they liued in, was in Narbone in France, and in the dioceffe of Albie, Rhodes, Cahors, & Agen; And at the same time there was of little or no estimation such as were called Priests, Bishops, and Ministers of the Church; For being verie simple and ignorant almost of all things, it was verie easie for them through the excellencie of their learning and doctrine to get vnto themselves the greatest credit among the people; and forasmuch as the Waldenses disputed of Religion more subtilly than all others, were often admired by the Priests to teach publicly, not for that they approved their opinions, but because they were not comparable vnto them in wit: In so great honour was the sect of these men, that they were both exempted from all charges & impositions, and obtained more benefit by the willes and Testaments of the dead than the Priests. A man would not hurts his enemy, if he should meet him upon the way accompanied with one of these heretikes, inasmuch that the safetie of all men seemed to consist in their protection: What greater testimonie could a man expect from an aduersarie? As touching their doctrine, we cannot better learne what it was, than by their owne confession, presented sundrie times to the Kings of Bohemia, who after their dissipation in France fled thither, agreeing in substance with the profession of our Churches; although according to the rudenesse of the time not so clearly expounded, as also by their Catechismes, wherein they instructed their children: Neither will we refuse to giue credit to the acts of the Court of Inquisition; and the writers of those times, who for the most part caried away with malice, endeoured to make it odious to the world. The aforesayd Rainerius noteth, among the causes of their heresie; That men and women, little and great, day and night cease not to learne, and to teach: I haue heard from the mouth of a credible person, that a certaine heretike, whom I knew, that he might diuers him from our faith, and turnert him to his owne, did swim ouer the riuer Ibis in winter, and euen in the night to come vnto him. Let the Doctors of the true Religion blasse as their owne negligence, who are not so zealous of the truth of the Catholike faith, as the Lionists are of the error of infidelitie. Moreover they haue translated the new and old Testament into the vulgar Tongue, and so they teach and learne it so well, that I haue seene and heard, saith he, a Countrey Clowne recite Job word by word, and diuers others that perfectly could deliver all the new Testament: Then he distinguisheth their errors into three parts, against the Church of Rome, against the doctrine of the Sacraments, and of Saints; & against the honest customes and rites of the sayd Church; Of the Church of Rome (saith he) they teach that it is not the Church

Baron. an. 1178.
vol. 1. a. 17.
21.

Jacob. de Riberia
in Collec. 2.
neis de orbe
Tholosa.

Rainerius de
Waldensibus.

Church of Christ, but the Church of the malignant, which fell from Christ ever since the time of Syluester, when the poison of temporall dominion entred into it; that it is that whore described in the Apocalyps; that the Pope is the head of all errors, his Prelats Scribes, his Monkes Pharifics, and all turned from the Doctrine of the Gospell to follow their traditions: As touching the Sacraments, they disallow the administration of them in an vnknowne tongue, the Godfathers vnderstanding not what they answer or promise in the Baptisme; as also the exorcismes, and the signe of the crosse, and others the like; They hold the Masse as nothing, and that the Apostles neuer knew what it meant, and as little did they know their Canon, holding themselves to the words of the institution of Christ, deliuered in a vulgar tongue; That the oblation of the Priest serueth to no purpose; And as touching the sacrament, that it ought to be consecrated in a knowne tongue, & that for this purpose there needed no altar, and that the changing of the formes, is not done in the hand of the Priest consecrating, but in the mouth of him that worthily receiueth it: And all this, because they admit nothing into their Church, but what is written in the Bible; no decrees, no epistles decretals, nor the Legends of Saints, nor Traditions of the Church, and condemne also the inuocation, and praying to Saints, and whatsoever is comprehended vnder the name of honest customes, the feasts of candles, the adoration of the Crosse vpon Good Friday, the consecration of Palmes, of Alhes, of the Chrisme, of fire, of the Agnus dei, of salt and water, of certaine vestments and places, of Pilgrimages to Rome and other places: They denie also Purgatorie, saying there is only but two waies, the one heauen for the elect, the other hell for the damned, they condemne Masses, and oblations for the dead, besides anniuersaries, and other suffrages for the soule. These are the points that may be gathered out of that Authour, who bestowed much time afterward in refuting them, and mingled by the way many false accusations, from which they were afterward freed by *Aeneas Syluius*, called Pope Pius the second, whose doctrine he comprehended in these few words: That the Bishop of Rome is equal to other Bishops, neither is there any difference between them, one Priest being not greater in dignity than another, but in holinesse of life: That the soules departing the body, passe either to paine, or to ioy eternall: That there is no fire in purgatorie: That a man prayeth in vaine for the dead, being nothing else but an inuention of the auarice of Priests: That the images of God and Saints were fit to be abolished: That the hallowing of waters and palmes are but mockeries: That the religion of begging friers was inuented by some euill spirits: That Priests ought to be poore, and content to live by almes: That the preaching of the word of God is free to every man: That no man should sinne to auoid any euill, what soeuer: That whosoever is guilty of deadly sinne (they mean a crime) ought not to be admitted either into any secular, or ecclesiasticall dignity: That the confirmation by the Chrisme, and extreme vnction, are no Sacraments of the Church: That auricular confession is but a frimolous and vaine thing, and is sufficient for every man if he confess his finnes priuately to God: That Baptisme ought to be done with common water, without the mixture of oyle: That Churchyard as haue been inuented for gaine, for the earth is all one euery where to burie in: That the world is the temple of God, and that they that builded Churches, Monasteries, and Oratories would reduce the maiestie of God into a narrow strait, as if a man should find his diuine goodnesse more propitious there, than else where: That the Priests vestments, the ornaments of the altar, robes, cups, Chalices, dishes, and other the like vessels are litle worth, and of no moment: That a Priest, in what place or time soeuer, may consecrate the body of Christ, and administer the same to others, vsing only the words of the institution of the Sacrament: That it is in

Aeneas Syluius
in *Historia Bohemica* ca. 35.

vaine

A vaine to implore the fauour of Saints, who raigne in heauen with Christ, who can no way helpe: That a man loseth his time in singing or saying his Canonick houres: That no day a man may cease from his labour, except the Sunday, and not the feasts of Saints: That to obserue the fasts ordained by the Church is of no merit. Which opinions the Author, who had looked more inwardly into them, carried by that malice he bare towards them, setteth downe maliciously ynough in his owne words: but being rightly vnderstood, nothing differed from the true doctrine, if distinctly set downe as well in their confession as in ours. At the least they free themselves from their false accusations which charge them with errors, against the due obedience to Magistrats, and against a lawfull oath, and diuers others mentioned by *Rainerius*. And much more they defend themselves from the forceries, or diuinations by lots, which the malice of the time had blazed abroad, although forcerers & wicked persons were, and also are in diuers Prouinces called Waldenses; and from that putting out of candles to commit whoredome one with another, auncient subtilties of the diuel to defame the first Christians, and by him renewed againe, when it pleased God to send the light of the Gospell. *Frederick* the second therefore in the constitutions which he made against them, accused them not, but for seperating themselves from the Church of Rome, and from the ceremonies and seruices thereof, without imputing any other crime vnto them, as appeareth in the Epistles of *Peter* of Vineis, his Chancelor. And also *Claudius Seifellenses* Archbishop, a man of great credit vnder *Lewis* the twelfth, although he had written a booke exprefly against them, he acknowledgeth them to be a good people, vpriight and honest, innocent and irreprehensible in their conuersation, and obseruations of the commandment of God. Notwithstanding they were excommunicated by *Iohn de Bellumaine* Archbishop of Lyon, at the commaundment of *Alexander* the third, and soone after were summoned to the Council of Lateran, but they would not appeare, because they knew they should haue the Pope both their iudge and aduersarie. Whereupon he proceeded against them with all persecutions, as warres, slaughter, spoils, massacres; and whosoever could most cruelly pursue them, obtained forgiveness of all their finnes. But at length, through the great prouidence of God, it came to passe, that through their dissipation and scattering abroad, were gathered together a great number of Churches ouer all Europe, as shall bee hereafter declared. We may adde, That some writers of this Age, albeit aduersaries, tell vs, that there was held a conference at Realmont, among the Albienfes, where disputed on their side *Ponticus Iordanus*, *Arnoldus Aurisanus*, *Arnoldus Osbo*, *Philibertus Casienus*, and *Benedictus Thermenfis*: On the other side *Peter de Castro nouo*, a Monk of the order of the Cisterians, and the Popes Legat, and also *Rodolphus* deputed by the Pope, *Didacus* Bishop of Erenenses, and *Dominicus* a Canon of the same Church, both Spaniards. And there were chosen as Arbitrators two of the Nobilitie, *Bernard* of Villa noua, and *Bernard* of Arre, and of the Comminaltie *Raimond Godeus*, and *Arnold Riberia*: There, they say, that these Doctors of the Waldenses did constantly affirme, That the Church of Rome was not the bolie Church, nor the spouse of Christ, but a Church polluted with the doctrine of the diuell, and that Babylon whom *S. Iohn* describeth in his Apocalyps, the mother of fornications and abominations, ouerwhelmed and drowned in the blood of Saints: That the Masse was not instituted by Christ nor his Apostles, but a humane inuention; and many the like things, and so departed, not agreeing vpon any thing.

Petrus de Vineis li. 1. c. 25. 26. 27.

Guido de Perpinian pag. 79. de herefibus.

Guilielm. de Padio Laurentij Nogüer en l'his. Iloris Toloufe.

49. PROGRESSION.

The contentions and severall differences betweene the Emperour Frederick & Pope Lucius the third. Of the voiage to the Holie Land by the Emperour and the Christian Princes, for the recoverie of Hierusalem from the Souldan, with the death of the said Emperour; and of the troubles that afterward arose to his sonne Henrie. The solemnitie and manner of the coronation of the Emperour.

Alexander the third held the seat two and twentie yeares, which happened to few either before or since; and in all this time it fell out so happily for him, that the Antipopes liued not long, so that by these mutations he aduanced not a little his owne affaires. Foure, the one after the other, had opposed themselves against him, whereof euerie one being entred the throne, labored with new slights either to doe or vndoe. The onely power of Frederick made head against him, being often disturbed as wel in Germany as in Italie, through the rebellions which Alexander had stirred vp against him; whereby the cities and Princes tooke occasion, vnder the colour of his Ecclesiasticall reformati-^Cons, to reuolt. Neither did the ambition of his sonne Henrie lesse trouble him, who at what price soeuer would be King of Italie, yet feared least the death of his father, then engaged in the Popes warres, might surprize him in that estate, and so much the rather, because the Popes seemed to be Arbitrators of the greatest part of the Empire of Italie. Alexander therefore being dead, and Hubald Cardinall of Ostia, named Lucius the third, elected in his place, according to the order decreed in the Councell of Lateran, by the Cardinalls onely, without the consent of the Clergie and the people. Henrie to persuaide his father to be at peace with Italie, omitted no meanes or opportunitie whatsoeuer; but first of all remouing all lets, procured the friendship of Lucius the third, who hauing a desire to gratifie the citie of Lucca where he was borne, Frederick at his request soone granted that no other money should be currant through all Tuscane, Marchia, Romania, and Campania, but that which should be coyned in Lucca in the Emperours name. Lucius in the meane time did no better agree with the Romans than his predecessors, who when hee sought to put downe the Consuls, they cruelly chastising his faction, and threatening himselfe worse measure, inforced him, according to the example of his predecessors, to forsake Rome, and to hold his See at Velitre. Who neuerthelesse providing himselfe against them, vnder a pretence of a Saracen warre, called a Councell at Verona in the year 1184, where the Emperour Frederick himselfe was present. Frederick making benefit of the time, hauing now pacified Lombardie, and receiued Alexandria into fauour (touching which citie there had growne so great contention betweene him and Alexander) seemed to reduce things to their pristinat^E state, as appeareth by these articles, *That all the citizens of Alexandria should at his will and pleasure depart the citie, and so long should abide from thence, till they were brought in by his Deputie or Lieutenant in a solemn manner, that by this act it might appeare, that he gaue and they receiued their countrey from the hand of the Emperour, and so the citie should from hence forward be called Casaria.* In this Councell Lucius the third so farre preuailed by meanes of the Emperours presence to repress the Romans, that they were proclaimed as enemies to the Church: But on the other part, as Frederick requested to crowne his sonne Henrie Emperour, he expressly denied it,

An. 1184.
Naucler, vol. 2.
Gener. 40.

Signo. 1. 24.
regno Ital.

A vnlesse he would restore first vnto him the inheritance of the Countesse *Mashilda*, and other dueties which he withheld from the Church; thereby not so much renewing an old quarrell, as determining it at his owne pleasure. It was also requested by the Emperour, That he would receiue into fauour those Ecclesiasticall persons that were ordained by the Antipopes; whereunto he consented: but the day following, when he should haue laid his hands vpon them, vtterly refused it, and referred it to another Synod, *Fearing, saith Krantzius, least the Church, as in former times, should fall into a most dangerous schisme, which euill the neerer they knew it, the more they feared it.* Euen so both with grudge and discontented minds dismissed the Councell. And now Frederick passing forward into Italie, straitly pursued the cities that held with the Church; and on the other part Lucius was resolved to vse all extremities; euen when he died, in the citie of Verona, hauing neuer dared to looke backe toward Rome: and in the same place was chosen for his successor Lambert Archbishop of Milan, who was named *Vrban* the third. It is a thing worthy to be noted, That this Lucius excommunicated the Waldenses, and Albigenses, because they did weare *sandalls on their feet, and a hood*, saying they did therein imitate the plainnesse and simplicitie of the Apostles. But out of all doubt it was rather through malice; let it suffice vs, that he had no greater crimes to charge them withall. There is also extant another Decree of his, *That a Clergie man for euerie crime should be conuicted before an Ecclesiasticall Iudge, notwithstanding any other custom whatsoeuer.* Here is also of him a certaine Epigram, which is alluded to the fish called a Pike, being in Latine *Lucius*, who deuoureth other fish.

Krantzius
l. 6. Saxon. c. 47.

Abbas Vr-
berg, in Chron.
extra de Judi-
cij. Tit. 1. c. cle-
rici 8.
Abbas Vr-
berg. Ex Episto-
la quadam
Pragensi. uni-
uersa ad Oxoni-
ensem tempore
Wenceslei
Imperatoris
scripta.
Sigon. de regno
Ital. l. 1. 9. ex
Naubrig.
Vrbergens. &
Viterbiens. in
Saxon. l. 6. c. 52.

*Lucius est piscis, Rex, atq; tyrannus aquarum,
A quo discordat Lucius iste parum:
Deorat ille homines, hic piscibus insidiatur,
Esurit hic semper, hic aliquando satur.
Amborum vitam, si laus aquata notaret,
Plus rationis habet, qui ratione caret.*

D Lucius is a fish, a tyran in water,
Like to this Lucius, as mother to daughters
He deuours men, this fishes doth eat,
He still hungers, this sometime's full with meat:
If both their liues we equally should praise,
He hath most reason that reason denayes.

In the remainder of the historie of these times wee must follow the selfesame steps. *Vrbanus*, although he continued not long, notwithstanding in that little time purchased the name of *Turbanus*, through the troubles which hee euerie-^Ewhere procured. Frederick made peace with William King of Sicilia, and for the better confirmation thereof, married his sonne Henrie to Constance the daughter of Roger, the grandfather of the said William, who dying without issue was the next heire. This marriage pleased not *Vrban*, and the lesse, because Frederick in an assemblie holden at Geilhausen, caused the Prelats of Germanie to write vnto him, to preferue the tenthes held in fee, and other rights to the Nobilitie, being by her worthily obtained in the defence of the Church. But as hee prepared at Verona to excommunicat him, they of Verona, to whom hee was now retired, made knowne vnto him, That they would not endure that in their citie such a Decree should

should be published against the Emperour: Whereupon, he departing to Ferrara for the same purpose, was prevented by death. The Abbot of Vrsperg, of him thus briefly speaketh, *Being borne in Milan, in hatred of the Emperour, he was verie troublesome to the Church, which had a while bene quiet; but he was prevented by the will of God, and died, having continued in the seat but one yere ten Moneths and fifteene dayes.*

An. 1187.

In the yere 1187 the Cardinall *Albert* his Chauncelor, chosen by the Cardinals at Ferrara, succeeded him, being called *Gregorie* the eight; who soone after writ to all Princes to persuade them to goe personally into Palestina to recouer Hierusalem, which the infidels had forcibly gotten from the Christians, assuredly promising them life euerslasting, and the protection of the Church, during the time of their absence, for the safetie both of their states & goods. And doubtlesse the miserable estate there of the Christians persuaded many to vndertake this journey, as the Emperour *Frederic*, *Philip* king of Fraunce, and *Richard* King of England, and diuers other Princes in their owne person. Notwithstanding *Gregorie* saw not the successe thereof, death preventing him in Pisa euen at the setting forward of this enterprife. But the Cardinals that were of his traine, chose in the same place Cardinall *Paule* a scholler of Rome (who was *Clement* the third; being so named, because the dissention that had continued betweene the Popes and the Romans the space of fife and fortie yeres, was extinguished and appeased by his meanes) vpon condition that they might haue a *Patricius*: *But the Senators and Governours of the Citie created by them, before they enter into that office, should be inuested per mantum, with a mantle by the Pope.* Now *Frederic* died in this voyage after many notable & worthie exploits, in the yere 1190, having entred into a certaine riuier in Armenia, called *Serra*, to refresh himselfe in the violent heat of summer, the suddaine cold to the extreame heat striking inwardly into him, presently ouercame his vital parts. A Prince commended by all Histories for his pietie, vertue, clemencie, forgetfulness of all iniuries, whereby he left a desire in all men of his continuance, & yet no man euer endured greater & more vnjust dealings by the Popes. Through his death arose many molestations to his son *Henrie* as well in Germanie as in Italic: But the thing that most troubled him, was to get into his possession the kingdome of Sicilia in the right of *Constance* his wife, by the death of *William*; the which Pope *Clement*, for want of an heire male challenged to belong to the church, and had sent his forces to inuade it, if the States and governours thereof had not opposed against him one *Tancred* the Bastard son of *Roger*, by which meanes the inuasion of *Clement* being delayed, *Henrie* had the better opportunitie to prouide for himself. Thus did he obserue the promise made by his predecessor to those that went into the holic Land, to defend and protect their estates and rights in that state they should leaue them. *Frederic* being dead in this expedition, his sonne *Henrie*, besides the grieffe for the losse of his father through so extraordinary and v unexpected an accident, was no lesse diuersly disquieted and disturbed in the kingdome of Germanie: But *Clement* while he was endeauouring to put by *Henrie* from the imperiall Diademe, died in April in the yere 1191, whom Cardinall *Iacynthus* succeeded, a Citizen in Rome, and was called *Celestine* the third. By this change *Henrie* sped the better, and with all diligence came to Rome, where he was crowned by *Celestine*, whom hee had before bound vnto him, by restoring into his hands the citie of Tusculus which had been deliuered into his protection, a meanes for *Celestine* to gratifie the Romans, because that for the space of 50 yeres before it had bene either the cause, or pre-

Otho de S. Blasio cap. 35.
Abbas Vrspergens.
Sigon. de regno Itah. 19.

Platina in Clement. 3.

Naucler. vol. 6. Gener. 40.

tence of many dissentions and brawles betweene them and the Popes. But as soone as hee had restored it vnto them, hee refrained not any kind of crueltye, that he might practise against those miserable people. But the manner of his coronation is worthie to bee noted. *After the Emperour had taken his oath to defend the Church, and the patrimonie of Saint Peter, and to restore whatsoeuer belonged to the Church, whole and entire, if any thing were withheld or detayned from it; the Emperour and the Emperesse are brought into the Church by the Pope, and Masse being solemnely celebrated by him, he annoynteth first the Emperour with words instituted to that purpose, and afterward the Emperesse. Then sitting downe in his pontificall Chaire, holdeth the imperiall Crowne betweene his feet, and the Emperour bowing downe his head, and likewise the Emperesse, receiue it from his feet; And after this immediatly the Pope striking the Crowne with his foot, kickes it from his head to the ground, in token hee hath power, if his merits so deserue, to depose him; then the Cardinals, standing round about, receiue the same Crowne, and reuerently puts it vpon the heads of the Emperour, and the Emperesse. Baronius himselfe is the Author, and likewise Ranulph in the same words.* Thus this proud mysterie did still rise by degrees. Now by the death of the Bastard *Tancred* it was the easier for *Henrie* to make his peace with the kingdome of Sicilia. But *Celestine* was now readie to excommunicate *Henrie*, and also his brother *Philip* if his death had not prevented it, by an auntient preence, whereby he had vsurped the possessions of the Countesse *Mathilda*, though before, to the end that *Henrie* should ruinate and destroy *Tancred*, whom hee saw now established by the States, hee had inuested the sayd *Henrie* into these dominions as his feudatarie. But *Henrie* dying in the yere 1197 left onely a sonne by *Constance* his wife of the age of one yere, and the troubles that euerie where rise about the succession, gaue *Celestine* meanes, or rather a fit opportunitie to his successour *Innocent* the third to doe whatsoeuer they would in prejudice of the Empire: For as *Philip* the brother of *Henrie*, and *Otho* Duke of Saxonie striued for the Kingdome of Germanie; *Innocent* taking an oath of faithfull homage of the Governour of the Citie of Rome, inuadeth the Dukedome of Tuscane, which *Henrie* had giuen to *Philip* his brother; and sending to the Bishoppes of Germanie, commaundeth them to deliuer the hostages which *Henrie* had brought out of Sicilia, with him, namely *Sibilla* the widow of *Tancred*, his children, and the Archbishoppe of Salerne; But if *Vezilus de Berco* (their keeper) should refuse to deliuer them, then they should excommunicate him, by which meanes he seemed to haue composed the businesse of Sicilia to his owne desires. The verie same way, partly by force, and partly by excommunication hee chased away *Marcoaldu* out of Romania, and *Conradus* out of the Dukedome of Spoleto, whom *Henrie* had inuested, and interdicted all the Cities that any whit fauoured them, and strengthened and confirmed the Cities of Lombardie in their societie to remayne free; in such sort that the Emperours, who afterward came into Italic, found they had no authoritie left vnto them. Furthermore hee enforced *Constantia* the widow of *Henrie* to take an oath to hold of him and his successours in homage *Apulia* and *Calabria*, paying yereley sixe hundred squifats, and for the Countrie of Mercia foure hundred, vpon condition that her sonne comming to age shall take the same oath; And as *Constance* not long after chaunced to dye, hee rooke vpon him to bee the Tutor and Gardian of the child (who was *Frederic* the fe-

Vignier. ex Chron. Germ. manuscr.
Baro an. 1191. Scilicet 1. & 10. ex Rogero auctore Constantino parte posteriori in Ricbardo primo.

Ranulph in Polyer. l. 7. ca. 26.

cond) and by these cunning sleights hath made himselfe Arbitrator of the Kingdome. Againe in Germanie he refused the election of *Philip* brother of *Henric*, as excommunicated by him, and approved that of *Otho* Duke of Saxonia, thereby taking from his pupill the support and helpe of the Vncle, neither doth hee dissemble it, that what hee did was in hatred of his predecessors, who had opposed themselves against the See of Rome, that is to say, for defending the rights of their Empire. And here the Reader may see the care they had of the affaires of the East, that whilest they were bent wholly to the care of themselves all things went to ruine. And here we make an end of the twelfth age.

O P P O S I T I O N .

I willingly omit those frequent contentions betweene the Emperours and the Popes in these times, contenting my selfe to haue noted here what the better sort haue thought of the Church of Rome. *Clement* the third solicited the kings of Fraunce and England to the voyage of the holie Land, who for the differences that grew betweene them, thought it not fit and conuenient for them to go forward into a strange Countrie, vnlesse the cause of the discord were first taken away; and it seemed to *Clement*, that *Philip* the second, our king, was the cause to delay and prolong it, whereupon he threatned to excommunicate him, and to interdict his Realme, if he did not the sooner agree. *Mathew Paris* the author of the English Historie saith, he made him this answer, *That he nothing feared his sentence, as being upheld with no equitie; he addeth that it belongeth not to the church of Rome to punish by sentence any King, especially of France, if the sayd King be disposed to reuenge himselfe vpon his ill deseruing, vntamed people, and rebellious to his Kingdome. He addeth moreouer, that the Cardinal of Anagne his Legat had smelt the sterlings of the King of England, by whose odour beeing attracted, according to the fashion of the Romans, he became more fauourable to him, and therefore had the more reason to suspect him to be his iudge. Morouer the Earle Richard did hardly contayne himselfe, and as hardly could the Lords hold his bands, but that with his sword drawne he had furiously assaulted the Cardinal, insomuch that the Cardinal retiring and hiding himselfe for feare, Verba contiauit ampullosa, stayed his swelling words. Both these Kings hoile vp faile, and Richard of England arriued within the Riuer of Tiber, where met him *Ostian* Cardinal of Ostia, sent from *Clement* the third; to whom (as *Roger Houenden* saith) he spake many reprochfull words, Blaming the *Simonie* of the Romans, that to consecrate the Bishop of *Mans* they had taken 700 markes, and 1500 for the legation of the Bishop of *Elie*, and besides a great summe for not deposing the Bishop of *Burdeaux*, accused by his Clergie. But he saith besides, that he arriued at *Messine* about the same time that *Philip* King of Fraunce went with a desire to see *Ioachim* Abbot of Courace of the order of the *Cisterciens*, a man in that age verie famous, and thought to haue a propheticall spirit, whom hee requested to expound vnto him and his followers the vision of *S. Iohn* in the *Apocalyps*, wherein he receyued much content, especially when he spake of seven Kings, whereof one was not yet come, he sayd vnto him, this man is *Antichrist*, who is now in the Citie of Rome, and is set on high in the Apostolike seat, and of this *Antichrist*, saith the Apostle, he is an aduersarie, and exalteth himselfe against all that is called God &c. The king replied vnto him, I thought that *Antichrist* should be borne in *Antioch* or in *Babylon* of the progenie of *Dan*, and should raigne in the Temple of the Lord at *Ierusalem* &c. But *Ioachim* per-*

Mat. Paris
in Richardo.

Rogerus Houenden in
Annalium parte
posteriore.

Apud Rogerum
de Houenden.
Annal. parte
posteriore.

A persisted in his exposition, adding, *That the seven Diademes signified the Kings and Princes of this world, who should beleene in Antichrist, &c. but, he saith, in the times of this Antichrist many of the Christians should preserve the Christian faith, in the feare of the Lord, in dennes and caues of the earth, and in solitarie rockes and desert places, euen vntill the consummation of Antichrist.* All this he spake, notwithstanding the Archbishops of *Roan*, *Pamiers*, and *Dauch*, who were there present, haue endeouored to proue the contrarie: And to this purpose it was that the Abbot spake vpon *Ieremie*, *There is another fig tree, who through the malediction of his prevarication is now withered; The Latine Church, or the little barke of S. Peter, whose leaues are temporary things, whereof they make breeches to hide their wicked conuersations, wherewith they excuse the dishonestie and shame of their life, as well of Adam the High Priest, as Eue, that is to say, the Church, subiect vnto them, and miserably hide themselves in the wood of Ecclesiasticall glorie.* Now *Baronius* toucheth this historie, but hee taketh good heed for disclosing the principall clauses which expressly disciphers the Pope of Rome.

King *Richard* returning from *Palestina*, was stayed by the Duke of *Austria* passing through his cuntry, who deliuered him to the Emperour *Henric* the sixt, who would not release him without a great ransome. Queene *Elinor* his mother thinking that Pope *Celestine* was content to winke at this shamefull act, because of the friendship that was yet betweene him and *Henric*, writ three letters vnto him, which we may read in the Epistles of *Peter* of *Blois*: the last (for as much as hee seemed to neglect the former) was more sharpe, and in more expresse tearmes; as followeth: *Deliuer vnto me (saith she) thou man of God, my sonne, if thou be a man of God, and not rather a man of bloud, if thou beest carelesse and negligent in giuing libertie to my sonne, that the omnipotent God may require his bloud at thy hands. Oh and alas, that the Soueraigne Pastor should become mercenarie, that he should flie from the face of the Wolfe, that he should leaue his sheepe committed to his charge, yea a chosen Bell-wether, the leader of the Lords flocke, in the iawes of a cruell beast! Hardly truly wilt thou aduventure thy soule for him, for whom thou hast not dained to speake or write one word; and now three times we haue bene promised Legats, and yet they are not sent, that so say the truth, I may thinke them rather Ligati than Legati, bound that they shall not come, than appoynted to come. If my sonne were in prosperitie they had come with all possible speed, because out of his great bountie, and the publicke profit they make of the kingdome, they expected plentifull rewards of their Legations. And what greater glorie can there be, than to set free a captiue King, to bring peace to the people, safetie to the religious, and ioy and comfort to euerie one? But now they faile at a pinch. The Wolfe holdeth his prey, and the dogges either cannot or will not barke. Is this the promise which you made vnto vs at the castle of *Radolphus*, with so much protestation of loue and fidelitie? What can it profit you to deceiue simple people, and by a vaine confidence to mocke the prayers of the innocent? So long since, King *Achab* made a covenant of friendship with *Benhadab*, but their mutual loue had a dismall event (comparing the Pope to this Infidell King) and God prospered the battels of *Iudas*, *Iohn*, *Simion*, brothers of the *Machabees*, but so soone as by their embassage they made a contract of friendship with the Romans, they lost the succour and helpe of God; and not once, but often, their mercenarie familiaritie was turned into sobs and bitter sighes, &c. I would to God they would remember, that for the negligence of *Hely* their Priest, ministring in *Silo*, the glorie of the Lord was translated from *Israell*; neither is it a parable of the time past, but the time present, because God forsooke the Tabernacle of *Silo*, his owne Tabernacle where himselfe dwelt amongst men, deliuered their power into captiuitie, and their beautie into the enemies hands (meaning the Church of*

Romon. an. 1190
art. 2. lom. 124

Petrus Blesens.
Epist. 144. 145.
146.

Rome.) It was imputed to their pusillanimitie, that the Church was troden vnder foot, A
 faith in danger, libertie oppressed, deceit and iniquitie rather nourished than punished,
 &c. where is that which the Lord did once promise to his Church, Thou shalt sucke the
 milke of the Gentiles, and shalt milke the breasts of Kings, &c. The Pope sees these things
 and yet keeps S. Peters sword hid in the scabbard, so he giueth strength to sinners, his si-
 lence argueth his consent. One polleth, another taketh by extortion; one holds the foot, a-
 nother strips off the skinne. The time foretold by the Apostle is euen at hand, a time of de-
 parting, of Apostacie and reuolt, that the sonne of perdition may be reuealed: Now begins
 the perillous times, that the vnseamed coat of Christ may be cut asunder, that S. Peters
 net may be torne in peeces, and the soundnesse and soliditie of the Catholike vnitie may be
 dissolved: these are the beginning of all euils; we feele and suffer that which is grieuous, B
 but we feare things more grieuous and intollerable. And it is here a Queene wounded
 with griefe that speaketh it, but by the mouth of the Chancellor, the Archbishop
 of Canterburie, and no doubt with the consent of the Clergie of England; and
 they differ not much from the judgement and opinion of the Abbot Iochim, al-
 beit the one in Italie the other in England; but he also describeth vnto vs in the
 person of an Officiall, the manner and fashion of the Church of Rome, writing to
 the same: For as much, saith he, as I loue thee with all affection euen in the bowels of Ie-
 sus Christ, I thought good to exhort thee with wholesome admonitions, that thou in time
 depart from Vr of the Chaldes, and from the midst of Babylon, and leaue the mysterie of
 this most wicked and damnable Stewardship, &c. I beleeme that these Officialls are so cal-
 led not from the *Noun* Officiu, but from the *Verb* Officio, which significth to hurt, for
 the whole intention of an Officiall is, ad opes Episcopi, to be carefull for the profits of
 the Bishop, whereof he hath the charge, to sheere for him, miserrimas oues, the poorest
 sheepe, to poll them, and to pull off their skinnes: (he sets riches against sheepe) and af-
 terward pursues their rapines with foule tearmes: These Officialls are those hidden
 doores, where the Ministers of Bell secretly carried away the sacrifices which the King
 caused to be set vpon the table: So the Bishop cunningly, and as it were with a long reach,
 gets other mens goods; and if the crime happen to be discovered, to quit himselfe of dis-
 credit, layeth the blame on his Officialls, &c. The office of an Officiall now adayes is to con-
 found law, to stirre vp contentions, to breake off agreements, to find delayes, to suppress
 truth, to foster lyes, to hunt after gaine, to sell equitie, to gape after exactions, and to bee
 cunning in working and contriuing deceits. These are those who burthen their clients
 with superfluous charge, being prodigall of another mans purse, and sparing of their own;
 lying in wait to catch men in their words, hunt after sillables, and lay snares to get money:
 They interpret the law at their owne will and pleasure, and according to their owne wills
 they admit them or disallow them. Good sayings they deprave, and peruert those that are
 prudently alledged; breake couenants, nourish contentions, dissembles fornications, breake
 matrimonie, maintaine adulterie, thrust themselues into other mens houses, and lead cap-
 tiue simple women burthened with their sinnes; they defame the innocent, and absolue
 the guiltie: and to conclude many things in a few words, whilest these sonnes of anarice,
 and seruants of Mammon doe all things for money, they make sales of themselues to the
 diuill, &c. If thou beleuest me, nay if thou beleuest in God, leaue in time this office of an
 Officiall, the ministerie of damnation, the wheele of all euill, this spirit of giddinesse
 which carrieth thee about to that which is vaine and idle: Haue compassion of thy soule,
 pleasing God, whom thou canst not please with this office of perdition. Of Bishops hee
 speake not more mildly: In the house of a Bishop, saith he, comprehending the Lord with
 his family, nothing is more damnable for merit, nothing more dishonest for manners, no-
 thing more vnclane for conscience, nothing more culpable for reputation, and nothing
 more

A more pernicious for example: And therefore he oftentimes calleth the heads of the
 Clergie, Syria, Edom, the calues of Bethel, the Idols of Egypt, the fat of Samaria, the
 Priests of Baal; and verie bitterly calls them backe to their ductie, The profession of
 thy order admits not the cares of the world, nor the rigour and tyrannic of the materiall
 sword; the Kings of nations beare rule ouer these, and not thou. If thou accept the ministry
 of Christ, if thou refuse not his yoke, stay in that condition, in that ranke whereto thou art
 called, and leaue to the Laitie the gouernement of the people. But we may read among
 other things an Epistle of his written to Pope Alexander the third, in the name of
 the Archbishop of Canterburie, who found himselfe grieued because hee had y-
 surped to himselfe the onely Abbie that was in his Archbishopricke; which is the
 B more to be noted, because hee would seeme elsewhere to referre all things to the
 Popes: After the death of Vrias, saith he, and the adulterie of Bersabce, the Prophet
 sent to David proposeth vnto him the example of a certaine poore man, who had onely one
 sheepe, which a certaine rich man tooke from him, that had many sheepe: But Davids ad-
 uice being requested, giueth iudgement of death against this rich man, and consequently
 against himselfe. And who is now the rich man, that hath innumerable sheepe, but the Bi-
 shop of Rome, who possesseth all the Churches of the world? And who poorer than the
 C Church of Canterburie, who hauing but one onely Abbie, that is to say, the Monasterie of
 S. Augustine, which in the bosome of his pastor all prouidence he cherished with a fatherlie
 care, and this rich man, I dare not say the Bishop of Rome, hath vsurped it, as peculiar
 and proper to himselfe. If we may be bold to say what we thinke, when the office of iustice
 willet a man to giue to euerie one that which is his, is it not manifest iniustice in the Pope
 to bestow a benefice vpon one to wrong another, to commit that in ecclesiastical things which
 worldlie authority abhorreth euen in secular? Then repeating againe the general com-
 plaint, for that he exempted the Abbies from the obedience of the Bishops, and
 so reserued them to himselfe; in so much that the Proctor of the Abbots did not
 feare to say, Base and miserable are those Abbots that banish not the power of the Bi-
 shops, when for the yerely payment of an ounce of gold they may obtain ful libertie of the See
 of Rome: That is to say, to liue without a controller, letting loosse the raines of
 D the world, saith he, let them see and iudge these things, least wrong should seeme to pro-
 ceed, from whence equitie and iustice should be had. We shall bee condemned of rashnesse,
 and said to open our mouthes against heauen; but we write not these things out of a spirit
 of pride, but with the inke of griefe, wee feele our owne priuat miseries and deplore the
 publike, &c. The Apostle speaking to the Romans, saith, Euerie creature ought to be sub-
 iect to the higher powers: If the Apostle so writ to the Church of Rome, who in the Church
 of Rome will presume to contradict this Apostolicall doctrine? &c. Some Angels are greater
 and higher in dignitie than others; yet they admit not the pride of emancipation or
 freedom the one aboue the other. One of them long since would be freed from the power of
 God, and of an Angell became a diuill: by these extraordinarie liberties now adayes are
 E wrought the vtter ouerthrow of many. But to dispute of the doings of the Pope is held, they
 say, for sacriledge; besides the disputation is not equal, where it is not lawfull for the de-
 fendant to answer, neither is it a quarell when thou striketh, and I onely must endure the
 blowes. In the same sence in the Epistle 158 to Iohn Bishop of Chartres, and vpon
 the same subiect, which was then pleaded by the Author before the Pope, he saith,
 All the lawes and the Canons, and what soeuer we could alledge out of the word of God, to
 affirme and make good our cause, Maiors inter ceteros, the greatest haue held descen-
 dable and sacrilegious, and did publicly iudge vs enemies to the Church of Rome, vnlesse
 we would relinquish these word, by which we endeouored to proue the Church of Saint
 Gg iij Augustine,

*Augustine, which they affirme particularly to be his, to be subiect to the Church of Canter- A
burie, &c. For hauing no regard of the losse of soules, they permit in the Monkes all un-
lawfull things, to cast off the yoke of all discipline, to follow all pleasures of the flesh, and
to pay for their riot and excesse through the whole yeare an annuall pension: wee hauing
then beene publikely forbidden to proaduce in this cause either Canons or Lawes, but onely
priuiledges, if we had any readie at hand, whereof they knew none we had at that time,
saw that in this respect we were destitute of all humane comfort; and they being resolved
to prouide a lay man, and not learned, but rich ynough to purchase honors, who had bought
this Abbie by simonie, not priuily but publikely, and as it were in open market, I put my
selfe forward to accuse him, and to make my selfe a partie against him: but when I layed B
open manifest and notorious things, they whom he had made friends with the Mammon
of iniquitie, poured wine and oyle into the wounds of his infamie. Moreover, hauing
gotten much money from the Marchants of Flanders, and in a manner drawne them
drie, notwithstanding borrowed an infinit quantitie of gold of the Romans; so by this
meanes the Doves wings were all siluer, and the hinder parts of her backe glittering all in
gold, in such sort that they would heare no more of the libertie and dignitie of the Church
of Canterburie, for the which the Martyr Saint Thomas fought euen vnto death. This
pretended Martyr notwithstanding suffered for the Popes authoritie, who, as Pe-
ter of Blois here tells vs (according to the example of the Pharisses) gilded his sep-
ulchre, that he might the better rob his Church. Neither are we to forget also,
That in his treatise of the Institutions of a Bishop, written to John Bishop of Wor- C
cester, he attributeth to euery Bishop that authoritie which the Church of Rome
restraineth to the Popes, as successors of Saint Peter: We read, saith he, that our Sa-
uour said to Peter, If thou louest me feed my sheepe: thou art the heire and Vicar of Peter,
feed my sheepe: In being an Euangelist, doe the workes of an Euangelist, and of a Pastor,
be not abhamed of the office of a Pastor. Thy ministerie hath more charge than honour; if
thou affect honour, thou art mercenarie; if thou wilt imbrace the burthen, the Lord is
strong to encrease his grace, that profit may come by profit, and gaime by gaime: But if thou
canst not endure the burthen, and knowes thy selfe insufficient, it is too late to complaine.
He said before, Take heed by all meanes thou wrap not thy selfe in secular affaires, for
there is no agreement with the spirit of God and the spirit of this world; persist in thy
uocation, the world is wholly giuen to wickednesse. And this hee afterward recited,
Animabus Prelatus es non corporibus, Thou hast the charge of soules and not of bodies:
Nihil Prælato commune est cum Pilato, A Prelat hath nothing common with Pilat;
thou art Christs Steward, & Peters Vicar; thou art not to make an account to Caesar, but to
Christ, of that iurisdiction that is committed vnto thee. And by these and the like
places we may judge what he thought of the Popes, who so violently drew all se-
cular power vnto them: But he was constrained verie often to temper his stile ac-
cording to the tyrannie of those times; as when he said, The sword wherewith Pe-
ter cut off the seruaunts eare exceedeth in these daies, according to all mens opinion, the wea- D
pons of Alexander and Caesar.*

*Petrus Blasens.
de Institutione
Episcopi.*

*Petrus Blasens.
in Tractatu de
Pereginatione,
Hierosolimit.*

Abbas Vrsperg.

Let vs now come to Innocent the third. The Abbot of Vrsperge tells vs of his
entrance into the Popedom: I haue heard in those times (saith he) things incredi-
ble to be related, and hard to be beleued, that the same Pope said, That he would take away
the Kinglie Diademe from Philip, or that Philip should take from him the Apostolical En-
signe. Now albeit it were not to be beleued, that he would prefer his will before the will
of God, neuertheless it appeareth that he was at all times contrarie vnto him. But God
foreseeing from aboue, permitted not, that through all Germanie his diuine seruice and
the Ecclesiasticall dignitie should perish, which continued there more permanent than in
other

*other countries, albeit much corrupted and depraued through the instigation of sinne, and
chiefly carnall pleasures. And he noteth especially, that Innocent opposed the autho-
ritie of the Apostolike See against Philips, Vt regium genus deperiret, To ruinate
the royall race: But Auentine saith, That he raised cognatas acies, brother to fight a-
gainst brother, and the sonne against the father, and the one to pollute himselfe with the
bloud of the other: and then crying out, who, saith he, can giue any other reason of the
discord among Christians, but the spectacle of the Roman Bishop, quasi paria componen-
tis, taking pleasure to see, and to cause them, like Fencers, to murder one another? euen so
the Christian people were slaine, the Bishops of Rome encouraging the one against the o-
ther. In the meane time Innocent the third, as saith the Abbot of Vrsperge, made
profit of this confusion, which he describeth so horrible in the Empire, as the like
hardly happened euer in any age: That a man (saith he) could not safely passe from one
Parish to another; for there was scarce any Bishopricke or Ecclesiasticall dignitie, or Pa-
rish church, that was not become litigious: by which meanes all proceesse were broughe to
Rome, but not with emptie hands. Reioyce our mother Rome, for the floud-gates of the
treasuries are opened vpon the earth, to the end the riuers may flow to thee, and thou maiest
heape money in great aboundance, make thy selfe merie vpon the iniquitie of the children
of men; the price is giuen to thee as a recompence of so many evils; take comfort in Discord
thy best friend, because it is broken loose from the bottomelesse pit of hell, that the heape of
thy treasures may be rased to the top: Thou hast that thou hast long thirsted after, sing
a song, for through the enuie of men, and not thy owne religion, thou hast overcome the
world. It is not for deuotion or pure conscience that men draw vnto thee, but through the
multiplicitie of evils, the deciding of controuersies, and all for money. And this was of
the entrance of Innocent the third that he spake. And here end the Annales of Ba-
ronius. Neither let vs omit the affaires of the East, vnder the schisme of Alexan-
der the third, and Victor. Alexander sent a Legat into Palestina, that he might there
be acknowledged Pope: so the two Patriarches of Antioch and Hierusalem, with
the King and his Barons, assembled together to consult thereon. The Kings ad-
uice was, to admit neither the one nor the other, and to permit the Legat onely
Sine insignibus Legationis, Without the marks of his Legation, to visit the holie
places as a pilgrime, if he thought good thereof, and presently to returne againe; *Guilielm. Tyrin.
l. 18. c. 29.*
for there was no need of a Legat in the kingdome, that serued to no other vse but
to burthen the Churches with a greater charge, and to impouerish them with ex-
tortions: But the greater number caried it, that he was receiued; wherby it came
to passe, That to those to whom hee was best welcome, his long continuance was bur-
then some.*

50. PROGRESSION.

*The contentions betweene Philip and Orho, procured by Pope Innocent. Of the pride and
presumption of the said Innocent, and the bold Decrees he made. Of his intrusions in Eng-
land, and the many troubles he procured Iohn then King thereof, after he had excommuni-
cated him. Of the submission, in the end, of the said King, who resigneth his Crowne and
kingdome, and becommeth tributarie to the Pope. Of the first beginning of the do-
ctrine of Transubstantiation. Of the two Orders of S. Francis and S. Domi-
nick, and the blasphemous comparifons and opinions
conceiued of them.*

NOW as Innocent had kindled the warre betweene Philip and Orho, hee taketh
this mans part against the other, and the worse truly, if wee may giue credit

to the Abbot of Vrsperge; For he was, saith he, proud and foolish, but accounted the more valiant. To establish him he omitted nothing, sent to the Bishops and Princes of Germanie, to obey him, and absolved them of their othes towards Philip, and would not giue the Pall to any Archbishop vnlesse by oath hee would acknowledge him; he made his Legat to crowne him in Germanie, and excommunicated and disgraded *Adulphus*, Bishop of Collen, for crowning Philip. But as he vnderstood that Philip had woon the field, and that in diuers other battels *Otho* was alwayes ouercome, procured a treatie of peace through the mediation of *Hugoline* Bishop of Ostia, and *Leo* Cardinal of the holie crosse, and the conditions were, that *Otho* should marrie the daughter of Philip, and relinquish the title of the Realme during his life, and after his death to succeed him. But Philip continued not long, for returning from Saxonie into Sweuia, whilest he stayed at Banbridge for his ease, and the recouerie of his health, was let bloud in both his armes, and being at rest in his Chamber, accompanied with a few of his owne domestical seruants, *Otho* Palatine of Wittelsbach accompanied with certaine seruants of the Bishops rusht in with his sword drawn & killed him, though in vaine his Chamberlaine sought to defend. Here the Abbot of Vrsperge noteth that *Innocent* had broken the lawful election of *Luitpold* Bishop of Mencein hatred of Philip; which in the Chapter *Bone memoria Extr. de electis*, is to be read, *non iudicia facientē*, saith he, *sed iniuriam*, Not doing justice but iniurie; he addeth that this peace was made, as he vnderstood of credible persons, because it was promised the Pope that King Philips daughter should marrie his Nephew his brother Richards sonne, whom he had lately made an Earle (some say he was his Bastard) and therefore resolued with himselfe not to request the Lands which his predecessours often used to demaund of the Emperours both in Tuscane, Spoleto, and Ancona, hoping they should come into his Nephewes possession through the aforesayd mariage. And so Philip left *Otho* to succeed him, a man qualified with many vertues, as *Vrsperg* who liued at that time often reporteth, namely for his great clemencie and gentlenesse; for which good conditions he was neuer the better thought of by the Pope. But let vs see whether *Otho*, whom the Pope had defended against Philip, found him more propitious, when he challenged to himselfe the rights of the Empire. In the year 1209 *Otho* therefore conueying his armie into Italie, was entertained with great applause of the people, receyued the Crowne of Iron at Milan from the hands of the Archbishop, and so went to Rome to be crowned with the Imperiall Diademe, and hetherto agreed well with *Innocent*; But trusting to the counsell of his Lawyers he went about to search the rights of his Empire in Tuscane, and to recover into his hands the Townes which through the vacancie of the Empire, the Popes had drawne vnto themselves, in prejudice of the Empire; whereupon *Innocent* presently threatned him with Ecclesiasticall censures; Notwithstanding *Otho* proceedeth in his purpose, taketh Viterbe, Montefalcone, Oruieto, Perugia, and all that was accounted the patrimonie of *Mashilda*; moreover he gaue the Dukedome of Spoleto to *Bertaldus* his fauourite; That done hee returned into Lombardie to suppress and hinder new reuolts there. Now therefore *Innocent* vpon new consultations was resolued to serue his turne, by the means of young *Frederic* his Pupill King of Sicilia, whom he caused to goe into Germanie, recommended vnto them with the remembrance of his father and grandfather *Henric* and *Frederic* the first, there to molest *Otho*, and to cause him to forsake Italie. *Otho* being otherwise not greatly beloued of the Princes, nor much esteemed for his vertue; so that not long after being inforst to goe into Saxonie, was declared

Abbas Vrspergen in Chro.

An. 1209.

Annot. 7.

- A through all Italie an enemy to the Church, and those that tooke his part, namely the Milanois and their adherents were excluded from the communion of the Church: In the meane time *Innocent* died in the year 1216, and *Otho* in the year 1218, who as an argument of repentance left by testament the ensignes of the Empire to young *Frederic*. *Krantzius* speaking of the causes of discord betweene *Otho* and *Innocent*, although for the most part inclined towards the Popes, saith, That the Emperour demaunded through Italie the auncient rights of the Empire, whereof long since some of them were transferred to the Church: He also challenged that great inheritance of *Mashilda* a woman of great estate in Italie, as appertaining vnto him by a double right, for he seemed to be the heyre of his Aunt, who descended from the *Marquesses* of Saxonie, and also as falling to the Empire for want of heires: And hereupon *Innocent*, saith he, exhorted the Princes Electors (that forasmuch as he had cast off *Otho*, first excommunicated, and then deposed) to chose vnto the Empire another Prince, offering vnto them *Frederic*, of the age of 20 yeares; of whom, although he had the administration of his Gardenship, he couerted all to his owne profit: for the Continuator of the holie warre saith, *Frederic* being yet a child, and a pupill, was deprived by *Innocent* his tutor of the inheritance of his Kingdome, and being free was made tributorie, without respect either of the prayers of *Henric* his father, or *Constance* his mother, or his owne promise made vnto them. *Blondus* noteth two bold Decrees of this Pope, the first, so often as one Prince shall offend another, that the correction shall belong to the Bishop of Rome; The which was done vpon the difference betwene the Kings of France and England, and is inserted into the Decretals: The second, That two striving for the Empire, hauing voyces alike, he whom the Pope alloweth shall be preferred (which is there red, and put in practise in fauour of *Otho* the fourth) and ought to be receyued as lawfull: & by this meanes he was made the Arbitrator of the whole world. But the Bookes, especially written by himselfe, doe testifie how much this mysterie did pricke him forward: The Bishop of Rome, saith he, useth the Globe in signe of Empire (the Globe is the signe of the Empire) & useth the Myre in signe of his Popedome. But the Myre he useth alwayes and euerie where, but the kingdome neyther euerie where, nor alwayes, because the Papall authoritie is both the first and the worthier, and further spread than the imperiall; for among the people of God the Priesthood went before the kingdome, when *Aaron* the first priest, went before *Saul* the first king: *Noah* also was before *Nemroth* when of him the Scripture saith, That *Babylon* was the beginning of *Nemroth*, but *Noah* built an altar to the Lord, and offered sacrifice vpon it. But speaking of the Priests and Kings, he calleth the Priests Gods, and the Kings, Princes; From the Gods he saith thou shalt not detract, and the Prince of the people thou shalt not curse: and when the Apostle spake of the King, All humane creatures be yee subiect euen for Gods cause to your Kings as the most excellent, or to you leaders as sent by him; The Lord saith to *Hieremie*, the Priest of the Priests of *Anatoth*, I haue appointed thee ouer Nations and Kingdomes, that thou maiest pull downe and destroy, build and plant &c. But to *Peter* especially he said, Thou shalt be called *Cephas*, that is to say, head, wherein the fulnesse of the senses consist. Who did euer read such Diuinitie? And yet behold there is worfe; when our Lord and Saviour sayd vnto *S. Peter*, Duc in altum, cast into the deepe, this deepe Sea is Rome which obtayned and holdeth the prioritie and principalitie aboue all the world, as if he sayd, Goe to Rome, and transport thy selfe with all thine to the Citie, there cast thy nets abroad to take. In another place; The Church of Rome oweth not any reuerence to any person but the Pope, who hath no superior but God. But yet see here his companion and corriuall: The Bishop of Rome, saith he, hath the Church of Rome his spouse, and yet bringeth in other Churches subiect vnto him. This

Krantz. l. 2. c. 33. & 34

Continuator bel. li. facti. l. 3. c. 10

Blond. Decad. 2. l. 6.

Extra de election. c. Venerabilium.

Innocentius 3. ser. in festo Syluestri. i. Page.

Idem Serm. x. in festo Gregorij Pape.

Idem in Serm. 2. de festo Sancti Petri.

is the first (that I knew) that hath gone so farre as to call himselfe the spouse of the Church, arrogating to himselfe the true and incommunicable title of the Lord, who is the true and onely spouse of the true Church: and therefore the Church of Rome cannot be the true Church, if the Pope be her spouse; nor the Pope her spouse, if the Church of Rome be the true spouse. Let vs heare what S. Bernard saith writing to Pope Eugenius: *It remains now that thou take care that the spouse of thy Lord, who is committed to thee, be made the better by thee: If thou bee a friend of the spouse thou shalt not call his beloved, My Princeesse, but Princeesse, challenging nothing to thy selfe in her, vnlesse if occasion were to giue thy life for her. If Christ haue sent thee, thou must make account thou art sent to serue, and not to be serued.* Can a man think that it is sufficiently excused by that poore distinction of Bellarmine, of a principall or subalterne spouse. I omit his comparison of the two lights which God hath placed in the firmament, the Sunne and the Moone; the Sunne hee compareth to the Pope, the Moone to the Emperour: for doubtlesse he that feareth not to violat the commaundements of Christ himselfe the King of kings, wee may thinke he will little spare the Princes of the earth.

And truly vnder the pretence of this spirituall authoritie hee required at the same time the temporall homage of the kingdome of England; for there being a controuersie betweene the Bishops Suffragans of the Archbishop of Canturburie, and the Monkes, touching the election of the Archbishop; the Monkes pretending, that they onely ought to chuse him, and the Bishops saying they could not doe it without them: Both of them comming to Rome, Innocent perswaded the Proctors of the Monkes to chuse Stephen Lanthon a Cardinall Priest, his seruant; and albeit they protested they could not doe it without the King and their Conuent, being ouerborne with his threats of excommunication, hee ouercame them, and pronounced sentence for the Monkes against the Bishops; giuing the Monkes likewise to vnderstand, that he would excommunicat them if they obeyed not his Decree. King Iohn, who then reigned, was much offended, as well because Innocent had said, *That it was not his manner to attend the consent of Princes touching elections celebrated in the Apostolike See,* as also for that hee had disannulled the election made by the Bishops, of the Bishop of Norwich, to whom he had giuen his consent; protesting to maintaine the rights of his realme euen to death, and to gard the sea, that no more might goe to Rome, except the Pope changing his sentence would make amends for that wrong he had done. But Innocent interdicted his realme, offered it as a prey to the first inuaders thereof, absolved his subiects of all oathes both naturall and ciuile, armed all his Clergie, and the greatest part of the Nobilitie and Magistrats of the realme, against him, and in the end pronounced him deposed, and commaunded another to be put into his place: and for to execute his sentence, he appointed Philip King of France, his enemy, promising him in reward of this seruice remission of all his sinnes, giuing this realme to him and his successors: proceeding so farre herein, that he writ to many worthy and honourable persons, into diuers nations, *vt sese Cruce signent,* That they should signe themselues with the crosse, & come to assist the King of France in this expedition, promising vnto them in their goods, persons, and soules, the same prerogatiue and indulgence as those had that went to visit the holie Sepulchre. And it is to be noted, that it is a Monke that relateth vnto vs this historic. In the meane time that Philip prepared to take hold thereof, he priuily sent a Legat into England, who being received by the Bishops, caused his approaching ruine to be made knowne vnto him, vnlesse he sought meanes to pacifie the Pope:

So

Bernard ad Eugenium Epistol. 237.

Bellarmine de Romano Pontifici. l. 2. 31.

Math. Paris in Johan. p. 216.

A So that seeing himselfe beset with dangers on euerie side, resigned his Crowne, with the realmes of England and Ireland into the hands of the Pope, and his successors, in the person of Pandolph his Legat, confirmed vnder an authentike Charter, with the general consent of his Barons, exprest in these words, *For the forgiveness of all our sinnes, and the sinnes of all our kindred, as well they which are liuing as those which are dead, we freely grant to our Lord Pope Innocent, and his Catholike successors, the aforesaid kingdomes.* And thereupon Innocent gaue to him the said realmes, to hold by faith and homage of him and his successors, vpon condition to pay yearely, besides the Peter pence, a thousand markes sterling to the Church of Rome, that is to say, five hundred at the feast of Saint Michael, and five hundred at Easter; that is, seuen hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland; vnder protestation, *That if he or any of his should attempt any thing contrarie to this agreement, should be discharged of the kingdome.* This Charter was signed by many of the Nobilitie, and in performance thereof hee solemnly did the homage euen at Pandolphs feet. In the meane time King Philip, whom Innocent had stirred vp to war, continued an vnreconcilable enemy to the King of England. But marke the monstrous pride of the Legat, in receiuing the tribute: Pandolph, saith he, *trampled vnder his feet the money which the King payed, as an earnest penie in token of his subiection:* yet he tooke it, and refused it not, for God forbid he should say with S. Peter, *Thy money perish with thee.*

Now as we haue often said, as this Mysterie of Iniquitie did gather strength, so the doctrine grew worse and worse, for it was in the time of this Innocent, that both the opinion and name of Transubstantiation did first come to light, and at the last exprest in these words in the Lateran Synod: *The bodie and bloud of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, are truly contained vnder the formes of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the bodie, and the wine into the bloud, by diuine power.* And hereupon doe arise so many monstrous questions, which wee read among the Schole-men of this age, which we haue elsewhere noted more at large: The ceremonies also from time to time were brought in by the Popes that followed, especially by Honorius the third, the successor of Innocent, that ceremonie of bowing the knee at the eleuation, that is, *when the bread is shewed in the Masse,* and the like.

D But because to support such Idolatries, otherwise weake and shaken, they had need as it were of a pillar, behold here these that arise so oportunely at this time, Francis and Dominick; the one an Italian, the other a Spaniard; the one principall and head of the Friars Minors, and the other of the Preachers; the one confirmed by Innocent, the other by Honorius, his successor; both of them striving by their clients and followers to be equall with Christ, nay about Christ. But what could be done, or approued, that fauoured more of Antichrist? And of these things we haue spoken more at large else where; but it belongeth to the course of the historie, that we here briefly repeat something againe. Of Francis therefore they say, that he was greater than Iohn Baptist; *Iohn was the forerunner of Christ, S. Francis the Preacher and Ensigne-bearer of Christ: Iohn receiued the word of repentance of Christ, Francis both of Christ and the Pope, which is more: Iohn the friend of the spouse (that is to say Christ) Francis like to the spouse himselfe: Iohn eleuated into the order of the Seraphims, Francis placed in the place from whence Lucifer fell: Francis was better than all the Apostles, seated in heauen, proceeding out of the wounded side of Christ, made a tipe of Iesus by his passion, who receiued in a vision the same wounds of Christ; suffered the same griefes, the passion of Christ renewed in him for the saluation of mankind; of whom Dauid hath said, Thou hast crowned him with glorie and honour, and hast set him*

about

Math. Paris in Johan. p. 225. & sequent.

Concilium Lateranense C. firmiter SS. una vero &c.

Lib. 2. de Euchar. c. 17.

Liber conformitatum p. 24. p. 39

Fol. 66. & 247. Prosa de Francisco ibid. initio libri & fol. 194.

Fol. 144. Fol. 17. Fol. 24. Fol. 149. Fol. 13. Fol. 5.

Fol. 14.

Fol. 4.
Fol. 3.
Fol. 5.
Fol. 144.
Fol. 78.Bernard. in Ro-
sario Thom. in
l. 4. Sent. dist. 4.
ex viiis PatrumLibey conformi-
tatum impres-
sus Bononie an.
1590. fol. 3. &
254.
Item fol. 3. &
250.
Anthon. parte
3. tit. 23. l. 28.
Bonavent. in
Legenda S.
Francis.Antonius Ar-
chiep. parte 3.
tit. 23. l. 5. 3.

about all the workes of thy hands, he is set as a light to the Gentiles; which the Prophet spake of Christ: *Abraham saw that day, and was glad thereof.* And to conclude, whatsoever was foretold by the Prophets of Christ onely, the same was pronounced of him: *Of whom may rightly be said that which is spoken in the Gospell, All things are given me of my father. Matth. 11.* Of whom it is likewise said, *I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a sonne.* And againe, that which was neuer said nor interpreted by any but by Christ, *In whom all the vertues of the Saints, as well of the old as the new Testament, are put vnitie & conjunctione, vnitie and conjunctione:* Wherefore also through his merits he was made the sonne of God, and sanctified by the holie Ghost, by reason of a scedule which Frier Leo saw to descend from heauen, and fell upon the head of Saint Francis, wherein it was written, *This man is the grace of God, wholly conformable vnto Christ, the example of all perfection, desired in the glorie of God the Father, in the glorie of the Saints united to God, whereby he preceeded all living creatures, is made one and the same spirit with God, whom the Militant Church hath deserued to be an Ad vocat with God, in whom the passion of Christ is renewed for the saluation of all mankind, in so much that God hath bene pacified for the whole world through one Masse of S. Francis.* All are saued that dye in the Order, and vnder the rule of S. Francis, for Francis prayed vnto God, and obtained of God, that none of that Order might dye any euill death. The same grace descendeth vpon him, who taketh vpon him that Order of religion, as vpon him that is baptised: And the putting on of the hood giueth vnto them full remission of finnes, and freeeth as well from the punishment as the sinne; and taking vpon him a new purpose of a vow, the which afterward he may repent, is neuertheless baptised againe, and hath pardon. Wilt thou any more? Christ hath prayed, Francis hath obtained. And when shall we haue an end of these blasphemies? This booke notwithstanding was exhibited in the generall Chapter of the Franciscans, by Frier Bartholomew of Pisa, and approved by all with a generall consent in the citie of Assise, the second of August 1389, with this expresse clause, *We haue searched, debated, and caused this booke diligently to be examined, and we find nothing therein worthy correction:* therefore it is called by them *The Golden Booke*, and sent by the commandment of the Popes, Gregorie the ninth, Alexander the fift, and Nicholas the third, to all the faithfull, vnder the paine of heresie to beleue the markes of S. D. Francis: likewise by the commandment of Benedict the twelfth, to celebrate the day whereon they had receiued it: And that by a Bull of Alexander the fourth, the hill of Auernia, whereon they say these things happened, should be receiued into the protection of the See of Rome. And yet the Authors of these times doe not agree among themselues vpon these marks, for Bonaventura, who liued fortie yeres after, saith in his Legend, That they were seene and acknowledged of many, euen to the putting in of the nails. *Mathew Paris* cleane contrarie, a most superstitious Monke, who liued at the same time, affirmeth, that there appeared not any mark or trace either in his side, his feet, or hands.

There was no lesse fained of *Dominick*, especially when he was to be opposed against the Albienfes: Therefore the Archbishop *Anthonie*, who was of his Order, so compareth his myracles with those of Christs, as euer they excell them both in weight and number: *Christ*, saith he, raised three onely that were dead, *Dominick* three in the citie of Rome: But what should wee thinke of those fortie strangers that suffered shipwracke in the great riuer nere Toloufe, the ship being overwhelmed, and they a long time vnder water, but that by the prayer of S. *Dominick* they came safe out of the riuer, and were restored to life. *Christ* being immortal entered twice among his Disciples, the gates being shut, but *Dominicus* as yet but a mortall man (which is much to be

admi-

A admired) entered in the night into the Church, the doores being shut, least he should waken his brethren: *Christ* said after his death, *All power is giuen to me in heauen and in earth, and this power*, saith he, is not a little communicated to *Dominick* ouer all celestiall, terrestrial, and infernall things: Note how he alwayes quarels for the better: For he had the holie Angels at his seruice, the elements did obey him, and the diuels trembled at him, and were not able to disobey him. This hee proueth by many examples: He addeth, That at Venice, before *Dominick* was borne into the world, there was in Saint Markes Church two Images to be seene of all, whereof one was in a verie religious habit, of the Order of the Preachers, with a Lillie in his hand; the other had the similitude of the Apostle S. Paul, as they vse to paint him, ouer whom was written *Paulus, S. Paul*, but vnder the feet of the Image was written, *Per istumitur ad Christum*, By this man we come to Christ: Above the other figure was written *ad 100* *Dominicus*, that is, S. *Dominick*, but vnder him, *Facilius itur per istum*, The way is easier by this man, that is to say, by *Dominick*, for saith *Anthonie*, The doctrine of S. Paul, and so likewise of the other Apostles, was a doctrine leading to faith, and obseruance of the commaundements, the doctrine of *Dominick* to the obseruance of Counsels, and therefore the way more easie by him to come to Christ. And so thou hast one superiour to S. Paul and the rest of the Apostles, and his rule better than Apostolicall doctrine. But worse followeth, Because he was like vnto Christ, he was aptly named *Dominicus*, by our Lord Christ; for *Dominicus*, quasi totus Domini, was that principally and by possession, which our Lord was absolutely and by authoritie: For the Lord saith, *I am the light of the world, and the Church singeth of Dominick*, *See are the light of the world.* The Prophets diuers wayes foretold of our Lord, for they all beare witness of him. Of *Dominick* and his Order saith *Zacharie* in his eleuenth Chapter, speaking of the person of God, *I haue taken vnto me two stauces, the one I haue called Decorem, Beautie; the other Funiculum, a Cord or a Band: Beautie is the Order of S. Dominick, for the beautifull habit of their Prelats; the Cord is the Order of the Minors, because they are girt with a cord.* Thus play they with the Scriptures. Furthermore, The Lord was borne vpon the naked earth, but the Virgine his mother, for feare of the cold, puts him into a manger; *Dominick* being borne, and a little infant vnder the custodie of his nurse, getting out of his cradle, detesting as it were the delights of the flesh, was found oftentimes by his nurse lying all naked vpon the bare earth. At the birth of our Lord there appeared a star, which guided the wise men vnto him, thereby insinuating that the whole world should be enlightened by him: likewise in the forehead of *Dominick*, as he was baptised, the godmother beheld a starre, signifying that a new light was come into the world, &c. The prayer of the Lord was euer heard whensoever he would, for that which he prayed for in the garden, That the cup might be taken from him, was not graced, because he praying according to the flesh, he would not obtaine according to reason: but *Dominick* neuer demanded any thing of God, which he fully obtained not according to his desire: that is to say, because he neuer requested any thing according to the desire of the flesh. The Lord hath loued vs, and washed vs from our finnes in his blood; but *Dominick*, not without a certaine perfection of charitie, spending the whole night with God in meditation and prayer, did vndergoe a threefold discipline, euen with his owne hand, and that euery day, not with a whipcord, but with a charne of yron, euen to the effusion of his blood; one for his owne faults, which were verie small, another for those which were in purgatorie, and the other for those that liued in the world. And *Anthonie* the Archbishop profecuteth this comparifon through all the parts of the life of Christ. Finally, our Lord departing from this world, promised to his Disciples a Comforter, that is to say, the holie Ghost, And *Dominick* said to his followers, *My deere friends weepe not for me, nor let my bodily departure trouble you, in the place to which I goe I shall be more profitable vnto*

Ibidem para-
graph. 14.Ibidem 4. pa-
ragr. 14.

Hb

to

to you than I can be here; for after death you may haue me a better Aduocat than you can A
 haue in this life. What then ſhall we thinke of that which S. Iohn ſayes vnto vs, If
 we ſinne we haue an aduocat. euen Ieſus the righteous? And theſe blaſphemies, becauſe
 they make to the ſtrengthening of their authoritie, are confirmed by the Church
 of Rome: for Gregorie the ninth canonized Dominick in there 1223, made him a
 Saint, appointed him a feſtiuall day, and both approued, and with priuiledges
 ſtrengthened his Order: And hee that writ theſe things was the Archbiſhop of
 Florence, verie famous among our aduerſaries, and put into the Canon of the
 Saints. This is ſaid, to the end the Reader may obſerue what might bee then the
 corruption of the Church, what the deſignes of the Popes, when theſe and the
 like horrible blaſphemies were ſupported by the Popes: and alſo with what ſpirits B
 their Conſiſtories & their Councils haue been carried; in which in the meane
 time they giue vs new articles of faith, Tranſubſtantiation, the Adoration of the
 Hoſt in the Maſſe, Auricular confeſſion, the Communion vnder one kind, & the
 like. But they had need, for the promulgation of ſuch trumperies, of ſuch Prea-
 chers as might afterward ſerue their turne for the ſpreading abroad of their facti-
 ons among the people, and inſinuat themſelues by their preaching into the hearts
 of men; by making euerie ſmall matter a caſe of conſcience, they propoſe an art to
 extinguiſh all conſcience: For the Abbot of Vrſperge ſaith, by the commaund
 of the Pope they abſolue rapes, depopulations, burnings, ſeditious, warres; and
 therefore he ſaid not without good cauſe, That Pope Innocent had rather approue C
 the Minors and Preachers, than the humble & poore of Lyons, who derogated from
 the Prieſthood by thoſe ſermons they made for the moſt part in the ſecret places of Gods
 Church; for they preached againſt the vices of the Clergie, and yet they were not
 accused of any hereſie, becauſe, ſaith he, they reprehended the vices of men, ſill obey-
 ing the See Apoſtolike, from which they deriue their chiefe authoritie. But theſe things
 we ſhall better obſerue in their due place.

O P P O S I T I O N.

Now it behoueth vs to ſee what judgement the Authors of theſe times haue
 left vnto vs of the wicked actions of Innocent, touching the warre he kindled be-
 tweene Philip and Otho. The Abbot of Vrſperge, who liued in thoſe dayes, ſpeaks
 freely in this manner, Innocent endeoured by all meanes to hinder Philip to attaine to
 the Imperiall throne, vbraiding him with that which his brother and kindred had crue-
 lly done (which neuertheleſſe they did by the inſtigation of wicked men) wherein, vnder
 correction of the Apoſtolike See, he ſeemed not to haue iudged according to equitie; when
 the Lord ſaith by his Prophet, That the ſinnes of the fathers ought not to be imputed to the
 children, how much leſſe of brothers, or of other kindred? Ezechias and Iozias, moſt reli-
 gious kings, had verie wicked fathers: In the genealogie euen of our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt,
 ſome wicked ones are recited. There is yet extant an Epiſtle of the ſaid Innocent, directed
 to Bartholdus Duke of Zaringia, wherein are written many abſurd things againſt Phi-
 lip, and ſome of them falſe, which he cauſed to be inſerted into the Decretals, &c. Then
 he began to ſtand vpon frivolous obiections, and exceptions, to the end hee might hinder
 him, obiecing vnto him the ſentence of excommunication: that is to ſay, of Celeſtine
 the third. Moreover, he ſent the Biſhop of Sutrie to demaund of him the hoſtages of A-
 pulia, whoſe eyes long ſince his brother Henrie the Emperour had commaunded to be pluckt
 out. But the ſaid Philip, as he was gentle and courteous, when he heard of the ſentence of
 excommunication, he humbly intreated to be abſolued by the ſaid Legat, and beſides ſent
 the aforeſaid hoſtages to the Pope. wherefore the Biſhop of Sutrie, for as much as he had
 unlawfully abſolued Philip, exceeding therein the bounds of his commaund, was deprived
 of

A of his Biſhoprick, and baniſhed into a certaine iſland of the ſea, where he happily en-
 ded his dayes in a verie religious and ſtrict Monafterie. So that hee exclames againſt
 this willie monopolie: The horne of iniquitie is exalted, wherewith many haue bene
 annointed, againſt whom the Lord ſaith by his Prophet, I haue ſaid to the wicked, Doe not
 wickedly, and to tranſgreſſers, Liſt not vp your horne. This horne is now filled with ad-
 ulterous oymnt. The horne of that oymnt is farre off, wherewith Dauid was an-
 noynted King. What therefore ſhould be done in the members, but that which is done in
 the heads; &c? O Lord, behold ſuch as the oymnt is in the head, ſuch it deſcends vpon
 the beard: Oh that it were but vpon the beard onely with the reprobate; it deſcended
 likewiſe vpon the beard of Aaron: for they that had layed their foundation in the moun-
 taine of ſtrength, vt pote Clauſtralis, as cloyſtered Monkes, ſeeming to lead a religious
 life (that is to ſay, they whoſe helpe Innocent vſed to alienat the hearts of the peo-
 ple from Philip) are farre from the wombe of our mother the Church, in which they
 were conceived and baptiſed: They haue wandered from the wombe, wherein they ought to
 be comforted & nouriſhed with wholeſome admonitions, & now they haue ſpoken nothing
 but lyes. And here the Reader may iudge what the Abbot thought of him that
 vſed the helpe of people ſo diſhoneſt.

Through theſe diſcords in England Innocent proceeded ſo farre, that king Iohn
 being brought into great extremitie, was inforced to become tributarie vnto him.
 That king, ſaith the hiſtory, hauing knowne multiplici experientia, by deere experience,
 that the Pope was ambitious and proud aboue all men liuing, and an inſatiable thiſtler af-
 ter money, Et ad omnia ſclera pro premissis datis vel promissis cereus & procluius, Math. Paris
 in Iohn.
 prone to all wickedneſſe whatſoeuer, for rewards either promiſed or giuen, was reſolued
 to make a benefit of this his ill fortune, purpoſing with himſelfe a reuenge of
 the Barons and Biſhops of the kingdome, with the good liking and leaue of Inno-
 cent, may he being the author. Whereupon he ſent Embaſſadors vnto him, who
 carried with them a great part of his treaſure, and withall promiſing more, ſware
 vnto him, That he would alwayes be his ſubiect, and tributarie vnto him, ſo that
 he would find ſome ſubtile occaſion to excommunicat his Barons and Biſhops, e-
 ſpecially the Archbiſhop of Canturburie, for whom the Pope had ſo much mo-
 leſted him. Nicholus Biſhop of Tuſcule, his Legat, came into England, to releaſe
 the interdict that had continued ſix yeares, three moneths, and foureteene dayes,
 To the irrenocable loſſe (ſaith the Author) of the Church, both in temporall matters and
 in ſpirituall. Iohn gaue him this infamous reſignation of his realme, no more in
 wax, as to Pandolph, but ſealed in gold. And becauſe there was made a queſtion of
 the loſſes which the Biſhops had receiued, the Legat in fauour of the king deſer-
 red it to a farther day. But Innocent, who deſired to gratifie the king by his Le-
 gat of all the vacant Churches, to the prejudice of the Archbiſhop of Canturbu-
 rie, Intruſione magis quam electione canonica diſponit, Diſpoſed of them rather by in-
 truſion than canonically election. Hereupon this Archbiſhop appealed, but the
 Legat reiected his Appeale, & proceeded in his purpoſe: and Innocent ratified the
 acts of his Legat, ſpeaking now of nothing but the praifes and commendations
 of the Prince. The Barons they aſſembled to demaund their libertie, with whom
 alſo joyned the citie of London, The Pope as the chiefe Lord reuoketh them, and
 becauſe they would not preſently obey, he excommunicated them, and ſtired vp
 all the ſubiects of the realme againſt them, promiſing them remiſſion of their
 ſinnes; and included in the ſame excommunication all the Biſhops that delay-
 ed to publiſh the Anatheme: But becauſe Stephen Archbiſhop of Canter-
 burie, hauing lately bene his fauourite, declared that hee could not pub-
 liſh

lish it, before he had seene the Pope; and being readie to take shipping for the Councell assigned at Rome, because *tacita veritate sententia erat in Barones lata*, The sentence was pronounced against the Barons, truth it selfe being silent, the Bishop of Winchester, & Pandolph the Legat, the executioners of this sentence, forbad him the Church, and suspended him from the celebration of his office; of so great force and efficacie was the money king John powred into the lap of the Pope. But besides, he was no sooner come to Rome but the sentence of suspension was confirmed by Innocent. These proceedings now put the Barons of England into despaire, who (saith the historie) seeing all hope of their good to be taken away, and knowing not what to doe, curst the fraud and infidelitie of the king: *Woe be to thee O John (say they) the last of the Kings, the abomination of the Princes of England, the confusion of the English Nobilitie. O miserable England, being now wasted, and readie to be more wasted and destroyed. O wofull England, England that hitherto hath bene the Prince of Prouinces in all good things, art made tributarie; not onely subiect to fire, famine, and sword, but to the empire and commaund of base slaves and strangers, though there be nothing more unhappie than to be enthralled to such people. We read that many other kings, yea and but petie kings too, haue fought for the libertie of their countrey euen to death: but thou John, of a mournefull memorie to all posteritie, thy countrey that hath bene free for many yeares, thou hast found the meane to bring it into bondage, and employed thy endeuors to draw others with thee into slauerie: thou hast first debast thy selfe, being made of a free king a tributarie, and a vessell of seruitude: Thou hast bound the noblest of all countries with a band of eternall slauerie, neuer to bee freed from seruite fetters, vnlesse he hauing pitie vpon vs, and the whole world, vs I say, whom auncient seruitude hath held vnder the yoke of sinne, vouchsafe at the last to set vs at libertie. Neither doe they lesse complaine of the Pope: Thou (say they) who ought to be an example of light to the whole world, the father of sanctitie, the myrrour of pietie, the defender of iustice, the keeper of veritie, consentest thou to such a thing? dost thou approve and defend such a man? But doubtlesse thou defendest him, because hee hath exhausted the money of England, exacted vpon the English Nobilitie, to the end that all this might be swallowed up in the gulf of the Roman auarice: But this cause and excuse is an offence and accusation before God. In the end they refused to make choyce of some Potent Prince to be their King, who might restore vnto them their auncient possessions and liberties; and this was Lewis the sonne of Philip Augustus, the father afterward of S. Lewis, to whom they sent twentie foure hostages, to assure him the kingdome, which he accepted. Innocent vnderstanding hereof, sent Waldo his Legat to Philip into France, willing him, That he suffer not his sonne to trouble England, nor John the King: but rather to defend him as a vassall of the Church of Rome, and England as the demaine thereof. Philip plainly told him, That the kingdome of England neuer was the patrimonie of S. Peter, nor is, nor euer should be: and that John condemned of treason against his brother Richard, is not, nor euer was the true and lawfull king, nor could giue the kingdome, although he had aspired to the Crowne, by the murder of Arthur, for which he was condemned in his owne Court. Moreouer, no King or Prince can giue away his kingdom without the consent of his Barons, who are bound to defend it: And if the Pope be determined to defend such an error, he will giue a most pernicious example to all kingdomes. All the Nobilitie therefore of the kingdome cried out with one voice, That for this point they would fight euen to death. This was at Lyons a little after Easter in the yeare 1216. The day following Philip gaue the Legat audience, commanding his sonne Lewis to be present, where all this businesse was againe disputed. The Legat*

Math. Paris in
Johan.

An. 1216.

A Legat, notwithstanding all these reasons, forbad Lewis to enter into England, and threatened the father vnder pain of excommunication not to permit him: where- vpon Lewis departeth, the Legat demanding of Philip safe conduct for himselfe, which Philip willingly granted vnto him by his letters: *But if perhaps, saith he, you fall into the hands of the Monkes of Eustachius, or any other belonging vnto Lewis, which keepe the sea coasts, blame not mee:* and so with discontent hee departeth the Court. Lewis being resolved to this enterprize, who also challenged a title to the kingdome by the right of his mother, protested to his father euen with tears, That hauing giuen his word to the Barons of England to aid and succour them, he had rather for a time to be excommunicated by the Pope, than incurre the discredit of falsehood; and so presently embarking himselfe with a mightie army past into England: and instantly followeth him the Legat Waldo, who with all the Bishops of his faction excommunicateth Lewis with burning lights, with all his adherents and followers, ordaining, that euerie Saboth and festiuall day, throughout all England this sentence should be published. Lewis neuertheless proceeded in his expedition, whom the death of John in the meane time stayeth, which ended the hatred of the Barons. Wherefore recompensing Lewis for his paines and expences employed in their defence, they established his sonne in his place. All the circumstances of these proceedings are wholly related by Mathew Paris, who was an eye witnesse of these affaires, and are there worth the reading.

C Vnder this Innocent the Westerne people hauing taken Constantinople, created Emperour thereof Baldwin Earle of Flanders: and he, as depending of the Latine Church, made the Greeke Church forthwith subiect thereunto. Notwithstanding he could not hereby keepe the fauour of Innocent, who required such things as seemed vniust vnto him, complaining, That he let the Patriarch of Constantinople sit beneath him on his left hand, signifying, that Innocent preferred the dignitie of the Priesthood farre aboue the Imperiall, and thinking that what in this behalfe he tooke away from the Emperour, would be so much the more payned for himselfe. Baldwin therefore writing vnto him, could not hide from him that this was not the voyce of Peter, who on the contrary commaundeth, *Be ye* 1. Pet. 2. vers. 13. & 14.

D *subiect to the King, as vnto the superiour, and vnto Governours, as vnto them that are sent of him for the punishment etc.* And therefore he subiected Ecclesiasticall dignities vnto secular powers. Hence it is that we haue that Decree of Innocent directed to Baldwin, wherein he expoundeth vnto him this place of S. Peter: and his diuinitie here is worth the noting: *The Apostle saith he, wrot vnto his subiects, and prouoked them to the merit of humilitie, yea rather vnto strangers of all sorts, scattered in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, &c. By what right were these his subiects, vnlesse it be in as much as they were Christs sheepe, who acknowledged his voyce in Peter? He proceedeth, If thy exposition take place, it will then follow, that euerie seruant also should beare rule ouer Priests; for it is there said, Be ye subiect to euerie humane creature for Gods sake. But hee ought not to be ignorant, that the Greekes interpret the word *κρίσις* by *ταύτην*, Order: Occumeniall, *Ἐξουσία*, *Αὐτοκρατία*, Excellence, power. And here it is he alledgeth that pleasant allegorie of the two great lights, of which we haue aboue spoken: Whence consequently, saith the Summe, *The Empire is not about the Priesthood, but vnder it, and is held to obey it.* Also, *Bishops ought not to be vnder Princes, but about them: and this saying is very worthy to be alledged.**

E We haue before made mention of new traditions intruded for articles of the faith in the Councell of Lateran. Peter Cantor a most learned Diuine was there present, who deliuered there a long speech of the multiplictie of wayne ceremonies,

Math. Paris in
Johan.

Math. Paris in
Johan.

1. Pet. 2. vers.
13. & 14.

Extra de Maior.
vic. & obediencia c. 6. foliote.

monies, and of the profanation of the seruice of God; by occasion of which, that which was chiefest in Religion was neglected. And we haue yet his Booke intituled, *Verbum abreniatum*, where he sharply inueyeth against them; but he told a tale to them that had no cares to heare. Also flourished at the same time in England, *Walter Marez* Archdeacon of Oxford, a man of excellent wit, who in his verses painteth forth in their right colours, the life of Popes, the exactions and rapines of the Court of Rome, the excesse, hautinesse and pride of the Prelats, as may be read in his Booke, entituled, *Diuerse poemes of the corrupted state of the Church*, which are longer than can be here fitly inserted: The beginning thereof is thus,

*Roma mundi caput est, sed nil capit mundum,
Quod pendet a capite totum est immundum.*

Rome is our head, which nothing but vncleanenesse doth imbrace:
And in the same, all filthinesse (that is) hath wholly place.

But among the rest he composed a treatise, entituled *Apocalypsis Pontificis Goliath*, by which name he signified, that Antichrist was reuealed in the Pope. Also *predicationem Goliath*, the beginning whereof is, *Viri venerabiles, &c.* and other treatises in *Papam & Curiam, & de malis Curie Romanae*, against the Pope and his Court, and of the euils of the Court of Rome. *Giraldus Cambrensis* maketh mention of him in his *Mirror of the Church*, and witnesseth that he was a man in great estimation in that age.

In the meane season, the Waldenses or Albigenes multiplied in France, maintaining and publishing euerie where their doctrine aboue mentioned, and did so spreading themselues from the Alpes to the Pyrenean mountaines, that verie many both in Cities and Countries departed from the traditions of the Church of Rome; yea many great and noble men joynd vnto them, as namely, *Raymund Earle of Thoulouise* and of *S. Giles*, the Kings cousen, *Raymund Roger Vicount of Besiers* and of *Carcassonne*, *Peter Roger Lord of Gabaret*, *Raymund Earle of Foix*, nere kinsman to the King of Arragon, *Gasto Prince of Bearne*, the Earle of *Bigorre*, the Ladie of *la vaur*, the Earle of *Carman*, *Raymund de Termes*, *Americ de Montrueil*, *William de Menerbe*, and infinit others, both Lords and Gentlemen, men truly of that ranke, that no man of sound judgement will thinke, they would haue exposed to manifest daunger their life fortunes and honour for the defence of vices and errors so execrable as they were charged withall: On the contrary it must needs be (whatsoeuer the Monkes of that time, and the Popes champions doe prate) that by the onely force of their consciences they were moued thereto. And this doth *William Paradin* acknowledge in his *Annales of Bourguendie*, who testifieth that he had read Histories that clearely justified the Albigenes, and the Princes and Lords their faouers from all these false imputations, affirming that they were vexed onely because they reprobued openly the traditions and corruptions of the Church of Rome. Pope *Innocent* then, about the yere 1208, sent first vnto them two Legats, the Bishop of Oxford and *Dominicus*, to haue a conference with them at *Carman*; and presently joynd vnto them the Cistercian Abbot with twelue others of the same order, and againe held a conference with them at *Pamiers*: And of the part of the Albigenes were defendants, *Theodore* (before Canon of Neuers) *Baldwin* and *Bernard* of *Simorre* and others.

But

- A But their aduerſaries hide from vs here, the points in controuersie in these conferences: If they had bene Manichees, Gnostickes, Cathares, Montanistes; Adamites, as they would make men beleue they were, no doubt they would not haue omitted them. But when these conferences did little satisfie the Lords, and that the people were nothing moued at the preaching of *Dominicus*, whom the Pope (hauing bene, as he sayd, warned in a dreame) had chosen to vphold his Palace of Lateran that otherwise was readie to fall to ruine; he hath recourse to other counsels, which these fore-proceedings did but colour, for forme sake. He therefore excommunicateth Earle *Raymund*, whose authoritie was chiefest, exposeth his Countrey for a prey, dischargeth and absolueth all men that were bound vnto him by necessitie, league, or other couenant, from that bond, and from their oath of fidelitie, and that by *Apostolike authoritie*, affirming, that to him that had not kept his faith with God, faith ought not to be kept; and also giueth leaue to all men to attempt against his person, and against all the Albigenes, no lesse than against the Saracens, largely promising them the like indulgences; Insomuch also that the mony that had bene appointed for the holie warre is turned to the slaughter of Christians; The crosse which in times past was (at least in pretence) assumed against the infidels, is now taken vp for to crucifie Christ in his members, by a new and horrible example. So that, such was the furie or ignorance of that age, he incited many Princes, Lords, and Prelats to assemble themselues on all parts, to set vpon them; who might better cheape and easier expiate their vices, with the dammage of this people, than by fighting against the Saracens in the holie land.
- C At their comming, with the fright of this deluge, Earle *Raymund* is astonished, and promiseth obedience to the Church of Rome. But (marke here the manner) *Almarick* the Popes Legat, Generall of this armie, draggeth him into the Church by a stole cast about his necke, and with scourgings. From thence the countreies are laid wast, Townes are sacked, and all places filled with slaughters, fire, and ruine; neuertheless the Albigenes courage sayled not vtterly, but many times renewed the warre. Earle *Raymund* also, after this so great disgrace, finding himselfe no gentlier vsed by the Pope, taketh armes again with them, assisted with the Earles of *Foix*, and of *Comminges*; till such time as there comming new supplies from all parts, of Bishops and Lords of Fraunce, into the Popes armie, signed with crosses, Earle *Raymund* is constrained to withdraw himselfe into Arragon, and the Albigenes forced to forsake the champion Countrey and flie vnto the mountains, and some vnwarlike families to seeke new countreies to inhabit. Meane time, it is here to be noted, that although this warre was made in Fraunce, yet King *Philip Augustus* was not the head thereof, but the Pope and his Legat, who made it his owne conquest that was woon in this warre. The King onely suffered his subjects to enrol themselues for the Popes wars, and the Lords of the Kingdome to lead troupes of souldiers thither. For in the yere 1215 *Peter Beneuent* the Popes Legat in a Synod holden at *Montpellier* in the name of *Innocent*, appointeth *Simon* Earle of *Montfort* Prince and Lord of his conquest, others say *Gardian*, vntill the Councell of Lateran should more fully determine of it. The Albigeois Historie also noeth, that *Lewis* the Kings eldest sonne comming at that time into the armie, the Legat was not well pleased at it, fearing lest he would dispose of the Land by right of war gotten to the Pope, which the Soueraigne Lord himselfe had so long time abandoned to the poyson of heresie. Therefore in the Councell of Lateran, the Pope pronounceth *Simon* Earle *Montfort*, Lord of all that had bene *Raymunds*, yet on condition that hee should doe

ho.

homage for it to the King, which also the King admitteth. But presently after, all the Townes from Auignon to Thoulouse revolted from *Simon* to *Raymund* his sonne, and by this means the hearts of the Albigenes were restored: So that new worke is made, the war reuiu'd againe. Bishops and crossed souldiers sent for from all parts, and whilest they lost in one place and gained victorie in another, the Earle of Montfort hauing nine moneths besieged the citie of Thoulouse, in a fallie receiued a blow with a stone, whereof the same day he dyed, so that the citie was deliuered from siege, and the Albigenes got the vpper hand. This *Simon de Montfort* was indeed a man of courage, and a great captaine, but particularly noted of ignorance, which perpetual enemy of truth wee haue also found in our dayes; so as they onely haue persecuted it, as neuer had, nor would haue the care to search after it. And thus much briefly out of the Albigenes historie of *Peter des Valles*, and out of the Chronicle of Montfort it selfe.

In the meane season, whether it were by reason of the disperſion of the Waldenses, or for that in other Prouinces God had made the truth knowne, at the same time in diuers places the like sermons were heard, and by consequence had the like persecutions: For *Trithemius*, and others both before and after him, recite, That in the citie of Strasbourge, for the same, were buried to the number of fourescore; and in the countrey about it were slaine an hundred in one day. *Nauclerus* saith, That in Italie this doctrine (which he calleth heresie) wonderfully increased, as well among the Nobilitie as the common people; and that euery yere they sent to Milan some collection for the maintenance of their Teachers. *Bruschius* saith, That at Mentz were burned nine and thirtie. And from this time forth nothing is more frequent, these ashes hauing bene as it were by the breath of Gods spirit strewed into all the corners of Europe; and yet this cannot be ascribed to any conniuece, or tolleration of it: For *Trithemius* and the Monke Godfrey telleth vs plainly, That *Conrade of Marpurg*, an Apostolike Inquisitor, was wont to proue these men attainted of heresie, if they denied it, Iudicio ferri candentis, By touching of red hot yrons, and those whom the yron burned hee deliuered ouer to the secular power, as heretikes, to be burned. So all, a few excepted, that were once accused, & brought to this triall, were condemned to the fire. Some beleued that he had condemned many innocents, because the hot yron found not any free from sinne, though not infected with any spot of heresie. And a few pages after he addeth, In this time many noble and ignoble, Clergie men, Monkes, Nunnes, Burgeses, citizens, and countrey people, in diuers places of Germanie, were vnder the name of heresie condemned to the fire, by a sentence (as some thought) too rash & headlong, and that by a Frier of Marpurg, of the Order of Preachers, who had bene appointed by the Apostolike See generall Inquisitor of heretikes. For, as one writeth, the same day that any man was accused, whether iustly or vniustly, no refuge of any Appeale or defence being able to helpe him, he was condemned and cast into the cruel flames. And a little before speaking of the great number of them discovered in Germanie, Italie, and principally in Lombardie, he saith, They which had bene taken at Strasbourg confessed openly before all the people and Clergie, that the number of them was so great, that if any of them were to goe from Cologne to Milan, hee should find euery night by the way an host of their sect; and that they had little tokens about the doores of their houses, and roofes, whereby they knew how to find the dwellings of their complices. Now he ascribeth vnto them the enormities aboue refuted, but I pray you who will beleue that they would voluntarily vndergo the fire for such things? None other, truly, but monks could write these things, whom no man hardly will be found so sottish as to beleue. At length, saith *Trithemius*, this *Conrade* hauing made him-

Chron. Hirsaug.
Naucler. 2. vol.
Gener. 41.

Trithem. in
Chron. Hirsaug.
Godoffid. Mo-
nach. in Anna-
libus.

A selfe hatefull to all both noble and ignoble, especially for that hee persecuted the Earle of Seine, falsely defamed of heresie, he was slaine not farre from Marpurg, notwithstanding his safe conduct, by certaine gentlemen, who had found no place of pardon or fauour with him. Whereas we said, that they were principally in Lombardie, let vs adde thereto the testimony of an Author of those times, though an aduersarie: In all the cities (saith he) of Lombardie, and in other kingdomes and lands, they had many Auditors, and disputed in publike, and called the people to solemne stations in a hall, and in the field, and preached on the tops of houses: There was none that durst hinder them, by reason of the power and multitude of their fauourers. I haue bene often present at the Inquisition, and at their examination, and there hath bene reckoned vp fortie Churches infected with their heresie, and in one onely Parish of Cammach were ten scholes of heretikes. And this so notable an opposition happened in the time of the Councill of Lateran, so famous for new inuentions, and of *Innocent* the third, whom they are wont in all qualities to compare with *Hildebrand*.

51. PROGRESSION.

The voyage of *Frederick* the Emperour to the Holie Land, and of the affaires and accidents there, with the wicked practises of *Pope Gregorie* the ninth against him in his absence; & of the tumults & factions in Italie, stirred up by the said *Gregorie*. Of his malicious mind towards the Emperour, and how he procured his owne sonne to rebell against him. Of *Innocent* the fourth, that he deposed the Emperour *Frederick*, and corrupted diuers of his own domestike seruants to poison him. Of the death of the said Emperour, and of his great vertue, magnanimitie, and prudence.

D *Frederick* the second, being sometimes brought vp vnder *Innocent* the third, as soone as he came to the Empire, found as little courtesie at the hands of *Honorius* the third, *Gregorie* the ninth, and *Innocent* the fourth, as his grandfather and father, *Henrie* and *Frederick* the first, had found before at the hands of their predecessors: For when as purposing with himselfe to goe into Italie, in the yere 1220, he had sent before *Conradus* Bishop of Spires, his Chancellor, with a large commission, *Honorius* construing this as an alarme, and much distasting the tenor of his commission, wherein he stiled himselfe King of the Romans and Sicilia; directing the same to all Prelats, Marquesses, and Earles, in Lombardie, Romaniola, Tuscan, and throughout all Italie: and declaring thereby, That he had sent before *Conradus* his Lieutenant, Bishop of Spires, and Chancellor of the Empire, to take fealtie of them, and other rights belonging to him, without appeale to any other: was so exceedingly offended therat, the rather, for that *Conradus* in his proceedings tearmed himselfe *Fredericks* Lieutenant generall throughout all Italie, that he sought by all meanes hee could to crosse *Fredericks* voyage into Italie. For they of Milan, by the perswasion of *Honorius*, shut the gates of the citie against him, and other cities by his procurement did the like: But he getting light by them, passeth on to Rome, commaunding the embassadours of the cities to follow him thither. Now because it was not safe for *Honorius* to refuse the coronation of *Frederick*, who was readie to take the accustomed oath, he wrested another oath from him, That by a day limited he should make a voyage to the Holie Land: desiting nothing more than to keepe him farre from Italie. *Frederick* therefore making a step into Sicilia, settles

Apud Sigan. de
regno. fil. 1. 7.
inter literas
Frederici 2. que
apud Bononiens.
seruantur.

that

that kingdome, and leauing *Conradus* in Italie, returnes into Germanie, where he spent two yeares, much to the Popes discontentment. But in this interim *Iohannes Bremensis*, king of Ierusalem, comes to Rome, desiring aid and succour from the Pope, to support the declining state of the Christians in Syria. The Pope embracing this opportunitie, persuaues *Iohn* to tender *Tolanda* his daughter vnto *Frederick*, and to giue him with her in marriage the kingdome of Hierusalem, vpon condition that he should vndertake to recouer the same from the Infidels: which *Frederick* accepted of, requiring only two yeres respite for setling the state of Lombardie. This was concluded on vpon paine of excommunication, which was presently denounced by the Cardinals; and should actually take effect vpon *Fredericks* breach of couenant. Now whilest *Frederick* for the setling of the affaires of Lombardie, had assembled the Estates, and to that end had sent for his sonne *Henrie* out of Germanie, the confederat cities of Lombardie growing jealous hereof, and thereupon combining themselues in a straiter league against *Frederick*, stopt the passage of *Henrie*, and increast their forces. *Honorius* himselfe did much dislike hereof, foreseeing that *Frederick* would hereby excuse the delay of his voyage like hereof, foreseeing that *Frederick* would hereby excuse the delay of his voyage to the Holie Land: and at this time, in the yeare 1227, died *Honorius*, and Cardinal *Hugoline*, called *Gregorie* the ninth, succeeded him; who without any respect doth so presse *Frederick*, as he commaunds all those of the Croysado to bee readie at Brundusium on the day of the Assumption, where he presently imbarques his whole armie: but falling sicke, after three dayes sailing, returned backe againe, not without some losse of his fleet and forces. Whereupon *Gregorie* would admit no excuse, but complained to all Princes, That *Frederick* was conuicted of perurie, by breach of his contract made with *Honorius*, & therefore stood *ipso facto* excommunicated. On the other side, *Frederick* excused himselfe by his letters, yet extant in *Vrsperge*, complaining much that the Pope refused to giue audience to the Cardinal of Brundusium, whom he sent of purpose to the Councell to make his defence. It is not my purpose here to iustifie *Frederick*, but *Ricobaldus* discouers the ground of this malice, That whereas *Gregorie* was desirous to make *Frederick* more firme vnto him by an alliance of marriage, this offer was reiected by the Emperors children, and *Frederick* was afraid least in his absence hee should invade the kingdome of Sicilia. The Abbot of *Vrsperge*, being a man of note in that age, hath giuen this iudgement of him: *This Gregorie*, saith he, being a proud man, in the first yeare of his Popedome began to excommunicat *Frederick* the Emperour, vpon false and frivolous causes, and contrarie to all order of iudicious proceeding. He vpbraided him, That the Church of Rome vnder the tuition of *Innocent* the third, had beene a mother vnto him. *Frederick* answers, That she was rather a stepmother, being the root and fountaine of all his troubles: And therefore hee sets before the eyes of Princes her rapines, sacrileges, simonies, and iniurious attempts against kings and kingdomes; alledging for instance how cruelly shee dealt with *Iohn* king of England, and others: concluding at the last, That it was to be feared least the Church, whose foundation was layed in pouertie and simplicitie, should by her wealth and abundance be brought to ruine: and that therefore it is high time for them that see their neighbours house on fire, to looke to their owne. Let vs note by the way, that the Popes earnest solliciting of this voyage to the Holie Land, promising pardon of all their sinnes to such as should goe thither, was suspected by those of best judgement, which did not onely foresee the mischief that would follow thereof, but felt the present euill which alreadie it had wrought. The same Abbot saith thus, Cardinal *Conradus* Bishop of Portua, when he went Embassadour into Germanie,

An. 1227.

collenmius ex Ricobald. 1. 4.

Abbas Vrsberg.

Math. Paris in Henric. 3.

Abbas Vrsberg.

nie, to aduance the seruice of the Croysado, as they call it, and did appoint Preachers for the publishing thereof: Then a certaine frier predicant called *Iohn*, coming from Strasbourge, preached daily and earnestly, laying mens sinnes to their consciences with great vehemencie, and for the intangling of their soules broached certaine doctrines before unheard of, which albeit in some sort they might be maintained, yet it was found by experience, that much euill ensued thereof, being misconceiued by the hearers, who were thereby encouraged to commit many enormous crimes and offences: for at that time *Engilbert* Archbishop of Colen was slaine by his owne kinsmen, and many Priests murdered. For some damnable companions said, I will commit willanies, for by the taking of the crosse I shall be not onely absolved from them, but shall also deliuer the soules of many wicked men. Whereupon *Auentine* speaking of the same *Iohn*, and such like, saith, *Auent. l. 7.* That to encourage men to vndergoe the hazard of this dangerous warre, they deliuered many strange doctrines, That whatsoeuer sin a man had committed, were it parricide, incest, or sacriledge, as soone as he had sowed a crosse vpon his coat, he was presently absolved both from the fault and punishment: And for prooffe hereof he brought many examples. Let vs now returne to *Frederick*. *Gregorie* vpon that day which is commonly called *Cena Domini*, excommunicats him. The *Frangipanes*, being an honourable familie in Rome, taking offence thereat, incite the people against him, and droue *Gregorie* out of Rome, who retired himselfe to *Perusia*. Now *Frederick* hauing setled his affaires in Sicilia with as much speed as he could, to the end hee might approue his actions to the whole world, vpon Christmas eue he arriued with his whole armie in Palestina: and therefore *Gregorie* might well haue pacified his anger, had not somewhat else than the zeale of Christ inflamed him. But *Sigonius* himselfe tells vs, That *Gregorie* was so much the more incensed against him, that he durst vndertake that voyage before he was reconciled to him: Wherefore taking opportunitie of his absence, vnder the conduct of *Iohannes Bremensis* he inuades *Apulia*, stirres vp the confederat cities of Lombardie against *Frederick*, diuides, or rather rents asunder all Italie, into the factions of the Guelfes and Gibelines, the one holding for the Pope, the other for the Emperour, that scarce any citie or towne was to be found, where the higher part against the lower, one quarter against another, the commons against the nobilitie, & the nobility against the commons, did not exercise hostilitie with all manner of cruelty; so that this fire could scarcely be quenched without the vtter ruine of Italie. *Frederick* for all this desisted not from his purpose, which he so effectually pursued, that he did not so much as thinke of Italie before he had recouered the citie of Hierusalem. But so soone as he had taken the citie, and caused himselfe to be crowned King of Hierusalem, and had setled his affaires there, being informed that the Pope played rex in his dominions, for redresse thereof, in the yeare 1229, he returnes into Italie. *Mathew Paris*, a writer of that age, though fauouring *Gregorie*, saith thus, *Mathew Paris in Henric. 3.* Hee taking it in euill part, that the Emperour of Rome, being excommunicated, and rebelling against him, went to the Holie Land, did not a little despair of his repentance and satisfaction and returning againe to the writte of the Church, and therefore he determined to depose him from his Empire for his contumacie and rebellion, and to place in his roome some other that would bee a peaceable and obedient sonne vnto him. And yet a little before he had told vs that *Frederick* at his arriual in the Holie land found them in such a desperat case, that the *Templers* & *Hospitallers*, at his coming, adored him vpon their knees, & kissed his knees. Moreover, he produceth a letter of the Earle of *Aterne*, aduertising *Frederick*, that *Iohannes Bremensis*, his father in law, by the instigation of *Gregory*, had inuaded his dominions, & set on fire his townes and

and villages &c. And if any man made mention of the emperor vnto him, he said there was no other emperor but himselfe; Your friends, saith he, wonder becat most mightie emperor, especially those of the Clergie, upon what ground, and with what conscience the Pope can doe thus, and warre against Christians. The Abbot of Vrsperge and some other say further, that Gregorie to the end he might weaken the forces of Frederic in the holie land, forbad those of the Croysado in Apulia and Lombardie to goe thither, and caused the Lombardes in their journey thitherward to be ranfack and spoyled, and, that he might crosse the good successe of these warres, scattered letters in Fredericks campe admonishing his soldiers to take heed of him, & moreover, that he did write to the Souldan to be of good courage, and not to restore any thing to Frederic; Whereupon this good Abbot breakes out into these speeches. *Who would not (saith he) both bewaile, and detest these dealings? which are manifest forerunners and prodigious signes of the Churches ruine. He saith further, that when it was written vnto him of the recoverie of Hierusalem, Nazareth, Ioppa, and other places, he cast away the letters in a rage. Now, whilest the poore afflicted Christians were so ouerjoyed, saith Mathew Paris, as they thought themselves to be in heauen, Gregorie cauesh the messengers that brought this newes to be surprised and slaine, and to blemish Fredericks reputation, giues it out that the emperor was dead. Whereupon the cities that were yet subiect to the emperor, resolved to yeeld themselves to the Pope, and most cruelly & wickedly to murder all the Germans that returned from the holie land, and remayned in Apulia, had not God of his mercie prevented it.* And hereby let euerie man judge whether Frederic had cause to hasten his returne, who notwithstanding with all humility and obedience sent to the Pope for absolution. The Souldan himselfe vsed Frederic more kindly than either the Pope or the Patriarch & Templers of Hierusalem, that were his followers: For Mathew Paris thus witnesseth: *The Templers and Hospitallers, saith he, emying the emperors proceedings, took heart against him by reason of the difference betweene the Pope and him, and craftily and treacherously gaue notice to the Souldan of Babylon, that the emperor purposed to goe to the riuer where Christ was baptized by Iohn Baptist, where he might either take him prisoner, or kill him at his pleasure. Which when the Souldan understood, and had receyued a letter to that effect, the seale whereof was familiarly knowne vnto him, he detested the falshood, malice, and treacherie of the Christians, especially of those that carried the habit of religion, and wore the crosse, and calling to him two of his most trustie and wisest counsellors, he deliuered the whole matter vnto them, shewing them both the letter and the seale, and sent the letter to the emperor &c. And this was the originall of the malice betweene the Emperour, the Templers and the Hospitallers. Who (saith he) to couer their treason, procured Giraldus the Patriarch (one of their confederats) to write letters into the West tending to the disgrace of this poore Prince, the copie whereof he produceth. The Abbot of Vrsperge toucheth this in a word, saying, *That he endured much by the perfidious treacherie of the Templers.**

Now Gregorie seeing him returned, after hee had made truce with the Souldan for tenne yeares to his great aduantage, and therefore the lesse obliged to returne thither againe, and perceiuing he was readie to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him in his absence, willingly made peace with him, and released the excommunication against him, in the cite of Anania, whether he was retired; neuertheless on condition, that he should pay vnto the Pope 120000 ounces of gold for the damages done to the territories of the Church, and also should assist him with his forces to reduce the Romans to obedience; which he exactly fulfilled. But it is obserued by an Historian of these times, that of this enteruiew remained

Cuspinian in
Frederico.
Abbas Vrsperg.
Collenutius l. 4.
Neapol. Hist. Flor.

Cuspinianus in
Cesarib.
Hieronimus
Marinus in
Eusebio.

Platina in Gre-
gorio 9.

mained to him a perpetuall rancour of mind, for that when the Pope presented to him his foot to kisse (as the manner is) the Emperour had kissed but his knees, and scarcely with the top of the lip, which neglect was so deeply fixed in the Popes mind, that he could neuer forget it. Therefore, when he saw Frederick resolved to appease the tumults of Lombardie, which he euer maintained against him, he sent his Legats thither, vnder pretence to persuade them to submit themselves vnto Frederick, whereas it was indeed to encourage them vnder-hand against him. And in this businesse he also employed certain preaching Friars and Minorites, and among others one Friar John, who after he had amidst the Caroches and standards of all the confederat Cities begun his Sermon in these words of our Sauour, *Peace I giue vnto you, my peace I leane with you; Specifying (saith the Authour) the drift of his preaching, concludeth, that whosoever should in word or deed adhere, or take part with the Emperour, should be adjudged rebels to the Church, and so he ended, namely, interpreting this peace to be a generall conspiracie, vnto which he inuited and induced all the Cities, and bound them by mutuall othes, to the vtter ruine of Frederick and his posteritie.* There remained, that he should trouble him in Germanie it selfe, which he also failed not to do. For after the example of his predecessors, by sending his Legats, he stirred vp against him a great conspiracie of his Princes, and induced his sonne Henrie to be head of the same against his Father, the Citizens of Milan offering vnto him the Crown of Italie, which they had denied his Father, if he would conserue and succour them. But the most renowned Lords of Germanie, as well Ecclesiasticall as secular, went into Italy to reprove Gregorie heereof, Bertald Patriarch of Aquileia, Otho Lord of Dalmatia, and of Istria his brother, Eberard Archbishop of Saltzburge, Sigifride of Regensburge, who spake in the name of the rest, so that he was constrained for shame to reuoke his commandements. Meane time, Frederick hauing straitly besieged his rebellious sonne, brought him to that extremitie, that prostrate at his feete he desired pardon, and, hauing conuicted him of going about to poison him, he gaue him his life, but sent him prisoner into Apulia. Thus are we come to the yeare 1235.

In the yeare following 1236, Frederick being weary of the rebellions of Italy, and especially of Lombardie, requested Gregorie the like good turne he had done him; namely that as he had assisted him to bring the Romans to obedience, so he would not denie him his aide in compelling the Lombards and chiefly them of Milan, whom he could not but know to take part with the Albienfes and Waldenses; and therefore it was a cause wherein himselfe and the Church of Rome was interested. Gregorie answereth, that he should take heed he entred not Italy with armes, nor inuade the Lombards, but rather should prepare himselfe to passe againe into the holy Land, where the truce within two yeares would be expired: If, notwithstanding, he had ought to demand of them, that he should referre the matter to him as Iudge, and he would willingly take notice thereof. To which pride Frederick answered both prudently (saith the Historie) and modestly, in this manner; *Italy is mine inheritance, and that is known to all the world; to aspire to other mens, and to leaue a mans owne, were extreme ambition, especially seeing that the Italians, and chiefly them of Milan, haue prouoked me by their insolence, in nothing redring me due reuerence.* Intimating, that it was no equity to put to compromise, as a thing in controuersie, that which evidently pertained to him as his own. Gregorie therupon raised new tumults against him in Germanie, the Duke of Austria among others; but Frederick verie easly repressed him. He also fostred & incited against him the rebellions of Lombardie; but these same also, in the yeare 1237, Frederick hauing over-

continuator
belli sacri. l. 3.
c. 11.

Author Ital.
Apud Vigner.
p. 440.

Apud Sigon. l.
17. de regno J.
tal.

An. 1235.
An. 1236.

Mathew Paris
in Hemico 3.

An. 1237.

come in battel at Corte noua, brought them to that extremitie, that he constrained almost al to yeeld themselues to his discretion. *Gregory* til then could find no cause to manifest himselfe an open enemy against *Frederick*, who onely fought but his owne. But behold an occasion offered, *Frederick* by force of armes recovered that part of Sardinia, called Galura. *Gregorie* pretendeth, that all Sardinia belongeth to the Church, therefore that this portion ought to be restored vnto him; and we haue seene before vpon what friuolous title: *Contra*riwise *Frederick* went carefully about to retaine it, as being the auncient demaine of the Roman Empire; and hereupon *Gregorie* being obstinately bent, he gaue the kinglie title thereof to *Hentius*, his bastard. Then was the Pope resolued, on the day of *Cæna Domini* to excommunicat him, heaping vp together many vaine and friuolous causes, which before he had not spoken of, to strengthen the same. Which *Frederick* vnderstanding, being then at Padua sitting on his throne of justice, declared and made his Apologie by *Peter de Vinetis*, his Chancellor, who forgat nothing of the abuses and corruptions of the Pope, and of the Court of Rome. To the same end wrot the Emperour to the Romans, and to all the other Princes, clearing the equitie of his cause against all the obiections of the Pope: and to shew how little account hee made of his Anathemas, he sent vnto him these verses:

*Roma diu sicut habens longis erroribus acta
Corruet, & mundi desinet esse caput.*

Rome in great errors long time tost and shaken,
Head of the world no more, shall fall, forsaken.

But on the other part *Gregorie* openly professed himselfe head of the rebels of Lombardie, stirred vp new commotions in Apulia, joyning to himselfe in league the Genowayes and Venetians: so that daily appeared some new treasons against *Frederick*, some new rebellions still arose, notwithstanding *Frederick*, who lost no time, passed into Tuscane, and drew neere vnto Rome. Now was it time for *Gregorie* to haue recourse to Precessions, in shew for to mollifie the hearts of the people, but in effect to trie all extreame meanes to publish the same indulgences, pardons, and absolutions from all enormities, to such as should crosse themselues against *Frederick*, as were wont to be granted to them that crossed themselues for the Holie Land against the Saracens: So that an armie of Croysadoes issued forth of Rome, and met him in the field, but were by him in the first encounter ouerthrowne with a great slaughter. With like faith and deuotion *Gregorie* conuerted against him the money that he had exacted throughout all Christendome, namely in Germanie, France, and England, vnder colour for the Holie Land: and the Friars Preachers and Minors had none other theame of their sermons but this, That there was greater merit in ruining *Frederick* and his, than in exterminating the Saracens, than whom they were farre worse. This rage passed yet further: *Gregorie* writeth to king *S. Lewis*, requesting that his letters might be read coram to Baronagio Francia, before all the Barons of France, That he had deposed *Frederic* and set *Robert* his brother in his place, being resolued to assist him to this effect with all the forces of the Church. Whereunto answered, in full Councell, *Circumspecta Francorum prudentia* (saith the Author) the circumspect prudence of the Frenchmen (the words deserue to be written at length) By what spirit, or with what bold timidity hath the Pope disinherited and cast downe from the top of the Empire so great a Prince,

than whom none greater, neither equall among Christians, being not committed, neither confessing the crimes objected against him? And if he were to be deposed for his demerits, yet he could not be iudged but by a general Councell: Of his fautes his enemies ought not to be beleued, of which number the Pope was knowne to be the chiefe. For our parts, hee hath beleeued vnto vs hitherto innocent, yea rather a good neighbour, neither haue we seene any hurtfull thing in him, in secular faithfulness, nor in the Catholike faith. Wee know that he hath faithfully made warre for our Lord Iesus Christ, valiantly exposed himselfe to the dangers of the sea, and of battels. We haue not found so much religion in the Popes but contra riwise he which ought to haue advanced and protected him, fighting the battels of God, hath endeuoured wickedly in his absence to ruinate and supplant him. The prodigal effusion of our blood against him the Romans little regard, so they may satisfie their wrath. And when he shall haue by vs or others overcome him, he will trample vnder feet all the Princes of the world, and lift vp his hornes of boasting and pride, because he hath oppressed *Frederick* a great Emperour. But lest wee should seeme to haue receiued the Popes message in wayne, though it be apparent to vs, that the Church of Rome hath not done it for loue of vs, but for hatred of the Emperour, we will send prudent embassadours vnto him, which may diligently enquire of his faith, and certifie vs of it, and if they find nothing but sound and good, wherefore should we molest him? But if he or any other, bee it the Pope himselfe, should hold an euill opinion concerning God, we will persecute him to the death: which the Popes embassadours hearing, departed confounded. There went then solemne French embassadours to the Emperour, whoe cheered to him from poynt to poynt that which they had heard from the Pope: which when the Emperour vnderstood, he was astonished at so vnumerable an hatred, and answered, I am a Catholike Christian, rightly beleeuing all the articles of the Orthodoxall faith, my Lord Iesus Christ forbid that I should euer depart from the faith of my noble fathers, and predecessors, for to follow the steps of vile cast-awayes. The Lord iudge betweene me and him, who hath so wickedly defamed me through the world; and lifting vp his hands vnto heauen, with teares and sighes he cried out, The Lord God of reuenges render vnto him his reward. Thus writeth the Monke *Mathew Paris*, an English Chronicler. And let the Reader iudge what opinion France and *S. Lewis* had of this Pope. In the meane time the affaires of Syria waxed daily worse and worse, and the Christians that last passed thither had ill successe in Damascus, which gaue pretext to *Gregorie* to call a Councell at Lateran, in the yeare 1240, in which *Frederick* consented to be present, hauing made truce with him. But when he heard that he had sent his Legats, *Iames* Cardinall of Prenez, and *Otho* of *S. Nicholas*, beyond the Alpes, vnder colour to exhort the Princes to send to the Councell, but indeed to make him odious, to exact money of the Churches, and to abuse the Councell against him, hee intreated the Princes his confederats not to send thither; and declared, that hee would giue no safe conduct to such as should vndertake that journey, especially for that he had vnderstood, that the Pope hauing had aduertisement that his Agents had collected great summes of money in England, and in France, was resolued to breake truce with him. Here it is good to heare the same Author speake: Cardinall *Iohn Colonna* hauing bene author of the truce, *Gregorie* receiued letters from the Legat, That in France alone hee had gathered already so much money, as whereby hee might bee vndoably able to wage warre against the Emperour for a whole yeare: whereupon repenting, and grieuing that hee had accepted the truce, called for the excellent Cardinals *Iohn de Colonna*, and *Raymond*, mediators of the same: I am ashamed in my selfe, saith he to them, that I granted truce to *Frederic*, the enemy of the Church: Goe then

in haste, thou (speaking to Columna) which wast the spokesman betwixt vs. and tell him **A** boldly that I will not hold it, and that I will be his enemy and doe despise him: God forbid, answered Columna, that in the mouth of so great a man, such light words should be reported to so great a prince, especially by vs which are of no common ranke; for I cannot consent to this counsell of instabilitie and vnfaithfulness, but doe constantly contradict the same. To whom the Pope replied; And I hold thee not henceforth for Cardinall; Nor I thee for Pope, sayd Columna and so departed, and of a friend became his aduersarie. But it verie fitly fell out (addeth the author) that the French king Lewis having intelligence of it, made to be stayed in his kingdome, all that money which had bin gleaned from the clergie by his permission, Mellitus sermonibus, & felicitis comminationibus, By honied speeches and bitter threatnings; That by this meanes the Pope, **B** who is called Christs vicar on earth, might be found faithfull, though against his will. Now it so fell out that Frederic was not vnarmed or vnprepared against him, for he had at that verie time five armies a foot, the first before Fayenza, which he himselfe in person commaunded, the second on the Tuscan Sea vnder Henricus king of Sardinia, against the Genowayes, the third vpon the frontiers of Germanie against the Tartarians vnder the conduct of Conrade king of Germanie, the fourth in the Marca de Ancona and vallie of Spoletum, the fift in Palestina, vnder Rodolph Marthall of the Empire, for to defend the kingdome of Hierusalem; which he did notwithstanding the traueres and hinderances of the Pope, for the space of **C** fifteene yeares. The warre then continuing, the siege of Fayenza dured a long time; neither had he little cause to reuenge himselfe of the inhabitants, who some time before, hauing shut the gates of their citie before and behind vpon him, violently assailed him, and wickedly slew another disguised like vnto him in imperiall armour, thinking it had been their Lord. Yet notwithstanding they imploring his mercie, he gaue them their citie and the like libertie as to other cities of the empire: which he spoken to them that accuse him of being prone to reuenge. The Legats also returned, accompanied with many Bishops for the Couacell; them he requested to turne towards him, and promised them all safe-conduct, desirous only to make knowne the justice of his cause vnto them. Now they refusing it, and chusing rather to commit themselues to the safegard of the Genowayes his enemies, **D** Henricus who watched to surprize them, tooke them at sea, and led them prisoners to Naples. At which successe, and others prosperously performed in the Marca de Ancona, and in Romania, Gregorie the ninth conceived so great discontent, being withall verie auncient, that for grieue thereof he died.

collenucius
l. 4.

It is not in the mean time to be forgotten, that the Popes to colour their affaires the better, had euer founding in their mouthes the holie land, that when vnder Honorius the third king Iohn of Brenna had taken the famous citie of Damietta, Cardinall Pelagius the Popes Legat pretended that he was to haue the chief command ouer the armie; whereat the king incensed, retired himselfe through despite to Ptolomais, whereby were lost the best opportunities to doe good, and in **E** the end after many bad successes, Damietta was forsaken. Againe, when as vnder Gregorie the ninth, Richard earle of Cornewall, the king of Englands brother, was bent to the holie wars with an armie, at his instance, for recouerie of these losses, and was come to S. Giles in Languedock, readie to embarke himselfe, there came a Legat to him from Gregorie, with the Archbishop of Arles, commaunding in his name that he should not passe the Seas: All which was to despite Frederic; whereat this prince much offended, said vnto them, I thought there had bene firmnesse of truth in the Apostolike words, and in the preachers that he sent vnto me, and now I am

A I am readie to enter on shipboord, this Pope, whom they call the successor and Vicar of Iesus Christ (who neuer failed of his word) forbiddeth me to march forward in his seruice: And neuertheless resolved, Detestans Romanæ Ecclesiæ dupliciter, Detesting the double dealing of the Church of Rome, with great bitternesse of mind, to goe imbarke himselfe at Marselie; giuing the Emperour to vnderstand by Robert Tuing, Knight, and other his embassadours, Papalem muscipulationem, The iuglings of the Pope and his Legats. The same had he done a little before to the crossed souldiers in France and other nations, who being come to Lyons, that from thence they might take their journey into the Holie Land, found there the Popes Legat, who made them the like prohibition, and deliuered a commaundement in writing, That euerie man **B** should returne backe to his owne home. This gaue occasion to exclaime, Vnde hec in Romana Curia, & in Papa multiplicitas? Whence cometh this varietie in the Court of Rome, and in the Pope? Is not this here both the time and place prefixed and appointed by his Legats and preaching Friers: vpon their promises wee haue set forward our iourney, haue sold and engaged our houses, bidden our friends farewell, sent our money before, &c. And little wanted they from laying violent hands vpon the Legat, if the discretion of some Prelats had not restrained the furie of the people.

To prouide for the election of a successor to Gregorie there remained but tenne Cardinals at Rome: they therefore intreated Frederic to permit them two whom he kept prisoners, to come to them, and to be present at the election; which he graciously granted vnto them, yet on condition they should both returne, except one of them were created Pope. Now there was nominated Godfrey Bishop of the Sabins, called Celestine the fourth, who died seuentene dayes after, before he was consecrated. The Cardinals assembled againe, and as they were diuided some for the Church, others for the Empire, that they could not agree, the two prisoners, to performe their promise giuen, returned; till at length the Seat remaining vacant for the space of one and twentie moneths, they not finding any sparke of charitie at least vnder the ashes, were on the one side urged by the Emperour, who to take away all excuse from them, sent them backe the said Cardinals, hauing taken their oath, That they should procure the peace of the Church and of the Empire; and the more eagrelly to stirre vp the Romans, he wasted and spoyled their countries: **D** On the other side, by the French men, who boldly declared vnto them, That if they did not the sooner prouide, they would elect a Pope for themselues, according to the auncient priuiledge granted by Pope Clement to S. Denis, who gaue vnto him the Apostleship of the Westerne people. So that in the yeare 1243 they chose Signibard of Flisque, a Genoway, named Innocent the fourth, whom straight the Emperour sent to congratulate by Peter de Vineis, his Chancellor: but, as he was a prudent Prince, hee foresaw what would be, I haue lost, saith he, a Cardinall my friend, and haue gotten a Pope mine enemy; assuring himselfe, that being come to the Popedome he would be no lesse his aduersarie than the others had bene: As indeed he straight renewed the excommunication against him, and after some speeches of peace entercharged by Frederic, on which they could not agree, because the Pope would absolutely be beleueed, & Frederic would not submit himselfe thereto, but **E** Pracognitis causis & prausa via, & omnibus conditionibus, But with knowledge of the cause, meanes, and conditions, Innocent priuily departed Italie in the Genoway gallies, passed into France and came to Lyons, there to hold a Council, which began in the yeare 1245, in shew for the Holie Land, but indeed (as the effect proued) against Frederic. Thither notwithstanding he went in person, & was alreadie at Thurin, when he heard that Innocent had excommunicated him, and that he would not heare his embas-

An. 1243.

fadour *Thaddeus* of Suifferland, a man of qualitie, requesting he would stay a little, A neither would he condescend to the intreatics of *S. Lewis* king of France, and *Henrie* king of England, and the embassadours of other Princes. Which stayed *Frederick* from passing any further; neuerthelesse he offered, that he might haue peace of his Church, to defend Europe from the Tartarians, to free the Holie Land at his owne charges from the Sarasens, to vnite the Greeke Church to the Roman. But the Pope answered, *These are but words*, and demaunded of his embassadour, what securitie he could giue: The two kings (saith he) of France and England: *We will not* (answered the Pope) *because if he should faile his covenants, neither can we otherwise beleue, we must turne our selues to chastise them, & so for one enimie we should haue three, than whom in the secular power are none greater, neither yet equal.* The Pope B therefore proceeded to excommunicat him, to depose him from the Empire, to absolve for cuer his subiects from their oath of fidelitie, and to excommunicat all them that should acknowledge him Emperour: The forme of which is read in most proud tearmes in the histories of those times, and in the Acts of the Synod of Lyons. *Mathew Paris* particularly noteth, That when king *S. Lewis* set before his eyes the danger of the Holy Land, which could not humanely be preferred by any but by *Frederick*, and requested him to receiue this great Prince into fauour, being readie to vndergoe so great a humilitie, in the name of Iesus Christ, and according to the Lords example and precept, to open the bosome of mercie to a sinner euen vntill feuen times feuentie times; he answered him absolutely, That C he would not doe it. It is also worthie obseruation, That when *Innocent* had sent to publish this excommunication throughout all Europe, and particularly in France, the Princes in the end requested, That time might be granted *Frederick*, within which he might personally be present in the said Councell. The Pope answered, *Farre be that from me, I feare the snares that I haue escaped, for if he should come I would presently depart: I wish not yet the shedding of my blood, neither doe I feele my selfe disposed to martyrdom or imprisonment.* And so in the end pronounced sentence. A certaine Curat of Paris acquitted himselfe well towards his parishioners in these words: *Giue care*, saith he, *I haue received commaundement to pronounce the D solenne sentence of Excommunication against the Emperour Frederick, candles put out, and bells ringing. Now not knowing the cause deseruing it, yet I am not ignorant of the great quarell and inexorable hatred betweene them; I know also that one of them doth iniure the other, but which it is I know not: So farre forth then as my power doth extend, I excommunicat and pronounce excommunicated one of the two, namely him that doth the iniurie to the other, and absolve him that suffereth the iniurie, which is so hurtful vnto all Christendome.* In like manner *Krantzius* telleth vs, that many Princes and Barons exclaimed against this sentence: *It pertaineth not to the Pope to ordaine or degrade an Emperour, but only to crowne him that is elected by the Princes.* In a word, the Author aboue cited, saith, *That all men for the consequence of the matter were wounded and grieved, judging well, that in time the Pope would grow to that exceeding height of pride, that he would for euery light cause, when is pleased him, depose Catholike Princes, innocent and iust. We haue, will they say, troden vnder feet that great Emperour Frederick, and who is he henceforth that can resist vs? And so the mightiest men being prouoked, will lift vp their heele against him, and God being the auenger, the E authoritie of Rome may come to nought.* This was the judgement of all men concerning this Excommunication, which though it were grounded on pre- tence of Heresie, yet could there none bee found, but in this, That he lightly regarded the Popes friuolous and vaine Excommunication. But *Innocent* passeth

A passeth further, for he will ordaine an Emperour after his owne fantasie; and therefore sendeth word to the Princes that they should proceed to a new election, and also appointeth the Electors that should haue to doe in it; namely the Dukes of Austria, of Bauaria, of Saxonic, and of Brabant, the Archbishops of Colonia, of Mentz, and of Saltzburg, the most part of them sworn enemies to *Frederick*; who were to passe into an island of Rhine, no man following them, to determine of the matter: meane time, he recommendeth vnto them by the Bishop of Ferrara his Legat, *Henrie Lantgraue* of Turing, whom also they for his sake choose. But *Frederick* nothing astonished for all that; *The Pope* (saith he) *in his Councell hath depriued me of my Crowne: Whence hath he so great presumption? whence B such rash boldnesse? But in this I am in better condition than afore, for I was bound in some things to obey him, at least to reuerence him, but now I am absolved from the bond of honour and of all kind of obedience towards him.* And yet he forgat not to purge himselfe, towards all the Princes of Europe, of the crimes obiected vnto him, which was so much the more easie for him to doe, for that (as Historians affirme) all the Popes of that age, had made themselves by their behauiour infamous towards all men. This new pretended Emperour in the yeare 1247 thought to be crowned at Aquisgrane, hauing ouerthrown *Conrade* the sonne of *Frederick*, forsaken of his owne people, whom the Pope had corrupted with money: but *Conrade* repaired his armie with great celeritie, and vpon the verie point of the solemnitie gaue him C battaile, ouercame him and slew all his armie; Whereat the Lantgraue himselfe, *proprij vulnere doloris sauciatus, wounded* (saith the Historian) *and suffocate with his owne grieffe, breathed forth his feminine soule vnwept for of any.* And then began to be verified, that which *baddeley* the Emperours procurour had foretold in the Councell of Lyons, when the Pope thundred forth his sentence against his Master; *Heu, heu, dies ista, verè dies iræ, calamitatis & miseræ, this day (alas) is a day of wrath, of calamitie and miserie.* Neither yet for the death *Innocent* yeeld, but dispatcheth foure Cardinals into Germanie, Italie, and Norway, so much the more D grieuously to complain against *Frederick*, interpreting it (perhaps) an iniurie done vnto him, in that he defended himselfe; And resolved to cause *William Earle* of Holland to be elected King of Germanie, which againe by abundance of monies he obtained: for, all that he was able on all hands to rapine and scrape together, was swallowed vp as it were in that gulf. This Earle going to be Crowned at Aquisgrane, was likewise met withall by *Conrade*, whom *Octavian* the Popes Legat laboured with faire words to diuert from his purpose: but he answered him, *I will neuer, for any of you traitors, be wanting to my father.* Yet it came to that passe, that by the subtiltyes of the Preaching Friars, who corrupted the people, *William* was receiued and crowned at Aquisgrane: But, not long time after, constrained to retire himselfe from *Conrade*, who got againe the vpper hand; and *Frederick* in the end being readie to fall vpon him with an armie, he was forced to go E hide himselfe againe in Holland. Then remained to haue recourse to all sorts of treason; and therefore by how much the more God blessed the iust cause of *Frederick* in Germanie, Lombardie and Tuscapie it selfe, so much the more eagerly did *Innocent* bend his mind to all kind of fraud: Of his domesticke seruants and familiars are corrupted *Theobald Francista*, *James de Mora*, *Pandolfe de Fasanelis*, *William* of *S. Seuerin*, and others, to lie in waite for his life, of whom some came and reuealed to him the conspiracie, the historie wherof we haue in *Mathew Paris*, in the letters of *Frederick* to the King of England; If you demand the Author of the same, *his name* (saith he) *we would willingly conceale, did not the publick voice*

voice reveale him, and the euidence of the deeds accuse him, though we by our silence A would couer him, or by words excuse him; For the executors of the said fact, both the fugitives and the besieged, assisted with the companie of the Friers Minorites, hauing receiued from them the signe of the Crosse, pretend the Popes authoritie, by Apostolicke letters, against vs, and openly declare that herein they doe the affaire of the holy mother Church of Rome, affirming him to be the instigator of our death and disinheriting. And this haue the said captiues (whom the readie deuotion of our trusty seruants imprisoned, at the winning of Scales castle) confessed before all men, in their voluntarie and last confession at the houre of death, when it is execrable to lie. The Bishop of Bamberg also, returning from the court of Rome, after his purchased consecration, before he was of our faithfull seruants taken in Germanie, said it would infallibly come to passe, that within few daies we should be shamefully murdered of our familiars and domestick seruants. These things we speake with shame, witnesse the most high Iudge, as being neuer able to beleuee, that we should see or heare in our daies any such wickednesse, that our owne nation and our Bishops, would wickedly deliuer any man to so cruel a death. Insomuch, that Frederick was vpon point to haue sent the six conspirators through out all the climats of the world, to all Kings and Princes, with the Popes Bull imprinted on the forehead, found in the Castle of Scala, where they were taken, that this treason might be publickly knowne vnto all. The same Author noteth, that at Rome not long after, were taken two pretended murthers, sent for to kill the Pope, but there were some (saith he) that said, that it was a fraudulent inuention, craftily deuised, to defame Frederick with the same crime &c. Innocent was not therefore wearie in preparing other snares, whilst to blear the eies of the world, he published thundring writings against Frederick, making him worse then Pharaoh, Herod, Nero, and other tyrans; and that so much the more vehemently, as he was had to see his secret purposes discovered, and that he stunke thereof throughout all Europe. This horrible writing (saith the Author) against Frederick would haue pierced into the marrow of Auditors, but that the couetousnesse, Simony, Avarie, and staines of other vices, wherewith his aduersaries were defiled, did take away the credit thereof: Who vnderpaine of excommunication, impudently moue the crossed soldiers, one while to the Holy Land, one while to subdue Romania, another while to set vpon Frederick. And, that which is most detestable, they extort by all means the monies appointed for the crossed soldiers; and for this end make Luos Telonarios their publicans and exactors, the Franciscane and Dominic Friers. Soon after another subtil practise cometh to light: Frederick being returned into Apulia, and finding himself ill at ease, would take physick by the counsel of his Physitians. Peter de Vineis, his most familiar Counsellour had neere about him a Physitian, who made the physicke and therein mixed a most speedy and mortall poyson; and least this should faile, he had also prepared a poysoned bath to the same end. Frederick hauing by good hap had warning of it at the same instant, said vnto them; My friends, my confidence is in you, take heed (I pray you) ye giue me not poyson instead of a medicine: Peter answered, My Lord, this my Physitian, hath often giuen you holmesopations, why doe you now feare? The Physitian amazed, fained as if his foot had slipped and so spilt the most part of it; but the rest being giuen to condemned malefactor, they died of it within few houres after: the Physitian then was hanged, and Peter de Vineis had his eyes put out, whom Frederick caused to be led about through most of the Cities of Italie and Apulia, for to confesse this wicked fact before all men. And when he had deliuered him to the men of Pisa, that mortally hated him, through despaire he dashed his head against the pillar to which he was tied, and killed himselfe. Thus much reciteth the Monke Paris, and Sigonius after

Mathew Paris.
p. 692. in Henri-
co 3. Anno
1249.

A after him, who addeth, That the enemies of the Church sayd, that the Pope had inclined the heart of this Peter, to this fact, by great gifts and promises; And seeing the foregoing practises, who can doubt of it: Meane time, this unhappie Prince, began to loath his life; what woe (saith he) is fallen vpon me, that mine owne bowels arme themselves against me. That this Peter, whom I esteemed the one halfe of my soule, hath prepared my death; That the Pope, whom my predecessors haue created and enriched of nothing, labourerth both to ruinate the Empire, and by death to destroy me. Et obforduit domini Papæ fama per hoc non mediocriter, And the Popes reputation was thereby not a little defamed: Yet God the infallible searcher of secrets, knoweth the truth thereof. Of which truth, we may yet giue judgement, out of that which Krantzzius writeth, in the same yeare 1249, That Pope Innocent the fourth was transported with so great enuie against Frederic eximperatorum, deposed from the Empire; That not only he opposed against him the Christian Princes, but also sent an Ambassador to the Souldan of Egypt, to diuert him from his friendship. And it is great pitie we haue not his letters; but at least, he representeth the Souldans letters to Innocent, translated out of Greeke into Latine, and by the answer we may gather what the demand was. The summe is this, after the accustomed complements, which deserue to be read in the Author, That God would make him of the number of them that affect and doe good, and that earnestly seeke peace, and perseuer in the causes thereof; and that God would assist him in things that are conuenient, both towards them of his owne Religion and towards others, That he vnderstood that which he had declared concerning Christ, to whom be praise: And of Christ (saith he) we know more than yee know, and doe magnifie him more than yee doe: But as touching the Emperour, that there was friendship betwene them, euen from the time of the Souldan his father; And betwene you (saith he) and your Emperour, it is as your selfe doth know. Therefore that it was not lawfull for him to treat with the Christians, without the aduice and consent of the Emperour. And surely it is a maruaile, that so many and so great troubles, especially now in his old age, did not overwhelm him. Adde to these, that his base sonne Henricus was taken prisoner by the men of Bouonia, and himselfe suddenly taken with a grieuous sicknesse, called ignam sanam. At length being tost with so many aduersities (saith the Author) hee resolved by all means to seeke peace, and offered to the Pope an honest forme of peace: but the Pope reioycing at his aduersities, would not accept of it, whereby he incurred the indignation of many, and namely of the French Lords, who began to comfort Frederic and to adhere vnto him, and to desert the pride of the seruants of the seruants of God. And thus the affaires of Frederic prospered so well, that Innocent entreated the king of England, that he might make his abode at Burdeaux, vnder pretence of making a generall peace: But in the meane season died the greatest of Princes, saith the Author, Stupor quoque mundi, and the astonishment and wonder of the world, hauing made a most noble testament recited by Mathew in his additions. Colleticus also telleth vs, out of the report of Mainardine bishop of Imola, That his penitencie was so great, in the confession of his sinnes, that thereby alone it might be conuicted, he had become a singular vessel of Gods election. And as touching the course of his life, after he had exalted the great and rare vertues, as well naturall, as acquired, wherewith he was endued, the excellent and profitable lawes he had made both Ecclesiasticall and ciuile, comming to speake of the debate he continually had with the Popes, for which he had bene excommunicat by Innocent the 4, he doubteth much that it was without just cause: All these actions considered (saith he) such as diuerse authors haue described vnto vs, weighing also his Epistles and writings, I know not verily, whether

An. 1249.
Krantzius in
Metropol.
l. 8. c. 14.

Colleticus l. 4.
Hist. Neapol.

ther they declared him enemy of the Church, because he spake too truly de Pontificijs, of the Papiſts, and found many things worthie reproofe in their manners, and in all that Apostolicall life, or because he ouer stoutly defended the rights of the Empire, or for that he was in Italie more powerfull than was to their liking, I leaue the iudgement hereof to the indifferent Reader of the gests of Frederick: but in the meane time, when I consider that Christ, whom Popes as his Vicars ought to imitate and obey, commaundeth vs to put up the sword into his place, and to pardon a sinner seuentie times seuen times, & not seuen times onely; and that on the other side I see so many ambushes & treasons proiected against Frederick, so many Ecclesiasticall Legats, which are called Pastors, sent against him into the kingdome, into the Marca de Ancona, Lombardie, and Romania; so many cities and Provinces for the same cause laid wast, so much Christian bloodshed, and Frederick neuertheless alwayes victorious, and the Popes side that ioynd themselues against him, euer to be vnfortunat and carrie away the worst, I cannot but approue that which Pope Pius writeth in his Australl historie, That nothing excellently euill is committed in the Catholike Church, the first originall whereof proceedeth not from Church-men, it may be by some secret counsell of God. I haue truly seene and read many Epistles of Frederick, which are extant, written to Popes and Cardinalls, and to other Christian Princes, and priuat persons; but I perceiued in them nothing against the rule of our faith, nothing hereticall, nothing that sauoureth of contumacie or oppression of the Church. There are indeed in the same many complaints, lamentations, and admonitions, of the couetousnesse and ambition of Priests, of the Popes obstinacie, who would not heare his excuses, & the defence of the Empire, and of snares and treasons wrought against him. He that would see the truth of these things, let him read, among others, an Epistle of his written to all Christian Princes, which beginneth, The chiefe Priests and the Pbarisies gathered a Councell against the Prince, Gods annoynted; and another also which he wrot to the Colledge of Cardinalls, That they should dissuade the Pope from maintaining discords between them and the Empire, which beginneth, In exordio, in the beginning of the birth of the world; and that also which beginneth, Infallibilis veritatis testem, we take to witnessse the infallible Iudge of truth and iustice. Out of one, among others, written to the Christian Princes, he produceth these words, That which our embassadours haue reported vnto you, beleue it as a thing most true, none otherwise than if S. Peter had by oath confirmed it. Doth it not seeme vnto you, that the sentence of deposition hurteth the Maiestie of the Empire? For our conscience assweth vs of our integritie, we haue God with vs, whom we call to witnessse, that we haue neuer had any other end than to bring Church-men to persecute in the true faith, such as it was in the Primitiue Church, when they imitated the humilitie of Christ and life of the Apostles: for then Clergie men were often wont to see the Angels, to shine in myracles, to heale the sicke, raise the dead, and subdue Princes, not with wimes, but with bolinesse: whereas they that liue in this age are giuen to the world, and drunken with delights, Deum humeris induunt, they counterfet God, and choke our religion by the superfluitie of their riches. To withdraw from them then these superfluous riches that hurt them, and overwhelm them with so greuous damage, is it to doe against charitie? To the performance therefore of this worke together with vs, we inuite all Princes: for they which lay aside superfluous things, doe serue God the better, and yee ought to take order that God may be well serued. And at length the Author (a famous Lawyer in his time) concludeth, And these are (perhaps) the things for which in those times they thought Frederick to deserue the name of the enemy of the Church. But yet Historians are not silent, that he was impoyoned; Mathew Paris, Potionatus, the Chronicle of Augsburg, Veneno extinctus, Killed by poyson, and Sigonius himselfe: others say, stifled with a pillow cast on his mouth, namely to hasten his time; whereof Manfred his

Petrus de V.
neis lib. 1. E-
pistol.

Math. Paris in
Henrico 3.
An. 1249.

A his bastard sonne was suspected, whom notwithstanding, saith Sigonius, he left heyre with his other brethren; for which cause many discharged him of it, without doubt for to burthen therewith Pope Innocent, which Cuspinian doth expresse in these termes, Manfred, saith he, choked him with a pillow, hauing bene corrupted, whether by his enemy (and who was a greater?) or by the Pope. And thus are we brought to the yeare 1250.

An. 1250.

All this passed whilest S. Lewis made warre in the Holie Land, who there lost the battell, and fell prisoner into the hands of the Souldan: neither do Historians disseemble who was the author of this ouerthrow: The brethren, saith Paris, of the king of France entreated the Pope in the behalfe of the said king and of themselues, that he would make peace with Frederick humbled, and humbly offering satisfaction to the Church, according to the honour he bare to the vniuersall Church: The said brethren also of the king, namely the Earles of Poitou and of Pronence, layd to his charge, That by his couetousnesse all this misfortune was happened; for the Pope (saith he) had hindered the crossed souldiers, corrupting them with money, from going to the kings succour, and had absolved from the vow of their peregrination, them which before he had crossed for the Holie Land by the preaching Friers and Minorites. Morcouer, he had sold the crossed souldiers to Earle Richard, and other great men, as intimes past the Iewes were wont to sell sheepe and doves in the Temple, whom Christ in his wrath cast forth, as it is in the Gospell. This is the testimonie that historie giueth to this Innocent: contrariwise of Frederick: Aucutine saith, That he was without doubt the most potent, and the most profitable Prince to the Commonweale of Christendome, that had bene since Charlemaine, and without contradiction, the most wise: witnessse Nicholas Cusan Bishop of Brixen, Cardinall of Rome, a man euerie way most learned; and Egidius Romanus Archbishop of Bourges in Gaule, a famous Philosopher and Peripateticke, who in the booke that he wrot of the institution of a king, to the Westerne Emperours of France, exhorteth them to follow him for example. The same Frederick caused all the booke of Aristotle, and many others both sacred and prophane, all the treasure of Philosophie, to be by most learned interpreter translated out of the Greeke and Arabian tongues, in which he had taken pleasure from his youth: He gaue great priuiledges, yea the Burgesie of Rome, to all the people of Prussia and of Sarmatia, because they had forsaken the seruice of false gods, for to embrace Christian pietie. His power, his strength, his prudence, his high courage, his experience in militarie affaires, his neerenesse (for he made his abode in Italie, contrarie to the custome of the auncient Emperours, gouerned Germanie by his sonne and onely twice went out of Italie into Germanie) was dreadfull and suspicious to the See of Rome: Which Gregorie the ninth denied not, but freely confessed. And because the Empire flourished more than was to the liking of the Roman Cardinalls, placuit, it was their pleasure, not onely to bruiſe and breake it with discords, but also to bring it into ashes, and to cast downe Frederick from the highest step of humane things.

Auent. 17.

There remaineth summarily to quote what commodities these three Popes, E persecutors of Frederick, haue brought vnto the Church, in counterchange of so many discommodities. Innocent the third, and Honorius the third, approued the rules of Francis and Dominick; Gregorie the ninth canonized them, and Antonie of Padua besides; and Innocent the fourth, not to seeme inferiour vnto them, enregistreth in the same Calender Edmund of Canturburie, Stanislaus of Cracouia, and Peter of Verona. And we haue seene what myracles they did by these Friers, and from that time forth you shall hardly meet with any Pope that maketh not some Saints. Let the Reader iudge with what warants these men can place others in the kingdome of heauen, which by so horrible

Chronic. Martini & Platina in Innocentio 4.

Johannes de Oppido.
Extra de Celebr. Missarum c. (ane cum olim Durandus in Rationa l. 41. Nauclerus Gener. 42. vol. 1. Marb. Paris in Henrico 3. Sigon. de regno Fialie l. 18. Extr. C. Propos. de concess. prebend. causa 25. q. 1. & 16 glossa Plat. in Innocentio 4.

horribly wicked actions make themselves unworthie to live upon earth. Also *Innocent* the third ordained Transubstantiation, *Honorius* made the Hostie to bee on the knees adored, and to bee carried to sicke persons with burning torches; *Gregorie* the ninth, that hee might not remayne behind, ordained the little bell, which being rung, warneth all men to adore it, the *Salve Regina* also, for to be sung in Churches, and the *Aue Maria* when the bell tolleth. *Alexander* the third, *Innocent* the third, *Honorius* the third, & *Gregorie* the ninth, made many Decrees, the most part to authorise the Church of Rome in her pretended fulnesse of power; *Innocent* the third went so farre as he feared not say, *We can, according to the fulnesse of power, dispence of the law euen above the law*, which the Glosse expoundeth, against the old Testament, the Apostles and Euangelists. These Decrees *Innocent* the fourth made to be compiled into one volume by one *Raymund* a Iacobin Frier, and wil haue them to be accounted authenticall; and is that which is named Decretals. The Councell of Lions promised a great reformation to the Church, and here it is; *That Cardinals from thenceforth should weare red hats and scarlet cloakes, and should ride, through the citie, on horses well caparisoned, for the honour of their dignitie*. Thinke that Christendome was hereby wonderfully well restored. And this is spoken to shew who haue bene inuents of this pompe, as also of the superstitious deuotions at this day held in so high accompt.

O P P O S I T I O N .

Who will thinke it strange, if no man dare resist a pride so inueterat, a possession of so long time taken to rule the world at his pleasure, to condemne to hell whosoever resisteth him? And yet euen in this most desperat wicked age, there hath not wanted some, that haue opposed themselves against the exactions, violences and corruptions of the Church of Rome.

In England they thought all things lawfull for them, boasting themselves to be Soueraigne Lords thereof, vnder colour of the Charter of king *Iohn*, who had submitted himselfe to their homage. There we shall see a piece of their gouernment, wherby we may judge into what ruine they wold haue brought the church if they had bin left to their owne will. The BB. of England were reuolted against their king, at the Popes instigation; So that peace being made betweene king *S. Lewis*, and *Henrie* the third, king of England, they see themselves excluded; they therefore haue recourse to the Pope to be restored: Among these was *Henrie* Bishop of Lincolne, of whom *Honorius* exacted a thousand markes of siluer, and so of the rest according to that proportion. Such, saith the Author, was the *Spiritual dropie of the Court of Rome*: He also calleth him, *Leonem feritatem, sanguisugum auaritia, a Lion in fiercenesse, a bloud-sucker in couetousnesse*. This Pope sendeth *Otho* his Legat into England, who in full Councell produceth the Popes letters, in which he is not ashamed to alledge, *the scandale of the holie Church of Rome, and her most ancient opprobrie, namely the staine of concupiscence, the root of all euils, and in this chiefly, that none can dispatch any businesse in the Court of Rome, but with great expences of money, and giuing of gifts*. And because, saith he, *that powertie is the cause of this infamie, children of a good nature ought to helpe the necessitie of their mother*. And note the remedie that he bringeth for this; That of all the Cathedrall Churches, two prebends should be giuen him, one of the Bishop, another of the Chapter, and in like manner of Abbays and Monasteries; promising, if this be graunted, *to doe them iustice without rewards*. The Clergie of England thereupon assembl'd, and

A and vpon the reading of the Popes letters, looke one vpon another admiring the couetousnesse of the Romans, who had not learned this morall distich:

*Quod virtus reddit, non copia sufficientem,
Et non paupertas, sed mentis hiatus egentem.*

Vertue, not plentie, makes man rich indeed,
A greedie mind, though rich, is still in need.

But the king by the aduice of the Prelats and Nobles of the realme, answered, B That this businesse concerned all Christendome, in the vtmost skirts whereof hee was, that like as he should see other Estates gouerne themselves, erga tales exactions, towards such exactions, the Pope should find him readie to follow their example. And indeed our Frenchmen being assembled in Councell vpon the same matter at Bourges, the king being present, where sat *Romanus* the Popes Legat; to whom they propounded so many reasons, partly in refutation, partly in derision of the proposition he made in the Popes behalfe, and of the commoditie he promised the world thereby, that he himselfe was euen ashamed therewith: the conclusion was in these words, *So much wealth would make the Romans madde, and so betweene the diuers kindreds among them, would arise so many seditions (of which now already they are not free) as the ruine of the whole citie might iustly be feared*. This is not the meanes to drie vp the spring of couetousnesse; that which they now doe by themselves, they then would doe by others, and would procure to giue more rewards to their partakers than now they doe. After which the Archbishop of Lyons said, *My Lord, wee will euer haue friends in the Court of Rome, and therefore we haue need of abundance of gifts*. But my Lord, let the Zeale of the vniuersall Church moue you, and of the holie See of Rome, for if there were an vniuersall oppression of all, there would be cause to feare, ne immineret generalis discessio, least a generall reuolt (or Apostasie) were at hand, which God forbid. That reuolt is foretold by the Apostle speaking of Antichrist, 2. *Thessal.* 2. Hee therefore protested, that he had neuer consented thereunto, and that hee had receiued commaundement of the Pope, being now entred into France, whereto hee greatly grieved.

D *Gregorie* is no sooner come to the Popedome, but, following the steps of his predecessors, he sendeth into England his Nuntio and Chaplaine, who being heard in the assemblie of Prelats, produceth the Popes letters, whereby he openly demanded the tenths of all the moueable goods as well of the Clergie as of the Laitie, for the extermination of *Frederick*. The king, who had alreadie by his sollicitors engaged himselfe to Rome, held his peace, as being become a staffe of a reed to them that trusted in him. But the Earles and Barons, and all other lay persons, absolutely declared, That they would in no wise suffer that their Baronies and lay possessions should be in any sort obliged to the Church of Rome. In like manner also the Prelats and whole Clergie, who yet three dayes after waxed calmer, fearing a sentence of excommunication, which the Legat was found to haue in commission from the Pope, and indeed hee employed it against all them that made difficultie to obey; and of these tenthes which he exacted with threats, for feare of the excommunications, hee agreed and made part with one *Stephen Segraue*, a Counsellor of the king: in so much that he tooke the tenth of the fruits of Autumne, which was yet but in the blade, and for to haue readie money he constrained the Churchmen to sell Chalice, siluer pots, and other vessels of the Altar: the

the Land is filled with continuall but secret maledictions, all people curse both the ex- A
 actions and the exactors, exactio suis nunquam exactoribus fiat fructuosa, yea the
 Pope himselfe, that it might neuer prosper with him. And after that time England
 was no more seene without forraine vsurers from beyond the Alpes, who vnder
 the name of Marchants made gainful vse of the extorsions of the Court of Rome.
 Whereby in a short time after, the subiects of the kingdom as well noble as igno-
 ble, were brought to that desperate extremitie, that to seeke some remedie for
 these mischiefes, they write letters to the Bishops and Chapiters with this sub-
 scription, To such a Bishop or such a Chapter, Vniuersitas, the whole bodie of them that
 had rather die than be confounded by the Romans, send greeting. In these letters, they
 particularly complained, That the Pope had commaunded the Bishops vnder
 paine of suspension, that they should not giue a benefice to any home-borne B
 of the kingdome, till first siue Romans in euery Church were provided of benefi-
 ces throughout all Dioceses, to the value of a hundred pounds sterling the yeare. Nei-
 ther did they designe them by their names, but the sonne of Rumsfred, or of such a
 one, as if they would fulfill that prophesie, They haue spoiled the Egyptians for to en-
 rich the Hebrews. Wherefore seeing they had resolved with themselves, to deli-
 uer the Church the King and the kingdome, from so great a tyrannic, vnlesse they
 themselves (the Bishops) would feele and suffer in their goods, that which they
 prepared for the persons of the Romans ere long to suffer, they should not enter-
 meddle in their affaires. In like manner they wrote vnto them that had their lands C
 at farme, That they should not pay them their yearely reuenues; and their letters
 were sealed with a seale wherein was grauen two swords with this inscription, Ec-
 ce duo gladij hic, heere are two swords. And the matter came to that passe, that
 their corne was taken away throughout all England, freely and without contradic-
 tion; They distributed them in large almes to the poore, and sometime cast their monies
 about on the ground and exhorted the poore to gather it up. The Romane Clergie-men hid
 themselves in Abbaies, not daring once to mutter at the iniuries done them; choosing ra-
 ther to lose their goods than incurre the Sentence of death; Vntill at length Gregorie
 being aduertised of these things, wrote vnto the King, that vnder paine of excom-
 munication and interdict, he should proceed against the Authours thereof: ne- D
 uertheless he wrote letters of recommendations to the Pope, in the behalfe of
 Robert de Tinghe knight, their head, that he might more easily obtaine absolution.

Matthew Paris
in Henrico 3.

But Gregorie gaue not ouer for all that, but the next yeare after, sent his Nun-
 cio's with Legantine power into all parts, one while pretending the ruine of Fre-
 derick, another while for the recouerie of the holy Land, for to exact money on all
 sides; Inuenting (saith the Historie) and multiplying argumentos as extorsiones, ex-
 torfions, fortified with arguments: especially in England, he appointed his Legats, in shew
 simple messengers, yet hauing power Legantine, who, as if it were for succour of the holy
 Land, exacted very much money, by preaching, entreating, commaunding, threatening, E
 excommunicating, and exacting procurations; whereby infinite many in England were
 brought to forsake their countrey and to beg, and yet the Church had neuer any aduance-
 ment thereby. And here he giueth vs a copie of his letters, Excellent words (saith he)
 able to pierce the stonie hearts of men, had they not bene followed with deeds notoriously
 contrarie to humilitie and iustice: he would haue said, had it not been for that it was
 meere hypocricie, of such as represented in their Bulls, as it were on a stage, the pas-
 sion of Christ and desolation of the Holy Land, not so much for to moue the peo-
 ple, as to pull out their bowells. He therefore addeth, To these men was giuen power
 to presse crossed soldiers, and for money also to release them of that vow; wherefore many,
 without

Math. Paris
in Henrico 3.

without number, crossed themselves: But the Eriers Preachers & Minorites, who had
 chosen with humility a voluntary power, were in a short time aduanced to so great Nobil-
 itie, that I say not arrogancie, that they made themselves be received into Countes and
 Cities, with solemne procession, with banners and lighted tapers, each man in his best ap-
 parell and due order, and they had power to grant pardon for many daies to their auditors;
 and such as to day were crossed for the warres, in giuing money, they absolved the morrow
 after from that vow. And in a short space, so great an exchange is made, and exacti-
 on of money so manie waies; neither could it be knowne into what bottomlesse guise so much
 money, as the Popes agents did gather, could be drowned; so that the busines of the Ho-
 ly Land went not forward; and the charitie of the faithfull, yea of all in generall, waxed
 cold.

Cardinall Orho coming as a Legat into England, at his first arriuall refuseth
 all gifts, contrary to the custome of the Romans (saith the Authour) and with his ge-
 sture wooon the good liking of the people: but scarcely hath he giuen this tast of
 him, but he taketh all things with both the hands; from the Bishop of Winche-
 ster alone, fiftie fat oxen, an hundred measures of wheat, eight butts of the best wine, and
 so from the other Bishops. And when there was a Councell to be held, he com-
 mandeth there should be set vp in the Church of S. Paul, a seat, nimis fastigiosam
 & solemnem, too solemne and too high raised vp, mounting with many steps. There he
 propoundeth new inuentions to the preiudice of the Clergy and Nobility; from
 the Nobilitie he tooke away the right of patronage, & seised it for the Pope; and
 from the other he tooke away part of their benefices, and gaue it vnto strangers.
 And hence arose new complaints of the States against the Court of Rome: But
 he taxed also all the Ecclesiasticall liuings for the succour of the Pope against the
 Emperour, and exacteth it vnder paine of most rigorous censures, and for monie
 absolueth from the vow of the holy Land: and a certaine sum was set by the Fry-
 ers Preachers & Minorites, according to the rate the same voyage ouer seas might
 cost them. Thence (saith Matthew Paris) a great scandall is made among the people,
 with a schisme; euen the most simple obserued the absurditie, quam diuersis muscipulis,
 by how many mouse-trappes the Court of Rome endeoured to deprive the simple people
 of God of their substance, requiring nothing but gold and siluer. He exacted more-
 ouer of all the Clergie the fift part of their reuenues, to bee employed against
 Frederick, and wrested it away perforce; the Lords of the kingdome in vaine cry-
 ing out to the King; Most renowned Prince, why sufferest thou England, to be made a
 prey and desolation of strangers, as a Vineyard without enclosure common to all that passe
 by, and for the wild bores to root vp? The King answering them; I neither will nor
 dare gainsay the Pope in any thing: And thereupon a lamentable despaire grew among
 the people. We must not omit, that at the same time was taken at Cambridge a
 certain Carthusian Monke, bearing the habit and gesture of an honest and austere life,
 who would not enter into the Church: he is brought vnto the Legat to be com-
 mitted prisoner to the Tower of London, and being questioned by him (he saith)
 E Gregorie is not Pope, is not head of the Church: The Church is prophaned, diuine Mys-
 teries ought not to be celebrated, vntill first it be againe dedicated: The Deuill is let loose,
 the Pope is an hereticke, polluteeth the Church, yea the world, Gregorie that is called Pope;
 All this in presence of many Prelats, named exprelly by the Authour; Again the
 Legat asketh, Is there not giuen from aboue a power vnto the Pope our Lord, to bind and
 loose soules, and to execute the place of S. Peter on earth? And whilest all men expected
 what he would answer, beleeuing that the iudgement thereof depended on his answer,
 he replied by way of question, How can I beleue, that to any person tainted with Simonie,
 without

and usurie, and perhaps with greater crimes, any such power is granted, as was to S. Peter, A who being made immediatly his Apostle, followed the Lord, not so much by the steps of his feet, as by brightnesse of vertues? At which words the Legat blusped. Neuerthelesse he proceeded for all that in his enterprise begun, in so much as the Abbots of the kingdome are constrained to come to the king to make their complaint, with their heads lowly bowed, and their faces full of teares: We are beaten verie sore, and yet we dare not crye out; our throats are cut, and yet we may not weepe or complaine. The Pope imposeth an impossibilitie vpon vs, an exaction detestable to the whole world. New and v unexpected seruices are daily thus and thus reuiued and inuented of the Romans, so that they suffer vs not to haue neuer so little time to fetch our breath. The Bishops then vniuersally gather together, and fortifie themselues with reasons, which they oppose against it; but the Legat being borne out by the king, who would gratifie the Pope, he made a schisme amongst them, that he might the more easily (sayth Mathew) seise vpon his prey, Gregorie (de pecuniae congreganda vigil contemplator) a vigilant contemplator in gathering of money together, expecting his desired prey from England, signified to the Legat, That he should not, as before, assemble the whole Clergie together, lest they should encourage one another, and strengthening themselves with their former reasons and exceptions, should flatly contradict him; but rather that he should endeavour to bow euery one of them by himselfe, hauing first by all meanes weakened the constancie of the king, to the end that he, who before stood for the Clergie, and had given them hornes, being made effeminate, might be for their ruine. When the Legat had understood these things, de docto factus est doctior ad nocendum, becoming more skilfull to hurt, called together afore him, by the Popes authoritie, the whole Clergie of England, to London, on the feast day of all Saint, and in the end obtained his full desire: For the poore sheepe were deliuered up as it were rictibus Luporum cruentatis, to the bloudie throats of wolues, by the sedancings of the Legat, mellitis & super oleum mollitatis, sweeter than oyle and honie, which he afterward turned into darts. The same also did Gregorie in all the other Prouinces of Europe, in Scotland, Denmarke, and France it selfe, in which notwithstanding, according to the measure of his power, the matter had diuers euents, finding estioones many impediments: For, as wee haue seene before, hauing gathered money in France, when he would abuse it against the quiet rest of Christendome, S. Lewis intercepted the money, and made it be stayed: neuerthelesse he continued in the same obstinacie vntill his death, as Mathew Paris witnesseth; Gregorie, saith he, being unable to sustaine the griefes hee had conceiued (and yet stirred up and drawne vpon himselfe) the eleuenth of the Calends of September dyed, pro meritis à summo Iudice recepturus, to receive of the soveraigne Iudge according to his deserts, &c. The greatest griefe which more inuarily pricked the heart of Gregorie at his death, was for that the Emperour anon after the feast of the Assumption had taken a certaine castle of the Popes nephewes & other his kinsmen, in Campania, neere Mountfort, &c. and in signe of the subuersion thereof had left a tower halfe ruinat, that the memorie as well of the fault, as of the vengeance taken, might not dye. And in this sence it is that he may seeme iustly to take to himselfe that saying of our Lord, The zeale of thy house hath eaten me up.

Neither are we to expect better of Innocent the fourth: from new Popes proceed new exactions: No sooner is he seated in his Pontificall chaire, but he presently sendeth euerie where new exactors; into England, as into his farme, he sent first one master Martin, with power to excommunicat and suspend; which hee so well fenced withall, that he presently obtained whatsoeuer the Pope challenged to himselfe in benefices, Ad opus Clericorum & consanguineorum suorum, For the use of his

A his Clergie men and kinsmen; neither was he ashamed, saith he, so exact and extort from the Prelats, and especially of Monkes, in a commaunding manner, Palefridos concupiscibiles, choyce palfreyes, or ambling nags: by letters straitly commaunding this Abbot, and that Prior, That he should send vnto him such horses as became a speciall Clerke of the Pope to ride vpon; but such as gaine sayd, and pretended excuses and causes of deniall, though reasonable, as did the Abbot of Malmesburie, and Prior of Merton, he grievously punished, by suspending them vntill such time as they made full satisfaction. At length the king himselfe was wearie of these and such like extortions, who, after hee had yielded all sorts of subiection to the Pope, so that he placed his Legat in his owne throne, could not chuse but be moued at the complaint made vnto him by the whole Church; and that so much the more confidently, as he knew that when the Popes chamber at Lyons was by chance set on fire, that same Charter whereby king John had made England tributarie to the Pope, was withall burned to ashes. Therefore hauing assembled a Parliament, he began to set downe a most excellent order for the well gouerning of the realme, and for the reforming of justice: But the diuell (saith Mathew Paris) enemie of mankind, disturber of peace, and raiser vp of schismes, unhappily hindered all that, by the Popes couetousnesse: For the Pope beleeuing that the flexible English had already submitted their neckes to the sayd contribution, according to their custome, as well by reason of the kings desire thereto, as for the instance of his request, sent à Latere suo one master Martin, his Clerke, whom many for his wicked rauening called master Mastife, hauing a new and unheard of power, greater than euery any Legat had before him. For he stretched forth his hands to exact contribution, made C prouisions, after his owne fantasie, voyd of reason, ad opus ignotorum, for to supply the need of vnknowne persons, and violently tooke away the reuenues for to give them to the Popes kindred, being cruelly armed with the Popes authoritie, whose Bulls he daily shewed, new at his pleasure, and according as the businesse on euery sudden occasion fell out. Whence it came, that some said he had many papers vnrwritten, yet sealed, that he might write in them what he pleased, which furre be it. But iste Legatus sophisticus, That sophisticated Legat commeth to the king, beseeching him, That he himselfe would diligently labour in the Popes behalfe, that the Prelats of England might generally give consent to D make contribution to the Pope, of at least ten thousand markes. The king answereth, That his Barons and Prelats are so often spoiled of their goods vnder diuers pretences, that they neither would nor could thenceforth promise any thing, They will not, neither are they able to contribute either to me their king, or to the Pope, who yet haue promised to aid me. And at this master Martin being greatly troubled, departed from the kings presence. And when he presented his letters to the Prelats, they say vnto him, The king our Lord and patron, and founder and repaire of many of our Churches, being destitute of treasure, demaundeth ayd of vs for the strength and defence of the realme, that is, of the Commonwealth, the same also doth the Pope instantly request vs for the king. And there commeth moreover another unexpected demaund from the Pope; so that on this side we are assailed, on that side wee are distressed; on this side we are troden downe, on that side sorely pressed: we are bruised as it were betwixt the anuill and the hammer, and tormented as betwene two millstones. Neuerthelesse master Martin vrgeth, and is instant, vigilantissime & incessanter, vigilantly and incessantly, for the gathering and bestowing of reuenues in what fashion they would, for the use of the Pope and his kindred; and of his saucinesse and iniurious extortion, I thinke it honest and safer, for reuerence of the holie Church of Rome, to be silent than to offend the eares of the hearers, and trouble the minds of the faithfull in rehearsing such things. In the meane time the Ports of England are verie narrowly obserued, that

the Popes carriers might bring no more dispatches from Rome; and there was one A of them stayed a Douer, who brought many bulls, *Multas abominaciones de diuersis argumentis emungendi pecuniam continentes*, saith the Author, *contayning many abominations for to wrest away money*; so that the king, detesting the insatiable couetousnesse of the Court of Rome, resolued to prouide a remedie, and to that end, sent certaine honourable persons embassadours to the Councell of Lions, in the name of the whole kingdome; And to Maister *Martin*, in the meane time is signified by one *Fulke Warin*, that he should forthwith depart out of England; he asketh from whom he hath that commaundement; he is answered, from them which of late were assemble in armes at Luithon, and that, if he were wife, he should not tarrie three yeares longer: then went he to the king and asked if that were done by his authoritie; the king answereth, no; but that hee could hardly withhold his Barons from rising vp against him, for hauing endured such robberies in his kingdome; *Martin*, trembling, requesteth of him safe-conduct, for the honour of the Pope; the king answereth in anger, *The Diuell lead and carie thee into hell; yet he commaunded his Knight Marshall to bring him safe to the Sea side*. So soone as he is come to Rome, he declareth this his ill successe to the Pope; And behold with what repentance he is touched: *The king, saith he, of Fraunce, and the king of Aragon haue forbidden our Nuncios entrance into their kingdomes, we must therefore, saith he in great anger, make peace with prince Frederic, that we may breake in pieces these pettie kings, vt hos regulos coteramus, which kick against vs, for the dragon foiled or appeased, the little serpents will soone be trodden down, Voce surfurra, saith the Historiographer, oculos obliquando & nares corrugando* (thus describeth he his choleric) which word being spread among the people, begett a scandal of indignation in the hearts of many. But the embassadours of the realm of England, being arriued at the Councel of Lions, partly by the words of *Willia* of Powerick, partly by a most large letter, declared *quantū est extortum tributū iniuriisē, how great is the tribute wrongfully extorted*; And after some accustomed complements to the Pope, Behold, say they, by you and your predecessours, not hauing any consideration, besides the subsidies *aboue* sayd, *Italians now are enriched in England, of whom there is already an infinit number, in Churches, the patronage whereof belongeth to the religious persons themselves, and are called rectors of Churches, leauing the foresaid religious persons, whom they ought to defend, altogether undefended, hauing not any care of soules, but suffering most ravenous wolues to disperse the flocke, and deuoure the sheepe, whence it may truly be said, that they are not good Pastors, for they know not their sheepe, neither their sheepe them; they abide not in the Churches for to keepe good hospitalitie and to giue almes, as is appointed, yet they receive yearly in England sixtie thousand markes and more, diuers other receipts excepted; they reape more profit of the mere reuenues of the Kingdome, than the king himselfe, who is the defender of the Church and gouernour of the Realme. Now we firmly hoped, and yet doe hope, bearing that affiance of you, that we shall reioyce by meanes of the mercie of your fatherhood, that our sayd Almes deeds shall, in your dayes, be reformed to the due and former estate it hath bene: But we cannot conceale our grieuance, where-with we are not onely grieued, but also beyond measure oppressed*; concluding with entreatie, that he would remedie the same so soone as might be, especially that violent oppression, intollerable grise, and impudent exaction, which is committed by that hatefull clause often inserted in the Popes letters, *Non obstante &c.* But the Pope put them off to a long day, for their answer: neither could he dissemble the passion of his mind, for that they complained to the Councell; threatning among his familiars, that if he had once repressed *Frederic*, he would trample under his feet the Eng-

lish

A *lish men and their King*. The English Embassadors then are vrgent for an answer; to whom by a third he answereth, that they could not obtrayne what they demanded: And thereupon, they protesting, that they would neuer pay *that detestable tribute*: he priuily sendeth secret messengers into England, who made euerie bishop particularly to subscribe to that lamentable Charter of king *John*, namely (as it is likely) to supplie the want of the originall burnt at Lions with a copie thus made authentical. But the king hearing of it, made an oath, that whatsoeuer the Bishops did, he would neuer pay it, though it cost him his life. And the author addeth, that in the conference that *Innocent* had with the king *S. Lewis* at Clugni, he vied all the art hee could to persuaide the king, to reuenge him of this B *Malh. Parth.* jurie, and to make warre against *ipsum regulum Anglorum, the pettie king of the English*, either for to deprive him of his kingdome, or to make him, will he will he, submit himselfe to the pleasure of the Court of Rome; which if hee would doe, the Church, with the Papall authoritie, should to the vttermost of his power assist him: But yet, that the king of France constantly refused him. In the yere following, are made new admonishments to the Pope and Cardinals, by the letters of the king, States and Prelats of the kingdome, whereby were represented vnto them innumerable grieuances, the articles of which are rehearsed by the same author. These among others were new, that the Pope by his letters enjoyed the Prelats, that they should euerie man at their owne proper charges, furnish forth C one man sive, another tenne, and another fiftene &c. men of warre well horsed and armed, for to doe him seruice wherefoeuer he should commaund; to whom they should giue a yeares pay; which is a militarie seruice due to the king alone, and from which neuertheless they might be dispensed for money. Also, that, to the end the king might not hinder it, the Popes Nuncios fraudulently had forbidden the Prelats, vnder paine of excommunication, that they should not reueale this exaction to any in sixe moneths. *Innocent* then was so farre off from reuoking them, that in despite of the king he made a new statute in England, *That the goods of such as died intestate should be converted to his use, and appointed the Preaching Friers diligently to put the same in execution*. Which the king hauing intelligence of, expressly forbiddeth, detesting, *Romanæ curiæ augmentosam*, multiplication, ac multiformem auaritiā, the augmenting, multiplying and euerie way manifold couetousnesse of the Court of Rome: He also forbiddeth thenceforth to pay tribute to the Pope; whereat the Pope being greatly moued, resolue to excommunicat the king and kingdome. Hereupon Cardinall *John* an Englishman, a Cistercian Monke, saith vnto him; *For Gods sake, my Lord, refraine your anger, which is (if I may so speake) vndiscreet; and with temperance bridle the passions of your will, considering that the dayes are euill; The holie land lieth open to danger, the Greeke church is departed from vs, Frederic is our aduersarie, then whom none, among the Christian Princes, is mightier, or yet like vnto him: You and we which are the highest of the church are banished from the Papall seat, yea from the Citie it selfe, yea from Italie, Hungarie, and the adiacent prouinces, expect nothing but vster ruin from the Tartarians; Germanie is shaken with ciuile warres; Spaine is growne to that crueltie as to cut off the tongues of Bishops; Fraunce is by vs already brought to pouertie, and hath conspired against vs, and England so oftentimes hurt by our iniuries, as Balaams asse spurred and beaten with a staffe, at last speaketh and speaketh against, and complaineth that shee is overmuch and intollerably wearied, and vnrrestoreably damnified. After the manner of Israhel, being hatefull to all, wee procure all men to hate vs; And when for all that, the Popes mind was not appeased, nor inclined to compassion or humilitie, but was*

was inflamed to punishment and reuenge, there came messengers from England, who mitigated the Popes mind gaping after profit, assuring him, that by his most special friends in England the kings heart was bowed, so that he remitted it to the Clergie to effect his wish, the joy whereof wonderfully calmed his mind and countenance. Yet whilst he waited and expected the same, taking boldnesse of this hope, he commandeth the Prelats of England, *solito imperiosius, more imperiously than he was wont*, That they should cause to be paid him from all benefited persons resident, the third part of their reuenues, and by nonresidents the one halfe, with this detestable clause, *Non obstante, &c. which abolisheth all iustice*. And for to vrge these exactions are sent John and Alexander, Friers Minorites, who armed with Bulls from the Pope, and covering vnder sheepes clothing their woluishe rauening, presented themselues to the king, and with a simple looke, humble countenance, and fawning speech, entreated leaue of the king to wander throughout the Realme, ad opus Domini Papæ charitatem petitori, to demand a charitie for the need of the Pope, promising that they would doe nothing by constraint. But a while after they became proud with the gifts of the Clergie, mounted vpon noble horses, with golden saddles, decked in most costly apparell, and with souldiers shooes, vulgarly called Heufees, shod and spurred after a secular, or rather a prodigall manner; which turned to the hurt and opprobrie of their Order and profession, exercising the office and tyrannie of Legats, and exacting and extorting procurations, and account twentie shillings for a procuracion but a small matter. First then they goe to the chiefest Prelats of England, and shamefully exact money from them for the Popes use, vnder terrible paines, setting too short a time for answer or payment, and shewing the Popes thundering letters, as so many threatening hornes put forth. In so much that the Bishop of Lincolne, who had cuer protected the Order of the Minorites, and was minded to haue made himselfe one of them, seeing such a monstrous transformation, was wholly astonied: and that so much the more, for that they demanded of his only Bishopricke six thousand markes. Neither yet is the Pope moued at the complaint made vnto him thereof at Lyons, but although they appeale vnto him, yet are they constrained with all kind of rigour. But we must bring here the whole Author throughout, if we should set downe all that he saith of these tyrannicall exactions: it sufficeth vs here for conclusion, to shew the description that he maketh of the miserable state of the Church of England vnder Gregorie and Innocent; vnder Gregorie in these words, *In those times faith waxed cold, and scarcely seemed to sparkle, being almost brought to ashes: For simonie was practised without blushing, vsurers openly by diuers occasions did shamelesly extort money from the meaner sort of people: Charitie is dead, the libertie of the Church is withered away, Religion is become vile and base, and the daughter Sion is as a bold-faced harlot, hauing no shame*. And of the Court of Rome he properly speaketh, plentifully setting forth the iniuries thereof, which he concludeth in this one word, *Armas supplicat ense potens. He entreateth vs with a sword set to our throats. It were better for vs to dye, than to see the euils of our nation, & of the Saints. But these are scourges to Englishmen, they hauing committed many offences, and God being angry, maketh the hypocrite raigne, and the tyrann rule for the finnes of the people*. But vnder Innocent, Heu, heu, Alas, alas, now the naturall inhabitants of the kingdome are despised, men holy, learned, and religious; and strangers are intruded, that are unworthie of all honour, altogether ignorant of the letters and language of the countrey, wholly vnprofitable for confessions and preachings, not stayed neither in gestures nor in manners, extorters of money and contemners of soules. In times past holie, religious, and learned, the holie Ghost working with them and inspiring them, were vnwillingly drawne into the Chaires, which now are violently occupied, per fas & nefas,

nefas, by courtiers, wranglers in law, and barbarous. All the houses, of which the election pertaineth to the Pope, are thereby destroyed. Patronage is now a burden, not an honour, a damage, not a profit. O Pope, Father of fathers, why sufferest thou the clamors of Christians to be defiled with such persons? Worthily therefore, worthily being chased from thine owne citie and seat, as another vagabond Cain, thou art forced to banishment, thine enemies prosper, thou fliest before the partakers of Frederick, and they which persecute thee are swift and mightie. Euerie where thy Bulls do shine as lightning against them that obey thee, and is of no esteeme with such as rebell. Prelats are euerie where suspended, that others may be provided of their benefices, which are unworthie, barbarous, and vnknown, who seeke the milke of the sheepe of the Lords fold, sheere them, flea them, and plucke out their bowels. O Lord God of vengeance, when wilt thou sharpen thy sword as lightning, and make it drunke with the bloud of such men?

In France, vnder the raigne of S. Lewis, Innocent spared vs not the more, although he sojourned there: heare what the same Author saith, Hee is no sooner come to Lyons, but without the consent of the Chapter he would giue away the vacant Prebends: the Canons resist him to his face, & threaten those to whom he giues them, That if they came thither the Archbishop should not be able to hinder them from casting them headlong into the riuer Rhosne. But as the matter passed further, others more entermedled in it; For, saith he, all and euerie one saw and perceiued, that the Pope did insatiably gape after money and spoyle, to the damage and impouerishment of many. And many alreadie did not beleue, that he had the same power of binding and loosing as was granted from heauen to S. Peter, being knowne to be altogether vnlike to S. Peter. In France many noblemen conspired against the Pope and the Church, which we neuer remember to haue happened before, as may be seene in this Charter written in the French tongue, which is there at large expressed: the summe of it is this, All the confederats, whose scales did hang at that writing, vnite themselves together for to defend their rights and prerogatiues against the Court of Rome; and there was named for heads of the league, the Duke of Bourgondie, the Earle Perron of Britaine, and the Earles of Angolesme and of S. Paul, who, if any of the league haue need, are to helpe them with necessarie forces; and that, say they, because the Clergie made them of worse condition than the Heathens, of whom God said, Giue vnto Cesar the things that are Cæsars, and vnto God the things that are Gods: and by these new customs abolished their ancient priuiledges, whereas indeed the kingdome had not beene gotten by the pride of the Clergie, but by the souldiers and men of warre. Which when the Pope vnderstood, fearing least that were done by intelligence with Frederick, he thought it his wisest course to content them in their grieuances, and to appease the chiefest by giuing them store of benefices; yet neuerthelesse he sendeth the Friers Preachers and Minors to all the Prelats of France, who require of them to lend him money, promising to restore it them so soone as he should be able to take his breath: But king Lewis suspecting the couetousnesse of the Court of Rome, forbade all the Prelats of his kingdome, vnder paine of loosing all their goods, that none should in any such sort impouerish bis land. And so these sophisticall Legats of the Pope departed out of the kingdome, bisficed at and derided of all men. Yet true it is (saith the Author) that after infinit extortions in France, worthie of eternal silence, the Pope consented to king Lewis, in fauour of his voyage to the Holie land, that he might collect a tenth for three yeares, on condition that himselfe might also for other three yeares following receiue the like; which was with such rigour extorted, that the Churchman that had yearely but twenty shillings comming in, and was readie to perish for hunger, was

constrained, without all pitie, to pay two of them: and of this crueltie he bringeth A many examples. And for that king S. Lewis did permit or tolerate the Pope to make these extortions in his kingdom, it was vndoubtedly beleued, that his voyage to the Holie Land tooke such vnfortunat successe. Now of all these, as we haue abouesaid, these new Friers Preachers and Minorites were the executors, being the Popes ordinarie Publicans or Toll-gatherers, who in the meane time also deuoured one another, *And which is terrible and of vnluckie presage, saith he, no Monasticke Order in the space of three or foure hundred yeares or upward, hath growne so much, and so soone neere a downefall, as is their Order in twentie foure yeres, that their manions were first founded in England. When any great and rich men lye at point of death, they come diligently about them, to draw profit and riches from them, not without B the hurt and hinderance of the Ordinaries, and wrest from them confessions and secret testaments, onely recommending vnto them their Order, and preferring it before all others: So that no faithfull man beleues to be saued, vnlesse he be gouerned by the counsels of the Preachers and Minorites, who are carefull of getting priuiledges, are Counsellors, Chamberlaines, and Treasurers, in the Courts of Kings and Potentates, Paranympes and marriage-makers, executors of the Popes extortions, in their preachings either flatterers or most biting reprobours; and in confessions either disclosers, or vndiscreet reprehenders. Who doth not here perceiue the true picture of the Iesuites? And there he further fettereth downe the great priuiledges giuen by the Pope, for to bee serued of them, which in this and other places may be read. Mathew noteth, That when they had C discouered that the king of Norway was deuout, with great industrie they provided a certaine stone of white marble, which they said they had bought for a great price, wherein they fained was printed the sole of the foot of our Lord ascending vp into heauen: That others of them shewed some of the bloud of Christ, and milke of the Virgine Marie. In those first ages of the Church (gentle Reader) when all things were fresher, how commeth it that there is no speech of any such things? And in the mean time this good Monk addeth, *In these dayes multi generati per incubos, many children were begotten by spirits; which seeing it followeth together in the same place, there is none but may vnderstand what is meant thereby.**

Gregorie attempteth to stretch forth his hands vnto the East parts, and behold D with what successe. By reason of the conquest made of Constantinople by the Western people, the Emperour Baldwin had submitted the Church of Constantinople to that of Rome, in hope to be the better aided of the Pope, for the strengthening of his new Empire, and there rested onely, to agree the controuersies of religion. Therefore Germane Patriarch of Constantinople writeth vnto Gregorie, That he desired nothing more than to enter into conference about them, being readie (old as hee was) to resort to any place where need should be, to that effect: But (saith he) *because no man euer can see the spots of his owne face, vnlesse hee looke himselfe in a glasse, or be certified by some other, whether his face be spotted or not; so we haue many great and shining myrrors, namely, the Gospell of Christ, the Epistles of E the Apostles, and the booke of the Fathers; let vs looke into them, they will shew vs how euerie man beleueth, siue nothē siue legitimē, falsely or truly.* The same also to the Cardinals, but that he passeth further: *There is a scruple of offence bred in our minds, that gaping onely after earthlie possessions yee gather together the gold and the siluer that yee can from any place extort, & yet say yee are the disciples of him (to wit Peter) that said, Siluer and gold haue I none: Yee make kingdomes tributarie vnto you: yee multiplie monyes by negotiations: yee vnteach by your actions that which yee teach with your mouth. Let temperance moderat you, that yee may be to vs and to all the world an example and*

paterne,

A *paterne, &c.* But Gregorie answereth him with his *Tues Petrus*, thinking to put him downe with the onely name of Primacie: And indeed Germane said vnto them, *The diuision of our vnitie proceeded from the tyrannie of your oppression, and of the exacti- ons of the Church of Rome, which of a mother is become a stepdame.* To this Gregorie answereth, That to him alone belongeth the decision of the questions of faith: more- ouer, that to the Pope of Rome belongeth both the swords, *materiall and spirituall, by the testimonie of the Gospell, where it is said, Ecce duo gladij, behold two swords: consider, I pray you, what a goodly course he taketh to conuert the Greeks. These admonitions being heard, but not yielded to, the Grecians submitted not themselves to the Church of Rome, Fortē (saith the Author) tyrannidem & auaritiam ejus pertimes- centes, Fearing perhaps the tyrannie and couetousnesse thereof; the Pope and Cardinalls B hauing a diligent treatie thereupon, they resolute to turne the whole armie of crossed souldiers against them: And a publication thereof being made, many are crossed to goe against the Greekes, and chiefly them of Constantinople. He addeth, *This was the seed of schisme betweene the Roman and the Greeke Church. A certaine Archbishop canonically chosen to a noble Archbishopricke in Greece, went to Rome to be confirmed, but could not obtaine it, vnlesse he would promise infinitum aurum, abundance of money for the same. But hee, without doing any thing, returned, detesting the simonie of the Court, and told it to all the Nobilitie of Greece: And others that had bene at Rome, witnessed the like and worse C actions; and so all, in that Gregories time, departed from the subiectiō of the Church of Rome.* Hereupon the Authour giueth his judgement: *The Greeke Church hauing seene so much malice and oppression, rise up against the Roman, and expelling their Emperour, obeyed onely their Archbishop Germane of Constantinople. Not long after the Patriarch of Antioch also followed the same steps, and proceeded so farre as to excommunicat Gregorie, Solemnely preaching, That he and his Church in time and dignitie was to be preferred before the Pope and the Church of Rome, and that it was more excellent than the Roman Church, because the Apostle Peter had first gouerned with great honour the Church of Antioch the space of seuen yeeres, and there was recei- ued with all due reuerence, and likewise established in the Chaire, whereas at Rome he was manifestly vexed with many iniuries and reproaches, and at length suffered vnder the D Emperour Nero a cruell death, with his fellow Apostle S. Paul, the speciall Doctor of the Gentiles. The power of binding and loosng he rather bestowed on the Greeke than on the Roman Church, which is now manifestly defamed with the spots of simonie, vsurie, couetousnesse, and other enormities. And these things passed in the East.**

What shall we say then, if the Romans themselves haue not been able to hold their peace? When Gregorie went about to excommunicat them, they spake against him, maintaining, That for no cause the citie ought to be subiect to his interdict: And the Pope replied, *That he was lesse than God, but greater than any man whatsoeuer, therefore greater than any citizen, yea than any King or Emperour.* Secondly, the Magistrats and Senators exacted a yearely tribute of the Roman Church, E which they of new and ancient right were euer in perpetuall possession of, vntill Gregories time. He answered, That this was a free gift which the Church vnder persecution was wont to giue for to redeeme their peace, which ought not grow into a custome, seeing for so many ages there had bene no persecution at Rome, but that which the Popes themselves vsed against others. If this right had had none other foundation, who can doubt, but that many ages afore that, they would haue exclaimed against it, and abolished it. Thirdly, the Romans extended their countie or bounds of their iurisdiction, so that they included therein Viterbe, Montalto, and other towns & castles, whic hwere pretended to belong to the Church.

He

He answered, That this was to vsurpe another mans right, and that Christ on the A
 crosse by his blond had made the citie of Rome so free, that the gates of hell could nothing
 preuaile against it. Note, gentle Reader, the pleasant diuinitie of this Pope. For
 these causes therefore contentions being debated betweene the Pope and the Ro-
 mans, he with his Cardinals depart the citie, and withdraw themselues to Perou-
 sa; thence he thundereth forth an excommunication against them: whence came
 (as the same Author saith) warres, and many conflicts, and great effusion of Chri-
 stian blood for many yeares. And for this cause Innocent his successor set no firme
 footing at Rome, but assigned a Councell at Lyons; and also by his Embassadors
 requested Henrie the third, king of England, That he might with his good leaue
 soiourne at Bourdeaux, because the brethren of king S. Lewis (being prisoner a B
 mong the Infidels) did vehemently presse him to make peace with Frederick. But
 the wisest men of England (saith Mathew) feared such a guest, Because from thence
 he might soone passe by ship into England, and by his presence make it worse, and defile it.
 And this is that which Cardinall Iohn the Cistercian Monke said, in his admoniti-
 on to Innocent, about recited, *We are in exile, chased from the Papall seat, from Rome it
 selfe, yea and from Italie.*

But as in Germanie their venome did chiefly spread it selfe, so it is worthe our
 obseruation, to see what strong resistance the force of nature made against that
 strange force. And Gregorie the ninth (as we haue seene) had taken vpon him to
 ruinate Frederick; not forbearing to say, that the Empire of Germanie flourished C
 more than was for his profit: But saith Auentine, that could not well be brought
 to passe by the means of the Bishops of Germanie, and the reasons are these,
 Because they were then yet vniuersally giuen to the loue of artes, and of the common
 good, and not subiect to seruitude; not, as now, shunning labours, and giuen to sloth, idle-
 nesse and pleasures; they applied themselues to wisdom, in study on bookes, in louing
 Christ, and diligent feeding their sheepe; they tooke care of the Common-wealth, and pro-
 uided for Christian preaching. The Ecclesiasticall dignities of these men, were first conser-
 ued vpon them by our Emperors and Princes: then, from the time of the Emperour Henry
 the first, the Clergie and people being assembled, and suffrages by each man particularly gi-
 uen, they were chosen, with the ioint consent of the people and all the Priests, the common D
 Pastours of soules; and at length, in the time of this Frederick the second, by the Clergie
 alone, the people excluded. For which causes the Bishops of those times, in their titles, be-
 ginnings of Epistles, and Decrees, did not write Apostolicæ sedis gratia, that is to say,
 By the fauour of man, as now they doe: but after the manner of S. Paul, sola miseratio-
 ne diuina, By the only mercy of God, they acknowledged they had receiued that gift and
 office, &c. Wherefore Gregorie would take away and make void this order, and subuert
 this authoritie of Bishops, and reduce all things to the power of one man; neither could he
 otherwise oppresse Frederick, whom they openly proclaimed their most deare and most pi-
 ous Prince, and seemed they would in no wise forsake him, matters remaining as they did. E
 The Emperour then (saith the Authour) after he had appeased the rebellion of
 Austria, came to winter at Turin, and Gregorie by the counsaile of one Mathew a
 preaching Frier (for there is nothing that such sort of men will not undertake) entred
 into a league with Iames Tiepoli Duke of Venice, hauing allured into the same con-
 federacie the Bishops of Milan, Bononia, Bresse, and others of Lombardie, ouer
 whom was appointed Generall, Gregorie de Montelongo, that they might breake
 forth into open rebellion, vpon the first occasion offered. And least Frederick
 should receiue aid from Germanie, he won the Germane Princes and Captaines,
 according as he vnderstood they were led with couetoufnesse or ambition, in di-
 stributing

Auent. l. 7.
 Annal. Boiorum

tributing vnto them the Tenthes and other Ecclesiasticall goods, for to engage
 them against their Bishops: and did so much by the cunning practises of himselfe
 and of the Preaching Friars, that working vpon the passions and naughtie affecti-
 ons of men, he brought a good part of Germanie to sheath their swords in their
 owne bowels. Wherefore, things thus set in order, he proceedeth to excommu-
 nicate Frederick, and vnder pretence of zeale, the conspirators of Italy take armes;
 at the same time assemble the troupes of Germanie, assisted with his Legats, men
 of chiefe authoritie, but particularly pricked forwards by one Albert Behan, a no-
 ble Churchman, factious and learned, to whom he had committed the care of the
 whole businesse for foure yeares, hauing first by oth secretly bound him vnto him,
 and armed him to that end with three Bulls. The first was an inuectiue against Fre-
 derick, a Prince (as it said) beleeuing amisse concerning Christ, hauing none other
 drift than to ouerthrow Christian Religion, which that he may more easily effect,
 he laboureth to bring the Pope and Cardinalls into extreame pouertie. The se-
 cond contained an interdiction of Diuine seruice to all the followers of Frederick,
 and pronounced all his officers, vassalls and subiects, absolved from their oth of fi-
 delitie. The third, a prohibition, that no man of what qualitie or condition soe-
 uer, should assist him in deed, word, or will, vnder paine of eternall damnation.
 And he fortified these Bulls with gifts, benefices, and dignities, for to corrupt and
 win more easily the Counsellors & Secretaries of Princes, according as he knew
 each man more or lesse capable of this seruice. And here Auentine declareth par-
 ticularly all the circumstances. Thus at length this mightie rebellion in Germany
 brake forth; and at the same time were these Bulls carried about by the Preaching
 Friars. But on the other part Conrade sonne of Frederick calleth to him all the
 good men, and inuitheth the faithfull Princes and cities of the Empire to their due-
 tie, and setteth himselfe to a defence. Of all the Bishops to whom those Bulls came,
 not any one obeyed the Pope, and of all the Abbots as few: they all were astonied
 at this noueltie, all are inflamed with anger, all protest publicly, That the Pope hath
 in Germanie no right, without the consent of the Bishops of Germanie. Let the Bishop
 of Rome (say they) feed his Italians: We being ordained of God dogs of the flocke, will keepe
 away the wolues that come couered in sheepes skinner. Learne hence what this counter-
 feit Vicar would doe to others, when he beareth himselfe thus towards his brethren and
 colleagues. And in like manner said Sigefride Bishop of Ratisbone, and others, in a
 solemne sermon before Otho Duke of Bauaria, promising at their owne charges
 euerie yeare to maintaine six hundred horsemen for the excellent, most Christian, and most
 pious Emperour Frederick. So Conrade Bishop of Frisingen, so Eberard of Saltzburg,
 and Radiger Bishop of Bathaw or Passaw, in so much that he gaue a boxe on the
 care to him that deliuered him those Bulls in the temple, and cast him into prison;
 wherefore they all declared that Albert (and in him the Pope himselfe) to be an ene-
 mie of the Christian Common-wealth, a disturber of peace, a most dangerous hypocrite, and
 a false Prophet. Neither yet is Eberard content with this, he reconcileth Frederick
 of Austria with the Emperour; and the Pope excommunicateth this Prince of
 Austria, but Eberard presently absoluth him, and moreouer, writeth to Otho Duke
 of Bauaria, That he could doe nothing more acceptable to God, than to expell
 that Albert, a serpent in his bosome, out of his dominions. Also the Bishop of
 Bamberge taketh the messengers of Albert and strippeth them: the Bishop of
 Brixen stoppeth the passages of the Alps, to the end that none might go to Rome:
 the same did also the Bishop of Alteich, whom he had excommunicat for pray-
 ing to God for Frederick. In a word, All the Bishops not onely called his commaunde-
 ments

ments into doubt, but as a hater of Christian concord, and as a most pernicious arch here-
 tike throughout the religions of all Priests and Monkes, excommunicat him, and declare
 him worse than the Turkes, Jewes, Saracens, or Tartarians, published with a loud voyce,
 That such things were done by the Pope among Christians, against diuine and humane
 right, against the lawes, against the Commaundements, against the law of nations, and
 the doctrine of Christ, as would not be committed among the most cruell Tartarians. It
 came so farr, that the Bishops of Ratisbone and of Bathaw led ironpes of crossed soul-
 diers against Albert. Wherefore the Duke of Bauaria himselfe, with whom he
 was retired, began to faint, especially vpon the receipt of the Emperour Freder-
 ricks letters out of Italie, by which he was commaunded to chase him away as
 guiltie of high treason. All which the Pope was aduertised of by a deuout old
 woman named Katherine Begute, and a certaine young stripling called Henrie, of
 tentimes sent from Albert into Italie. In this extremitie they haue recourse to su-
 perstition: Agnes the Dukes wife was religious (he might haue said more truly su-
 perstitious:) Albert deceiueth her by Henrie the Dukes Secretarie; Prouost of
 Munster, and Theodorick Otholim her household Chaplaine, they affirming vnto her,
 That on the feast eue of Saint Philip and Iacob, whilest they were in their quiet sleepe, they
 saw twice a sword let downe from heauen to Albert, the Virgine mother of God and the
 Apostles of Tuoric, with inscription in letters of gold, That they approued and confirmed
 all the actions of Albert, and made themselues authors of all that he should take in hand.
 Whereupon he boldly commaunded the Bishops of Ausbourg and of Eichstat,
 That they should deprive from the communion of the Church, all the cities of
 their diocesses that had sent men of warre to Frederick: but none obeyeth him.
 Then he calleth them together to Landshut, yet no man also appeareth. At last
 the Pope in his fauour fendeth to the Canons and religious persons, that they
 should chuse themselues other Prelats: neither are yet these any thing moued.
 He citeth to Rome out of euerie diocesse, them that Albert designed vnto him:
 but no man prepareth himselfe to goe thither. In the meane time Eberard Archbi-
 shop of Saltzbourg, and Radiger Bishop of Bathaw, goe to Orho Duke of Baua-
 ria, admonish him of his duetic, promise him the Emperours fauour, and intreat
 him to be present in their assemblie at Ratisbone, there with a great number of
 Bishops to treat of the affaires of the Commonwealth; which he granted them.
 Then Eberard Archbishop of Saltzbourg opened his bosome in an Oration, which
 we haue at length set downe in Auentine, where after he hath said vnto them for
 Preface, That Christ had left vnto vs for his badge, whereby we may be discerned
 from others, the duetic of loue and peace; He earnestly also, saith he, admonisheth
 vs, that we should auoid false Christs and false Prophets, who covered with sheepes skins,
 that is, vnder the name of a Christian, and title of Pope, seeke to haue dominion ouer vs,
 and delude vs. whom he teacheth vs to know by their thornes and workes, namely, cou-
 tiousnesse, excesse, contention, hatred, enuie, warres, discord, desire of domination, ambi-
 tion, with what words could the Emperour of heauen more plainly haue demonstrated vnto
 vs the Scribes and Pharises of Babylon? If we be not blind we may discern vnder the
 title of Soueraigne Bishop, in Pastors clothing, a most cruell wolfe. The Bishops of Rome
 take armes against all Christians, make themselues great by presuming, deceiuing, and
 sowing warre out of warre: They kill the sheepe, destroy peace, drine concord out of the
 land, draw out of hell civile warres and domestick seditions, &c. They prouide not for their
 flocke after the manner of a Bishop, but rather after the manner of tyrans they licentious-
 ly rage in crueltie. Iustice goeth to nothing; but impietie, couctousnesse, desire of honours,
 loue of money, and lust, grow apace, &c. And here he amplifieth his discourse vpon
 this

A this confusion of things: Hildebrand about an hundred and seuentie yeares agoe, vnder
 shew of religion, first laid the foundation of the Empire of Antichrist, first began the hor-
 rible warre which his successors haue continued euer since till now. At first they exclu-
 ded the Emperour from the election of Popes, and transported it to the people and Clergie:
 And afterwards hauing had both these in mockerie and scorne, they now also labour to
 constraine vs to subiection and seruitude, that they may raigne alone, and being now de-
 lighted with the custome of commaund, and hauing often weighed their owne and their
 aduersaries forces, they vse the specious colour of Ecclesiasticall libertie, for an occasion of
 violently taking to them domination, and of oppressing Christian libertie. Beleeue him
 that hath experience of it, They will not cease till they haue brought the Emperour un-
 der, dispatated the honour of the Roman Empire, oppressed the true Pastors which feed, ta-
 ken away the dogs that can bark, that after this manner they may extinguish and destroy
 all things. They would therefore confound all things together in vprores, yet euen in de-
 spite they contend for dominion. Paul the storehouse of Philosophie commaundeth, Be yee
 subject one to another in the feare of Christ, &c. That supreme Maestie tooke vpon him
 the forme of a seruant, that he might serue his Disciples, and wash their feet. The Bishops
 of Babylon couet to raigne alone, they cannot endure any equall: They will not giue ouer
 till they haue troden all things vnder their feet, and sit in the Temple of God, and be exal-
 ted aboue all that is worshipped: Their hungering after riches, and thirsting after honors,
 cannot be filled; the more is giuen them, the more they desire; reach to them a finger and
 they will couet the whole hand. This seruant of seruants coueteth, like as if hee were a
 God, to be Lord of Lords: He despiseth the sacred assemblies and Councils of his brethren,
 yea of his Lords: He feareth least he should be constrained to render an account of those
 things that he doth, daily more and more, against lawes and commaundements, ingentia
 loquitur, he speaketh great things, as if he were a God; meditateth new counsels in his
 breast, that he might get an Empire to himselfe: He changeth the lawes, establisheth his
 owne: He polluteeth, seareth a funder, spoyleth, defraudeth, killeth. This is that sonne of
 perdition (whom we call Antichrist) in whose forehead is written this name of contume-
 lie, I am God, I cannot erre. He sitteth in the Temple of God, and hath dominion farre
 and wide: but as it is in the mysterie of holie Scriptures, Let him that readeth vnder-
 stand, The learned shall vnderstand, but all the wicked shall doe wickedly, and shall not vnder-
 stand. And here he briefly noteth vnto them, what of these things is said in
 the Reuelation, which he applieth to the present state of the world, and chiefly to
 the corruption of Rome: then by and by after hee saith, The Emperour is but a
 vaine name, and onely a shadow. There are ten kings likewise which haue diuided the
 whole earth (sometime the Roman Empire) not for to gouerne, but to consume it. The
 tenne hornes (which seemed incredible to Saint Augustine) to wit, the Turkes, Grecians,
 Egyptians, Africans, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans, Sicilians, and Ita-
 lians, possesse the Roman Prouinces, and in these failed the Roman Colonies: And the lit-
 tle horne (alluding to the place of Daniel) hauing growne vp vnder these, which hath
 eyes, and a mouth speaking great things; holdeth vnder, and constraineth to serue him the
 three kingdomes especially of Sicilie, Italie, and Germanie, vexeth the people of
 Christ and Saints of God with an intollerable domination, confoundeth together di-
 uine and humane things, and enterpriseth most wicked and execrable things. What is
 more cleerely manifest than this Prophecie? All the signes and prodigies which that our
 heauenly Master hath aduertised vs of, are already come to passe, &c. If this fire bee not
 quenched it will burne the whole world. It becommeth him that first kindled it to quench
 it, by the ruine of that monster which hitherto hath laine hid at Landshut in the towne
 of Boior, to the great danger of Christians. And at length concludeth, That this Al-
 bert

bert the Popes incendiarie, as a pestilent fellow and a Serpent, should be banished by the Duke. And hereupon, by the joynt consent of the whole assemblie, without doubt approving those speeches, sentence of procription was giuen against him and his; and about this time Gregorie died.

Innocent the fourth succeedeth, who (as aboue is shewed) left nothing vnattempted against Frederic, and opposed against him two Emperours one after another created at his pleasure. Albert also continueth constant in his seruice, till he was taken by Otho Duke of Bauaria in the towne of Pathaw, which with many others he had moued to rebellion against him, and being presently conuicted of perjurie, sacriledge, treacherie and impietic, by his commaundement is fled aliue. About the same time died Sigefride Bishop of Ratisbone, and Eberard of Saltzbourg. Innocent ordained for successour of Sigefride, one Burchard de Zighenbahgen, and of Eberard one Albert Pitogius. And when they of Saltzbourg refused Burchard, he accepteth of Philip the Dukes sonne of Carinthia, whom they had chosen, but on this condition, that they should excommunicat Otho, vnlesse he renounced Fredericks part; a part that seemed to be weakened by so many rebellions he had stirred vp in diuers parts in Germanie. Otho on the contrarie, declareth vnto the bishops and Prelats of the prouince, assembled in Synod at Myldorff; *Yee haue preached vnto me (saith he) that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist, and I haue left the sect of the chiefe Priest to take part with the Emperour, yee haue persuaded me to it, I concluded peace with you, and now againe warre better pleaseth you, yee are more variable and mutable than an ordinarie man. Why doe yee so fondly delude the Christian people with your childish sentence, &c. I appeale vnto Christ our sauour, who had foretold vs, that we must keepe our selues from such Pharises, and promiseth to blesse your cursings: So that whilest of you we are condemned, of Christ our Lord and God we are absolved. Whom will the wicked and impious hands of this sacriligeous kind of men abstaine from, which haue not spared Christ our Sauour? And who is he that burned such like Priests aliue, with their wiues and children, and by that famous act made so pleasing a sacrifice to God, that he obtayned the kingdome of Palestina for himselfe and his posteritie? Alluding hereby to Iehu king of Israell. This being sayd, Otho departed, and hauing joynd his forces with Conrade, the Emperours sonne, goeth to besiege Dornberg. The Prelats assembled at Myldorff, concluding his words to be true, determine to win his fauour, and giue him absolution of the Popes excommunication. And this then was the judgement they made of the Pope in Germanie.*

Hither might be referred many things out of the Epistles of Peter de Vineis, Chauncellour of Frederic, but which may be thought to proceed from passion in the heat of contention betweene the Popedome and the Empire. There doth Frederic reprove the Pope, how vnlike or rather contrarie he is, by the testimonie of all men, to S. Peter; That the Pharises sat in Moyses chaire; That hee was excommunicated of the Pope, by a key manifestly erring, without hauing heard him; That the Pope, contrarie to Saint Peter, adoreth his bellie and his money, gapeth onely after richnesse, and continually seeketh whom hee may deuoure; That, contrarie to Christ, he preacheth nothing but warre, and thinketh he is in the world for none other end; Then he exclaimeth, *And when this gluttonous bellie and stomacke is full gorged with wine, then thou thinkest that thou sittest on the wings of the wind; Then the Empire of the Romans pertaineth vnto thee, then the kings of the earth bring thee gifts, then the wine maketh thee admirable armies, then all the Nations of the earth serue thee. Let the Church our mother weepe, for that the Pastour of the Lords stocke is become a rauens Wolfe, eating up the fattest of the stocke, nor*

Petrus de Vineis
lib. 1. Epist. ca. 1.

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A binding up that which is broken, nor setting in ioynt that which is loosed; but as a louer of Schisme, a principall author of scandall, and father of fraud, against the Lawes and honor of the Roman Emperour, he defendeth heretikes; The Lombards and men of Milan, who then in great number professed the doctrine of the Waldenses; which that zealous man little regarded, so that he might bring his owne purposes to passe; and in the meane time he leaueth Hierusalem to destruction, and the land of God subiect to dogs, and tributarie to Saracens, whilest he troubleth that great Emperour, and maketh the wayes of Sea and land cumbersome and dangerous; the impious enimie Herod, the stone of offence. In the letters also of Frederic to the Christian Princes, he feareth not to call the Pope, hypocrite, Apostata, the old serpent, which conuerteth the fruit of iustice into bitternesse, a Pharise annointed with the oyle of wickednesse about his fellowes, the beast arising out of the Sea, full of names of blasphemie, and like vnto a Leopard, the beast of which in the Apocalyps, there went out another horse, red, and he that sat thereon tooke peace from the earth that the liuing might kill one another; The Angell sat thereon tooke peace from the earth that the liuing might kill one another; The Angell comming forth of the bottomelesse pit, which filleth Sea and land with bitternesse, the great Dragon that seduceth the whole world, the Antichrist foretold should come, another Balaamed with reward to curse vs, a Prince by the Princes of darkenesse, which hath abused the prophetes, whose Cardinals are called sonnes of Belial; Sathan is in the middest of them, for to serue them. Yet no man can impute to Frederic the opinions of the Albigenes, seeing that in many places he inuiceth against them, and stirreth vp the Popes to destroy them; yet he giueth them a testimonie much contrarie to the looffe wantonnesse by their aduerfaries objected vnto them, when he describeth them to be, prodigall of their life, and constantly vndergoing martyrdome, et quod est, saith he, ipso dicto durissimum, superstites etiam non terrentur exemplo, and which is euery hard to be spoken, they which suruiue them are nothing terrified with their example. Now there was giuen vnto them diuers names according to their teachers, for to make the more odious. Among these Epistles also we read one of Philip king of Fraunce, sonne of S. Lewis, written to the Cardinals of the Church of Rome; the Sea vacant, who, by reason of the ambition of parts in chusing the Pope, could not agree, out of which may easily be gathered, what judgement the French church had then of the Roman; though otherwise not verie fauourable to the Emperor Frederic or his cause: Behold, saith he, the noble Citie of Rome liueth without an head, which hath bin the head of others. But what hath prouoked them to discord? the couetousnesse of gold, and ambition of dignities. For they consider not what is expedient, but what is their owne will. They prefer their own particular profit before the general, & vnduely prefer profit before honestie. How then will they gouerne others, that cannot gouerne themselves? who doe good to their enemies and hurt themselves, and doe nothing profitabell for themselves? The Court of Rome was wont in times past to shine in honestie, knowledge, good manners and vertue; and was not moued with the treat of fortune, because they placed their refuge more firmly in vertue, than in chance. But now they are beaten downe in aduersitie, and exalted in prosperitie; and it may be called non curia, sed cura, marcam desiderans, plus quam Marcum, more desirous of a marke (of siluer) than of Saint Marke (of the Gospell) or of taking a Salmon, than of reading Salomon. Then declaring vnto them, how great wisdom was necessarie in this election; But, saith he, we may not forget, that wisdom is for euill, when they which desire honour, doe shun the burthen of it; desire to be chiefe rulers, and neglect the profit of their subiects; shie care and labour, and giue themselves to sleepe and lust, and are delighted with playes and banquetts. Such Pastors truly, are not Pastours, but may be called most impious Wolues, by whose perfidious deauiling, our holie mother Church is trodden under foot, saith consumed, hope taken away

Petrus de Vineis
Ep. 13. 14. 15.
16. 17. 18. 20.
21. 31. 34.

Epist. 26. & 27.
lib. 2.

Epist. 35. 1. 1.

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and charitie rooted out. Wherefore he concludeth, *Keepe the truth, feare God, resisting A*
naughtinesse manfully, whereunto yee ouer much submit your necks, & vltra, and more yet,
but we will not say it, least perhaps we arrogantly seeme to set our mouth against heauen,
&c. Thus spake our *Philip*. In the same Authour is also read an Epistle, in which
 the Sacerdotal Order complaineth of the Friers Preachers, who were in that time
 crept in: *we are constrained to lay open by a lamentable complaint, the disordered Order,*
which hath becne brought in in contempt of vs, and to the scandall of all; whereby in ma-
king beleue that the force of faith groweth, error wiseth, and matter of dissention is
propagated. Then he declareth, How the Predicant Friers and Minorites hauing con-
cerned a hatred and rancour against them, haue depraued their life and wicked conuersati-
on by preaching and haue diminished their rights, in so much that they are already B
brought to nothing; and they which in times past haue gouerned kings in regard of their
office, are now in opprobrie and derision, and their most famous praise is turned into a sa-
ble to all flesh. Then by what means the said Friers, thrusting their hands by little and
little into other mens harvest, haue supplanted the Clergie in euerie dignitie, and haue ty-
ed to themselves all the force and authoritie of Clericall ministerie; so that these cannot
line being deprived of their due tythes and offerings, vlesse they betake themselves to
some worke, or to mechanick arts, or else to unlawfull gaines. What remaineth, but that
their Churches, builded to the honour of God and the Saints, utterly go to ruine, in which
resteth nothing for seruice or ornament, but some little bell and old Image soiled ouer with
dust? But these Preachers and Minorites, saith he, yea rather our Prelats and better, C
began with cottages, but since haue erected Princelie Palaces of curious workmanship, the
expences whereof should haue beene employed for the poore. And they which in their first
rising, and beginning of their religion, hauing laid aside pride, seemed to tread vnder feet
the glorie of the world, now take againe Pride, and embrace the glorie they had formerly
troden on: These men, while they haue nothing possest all things, and wanting riches,
are richer than the rich; and we which are said to haue something, are hegger. And
they conclude with this supplication to the Emperour, That hee would remedie
the same the soonest that might be, least (say they) the streame of hatred increasing
betweene vs and the said Friers, fasth suffer thereby shipwracke, whence it is thought to
take growth.

Neither wanted there of all nations diuers excellent persons, which obtained
 the same things: *William* Bishop of *Paris* in his booke of the *Collation of benefi-*
ces, speaking of the Clergie of his time, in them (saith he) appeareth neither piety nor
 learning, but rather diuellish uncleannesse, monstrousnesse of all filthinesse & vices: their
 finnes are not simply finnes, but most horrible maners of sins: They are not the Church,
 but *Babylon*, *Egypt*, and *Sadome*; Prelats that build not the Church, but destroy it, and
 mocke God, and with other Priests they prophane and pollute the bedde of *Christ*: Prelats
 that honour with Ecclesiasticall dignities the members of the diuell, and enemies of God,
 they restore *Lucifer* into the heauen of the Church of *Christ*. He often particularly
 noteth, That among the Papists (that is, the Popes parasites) are some such indis-
 tritious fowlers of benefices, that one man hath caught to himselfe to the number
 of an hundred, either Prebends or Canonries; and there was found one that had
 feuen hundred. *Casarius* also telleth vs of another *William* surnamed *Goldsmith*,
 who in that same time made a treatise, wherein he proued the Pope to bee *Anti-*
christ, the Prelats to be his members, and *Rome* to be *Babylon*. And in *England*
Robert Bishop of *Lincolne* is commended for a man of great pietie and learning,
 famous also for his knowledge of the tongues: Hee went to *Rome* for to bring
 the Monkes of his diocesse to a better discipline: To that Court (saith *Masheu*)
 which

Casarius in Dia-
logr distinct. 10.

Matth. Paris
in Compend.
Historie Angl.
An. 1250.

which as a gulfe hath power and custome to swallow up the reuenues, and almost all things
 whatsoeuer the Bishops and Abbots possesse (for they obtaine of the Pope whatsoe-
 euer they will for money:) This Bishop therefore complaineth to the Pope of it,
 I thought, my Lord (saith he) by your counsell and helpe to chastise all them that I haue
 complained of, and to bring them backe from their error; but they, pro dolor, for ma-
 ney haue redeemed themselves. The Pope answereth, Brother, thou hast deliuered thy
 soule, what is my grace to thee? We haue giuen them grace. And so being returned in-
 to *England*, he opposeth himselfe against the Popes extortions in *England*; for
 which he is excommunicated, and dyeth in excommunication, disputing euen to
 his last gaspe, That the Pope straying from justice and truth, is worse than *Lucifer*
 and *Antichrist*, and appealeth from the Popes excommunication to the judge-
 ment of *Christ*. There is read a certaine sermon of his, de *Pace*, of *Peace*, which
 he made before the Pope; where after he hath described and bewayled the wic-
 ked Pastors, that haue no care of their sheepe, authors of schismes, heresies, and
 infidelities, he stoutly maintaineth, That seeing the principall worke of *Christ*, for
 which he came into the world, is the quickening of *Sauls*; and *Sathans* proper worke in-
 uented by him, as being a murderer from the beginning, is the killing and mortification
 of soules, those Pastors which put on the person of *Christ*, and preach not the word of God,
 although they adde thereto name others wickednesse, are *Antichrists* and *Sathans* transfor-
 med into Angels of light, theeues and robbers, killers and destroyers of the sheepe, ma-
 king the house of prayers a denne of thieues. But they also adde all kind of perauersion.
 Their pride doth euer most manifestly show it false, and their greedie conuersione, so
 that now is fulfilled the voyce of the Prophet, which saith, Euerie man declineth after
 his conetousnesse, following the gaine of euarice, and cannot be satisfied, &c. And here
 he largely discourseth of them: But (saith he) what is the first cause and original of this
 great euil? I must vehemently tremble and feare to say it, yet I dare not hold my peace, least
 I should fall into that *Vx* of the Prophet, *Woe to me*, because I haue held my peace, because I
 am a man of polluted lips: The cause, spring, and original hereof is this Court, not onely
 because it purgeth not these abominations forth of it, when it alone may and is bound to
 doe it; but further in that by provisions, dispensations, and collations, it ordaineth to pasto-
 rall charge, such Pastors as wee haue before touched, which are rather betrayers of the
 world, and that in sight of this Sunne. But of this we are to speake more hereafter, in
 following the historie of *Innocent* the fourth.

There is read an Epistle published in *England* about the same time, bearing
 this title, *De extrema exilatione Anglia per Papam effects*. Of the extreme pillage
 made by the Pope in *England*; wherein the Authour hauing particularly reckoned
 vp all his extortions, at length bursteth forth into these words, Shall wee compare
 him to king *Nabuchadnozoz*, who destroyed the Temple of the Lord, and carried away
 the gold and silver vessels? For what he had done this man doth also: and hee spoiled
 the ministers of the house of God, and made it destitute of due ayd, the same doth this man
 also. Surely better is the condition of them that dye by the sword, than of them which are
 killed with hunger; because the first dye presently, but these are consumed by the barren-
 nesse of the earth. And euer and anon he vseth this versicle, Let all that passe by,
 daughter, haue pittie on thee, for there is no sorrow like vnto thine: For already through
 too much sorrow, and ouer much shedding of teares, thy face is made blacker than coles, so
 that thou art no more knowne in the streets. Thy foresaid superiours (meaning the Pope)
 hath set thee in darkenesse, he hath made thee drunke with gall and wormewood. Heave O
 Lord, the affliction of thy people, and their groanes, behold and come downe, for the heart
 of this man is hardened more than the heart of *Pharaoh*, he will not let thy people goe free,
 but

but by the strength of thy arme: For he doth not onely exact miserably about the earth, but after death; because what Christians soever dye intestat, he deuoureth their goods after their departure, &c. Least therefore thy daughter be brought to longer miserie, it is expedient that the mightie men of the kingdome resist the imaginations, conspiracies, pride, and arrogancie of this man, who not for the contemplation of God, but for the foresaid respects, and for to enrich his kinsmen, and feather his owne nest, extorteth by a kind of new principalitie all the monney of England. And thou (speaking to the Pope) take heed to the words of the Lord, and prophesie of Ieremie (to beat downe such proceedings) which say, Thou Pastor, which hast dispersed my people, and cast them forth of their habitations, behold I will visit upon thee the malice of thy designs, neither shall there be a man of thy seed to sit upon the throne of Dauid, or haue further power in Iuda: let thy nest be made desart and overthrowne as Sodome and Gomorra. And if terrified with these sayings he giue not ouer his enterprises, and make not restitution, then, his heart being wickedly hardened, let them sing for him the hundred and eighth Psalm. This is that Psalme of Dauid full of all sorts of imprecations against a most desperat and reprobate enemy of God and Christ, and is interpreted by S. Peter to be a figure of Iudas. This is with the Hebrewes the hundred and ninth. Neither is it needfull we should adde any thing here of Mathew Paris, a Monke of S. Albans, a notable English Historiographer, seeing it is ynough manifest out of diuers places aboue cited, what was his judgement of the Church of Rome; it is ordinarie with him to say, *That the couetousnesse thereof is growne so insatiable, confounding diuine and humane things, that hauing laid aside all shame, as a common and shamelesse strumpet set to sale to all men, she deemeth vsurie a small fault, and simonie none at all.*

All this time the Waldenses, or Albigenses, continued in Dauphinie, Languedoc, and Guienne, and in all those mountaines which reach from the Alpes to the Pyrenean. These had some release and respite of breathing vnder S. Lewis, who molested them not, but in as much as they were subiects of Reymund Earle of Thoulouse, who had warre with the Earle of Prouence his father in law, whom he was bound to succour: but the warre being ended, they maintained their religion principally in those mountaines. But they had spread themselues verie much in other places, for in Germanie were a great number of their Preachers, who at the sound of a bell, hauing called the Barons, preached in publica statione, in a publike place, That the Pope was an heretike, his Prelats tainted with simonie, and seducers: That they had no power to bind and loosse, neither yet to interdict the diuine seruice, or the vse of the Sacraments: That those their Friars Preachers and Minorites, by their false sermons peruerced the Church: That the truth was held and preached onely among them: And that although they had not come, God would haue raised vp others euen of the verie stones, for to enlighten the Church by their preaching, rather than he would haue suffered faith vterly to perish: *Our Preachers (say they) haue till this time preached, and haue buried the truth and published full bood: We on the contrarie preach the truth, and burie full bood, and in the end giue vnto you not a fained or inuented remission from the Pope or Bishops, but from God alone, and according to our calling.* In which words Krantzzius expresth their doctrine, though verie contrarie vnto them. Mathew Paris saith further, That they spread themselues so farre as into Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and there tooke such such root, that they drew vnto them many Bishops: And thither came one Bartholomew from Carcassonne in the countrey of Narbon in Fraunce, vnto whom they all flocked, who in his letters wrot himselfe Bartholomew seruant of the seruants of the holie faith: and he created Bishops, and ordained Churches. These

Krantzius l. 3.
c. 18. in Metro-
pol. & Saxon. l.
8. c. 16.

words are taken out of the letter that the Cardinall of Port, the Popes Legat, wrot to the Archbishop of Rouan, full of abashment; and he calleth him Anti-Pope, without imputing vnto him any other crime or doctrine, namely because this Bartholomew reestablished the order of the Church a new in those Countries, and laboured to set true Pastors in the places of the false. And the Cardinall commanded the Archbishop to be present in a Synod holden in the Citie of Sens, to giue counsell in a businesse of that importance, otherwise he threatned he would signifie his disobedience to the Pope. This was about the yeare 1220 vnder Honorius the third; and it must needs be, that they haue largely multiplied since, for the same Author telleth vs, that in a certaine part of Germanie, vnder Gregorie the ninth, a great number of them were enclosed in a place, with marish on the one side and the Sea on the other, where they were all slaine. At the same time also in Spaine they ordayned Bishops, which preached the same doctrine, though the aduerfaries faine lies of the same at their owne pleasure, for to make them the more odious. But we cannot be ignorant what manner of doctrine it was, partly by their confession, and partly by the acts of iudgement passed against them. We read of one Robert Bulgarus, who was fallen away from them, and became a Iacobin Frier, & wholly gaue himself to persecute them, & in Flanders especially deliuered vp many vnto the fire. But he being found to abuse his power, and that he imputed crimes vnto them, of which they were clearely innocent, hee is presently discharged of his office, and beeing found guiltie of many crimes, which (saith the Auhour) it is better to conceale than to speake of, is condemned to perpetuall prison. Let the Reader iudge, considering the furious rage wherewith they were transported against these men, whether as well their innocencie, as that mans filthinesse be not hence manifestly and sufficiently proued. In Lombardie at last they were very greatly multiplied, when in the yeare 1229, at the instance of the Popes Legat it is ordayned, that they should be banished both out of Cities and Countries, their houses rased, their goods confiscat, & they which receiued them put to a great fine; and in the Citie of Milan is appointed in euery quarter two Friars Preachers and Minorites, who in the authoritie of the Archbishop should make enquire after them, and take care that hauing taken them and deliuered them to the Gouvernour, they should be, at the charges of the Commonwealth, carried whether the Archbishop should appoint; when also the Emperour Frederick, in the yeare 1225 in the letters he wrote to Gregorie, complaineth that they encreased, imo siluescant, yea grew vp to a Forrest; In Italie and in the Cities began alreadie to choke the good come (so spake he according to the stile of the time;) And to conclude, when the truce being made betwene Gregorie and Frederick, from which them of Milan were excluded, that they might iustifie themselues to each other, and gratifie one the other, they tooke a great number of these poore men, whom they offered vp in sacrifice by putting them to death. Wherunto may be added also that which an ancient writer of those times wrot of the Waldenses, that in the only valley Camonica they had tenne schooles; as also that of Petrus de Vineis in his Epistles, that their little riuers streamed so farre as to the kingdome of Sicilie; who in the meane time alledgeth none other cause for which they should be persecuted, but for that they with-drew the sheepe from the keeping of S. Peter, to whom they had bene committed of that good Sheepheard to be fed, and departed from the Romane Church which is the head of all Churches: But were in this their profession, aboue all beliefe, constant, prodigall of their life, and carelesse of death, and which is more hard than can be spoken (saith he) the suruiuours are nothing terrified by example,

An. 1229.
Sigon. l. 17. de
regno Italiae.

An. 1225.
Jdem l. 13.

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with other like interdictions: for he had formerly denounced him an heretike, and the heresie was, in that he obeyed not his interdict, and left not the kingdome to his disposition. *Richard*, though he was earnestly sollicitud by Legat *Albertus*, who was sent to this end and purpose, not remaining satisfied in words, required pledges to be giuen him of the most eminent persons of his familie, as also sufficient summes of money to defray the charges of the warre: certaine holds also which lay on the frontiers of his kingdome, he demaunded to bee deliuered into his hands, whereinto, being vrged, he might at any time retire, *Otherwise* (said he, speaking to the Legat) *it is as much as one should say, I sell, or giue vnto thee the Moon, ascend and lay hold on her*. When therefore they could no wayes agree vpon the matter, hee had recourse to the king of England himselfe, *Richards* brother, a Prince (saith *Mathew*) *verie credulous, and apt to embrace his owne preiudice*, to whom he made offer of all the Croisado forces, destined for Palestina, and they should serue in this expedition. Hereupon grew a wonderfull discontent and murmure of the Patriarch of Ierusalem, and all the Prelats of Palestina, together with the Templers and Hospitalers, *who fell into a great detestation of the Popes delusions*, that hauing long time beene fed with such large hopes, hee went now about, not to forsake, but rather to betray them. Yet the king of England proceeded on, and accepted of the kingdome of Sicile offered, in his son *Edmonds* name: whatfoeuer money he was able to raise, either of the Christians or Iewes, he sent to the Pope, and gaue him authority to raise what treasure foeuer he could, or at what rates foeuer any where in his name, *and hereunto he obliged himselfe vpon paine of deposition from his Crowne and State*, with which summes of money the Pope being backed, he leuied an armie. *Conrade* on the other side was no whit hereat dismayed, but intended to resist the Pope, and therefore he the more encouraged his nobles and subiects: And here our Historiographer, a Monke, bursts out into these words, *Whether the Pope did well herein or no, let the Iudge of all Iudges decide*. But for an abridgement of this warre, this miserable Prince had poyson presented him, who wasting away by little and little, when he drew neere to his last breath, in complaining manner he vttered these words, *The Church which should bee a mother, to my father and me is rather a stepmother*: and so he left behind him a sonne, who was but two yeares old. Some impute this poyson to a brother of his, others, to the Popes ministers, which, of the two, were most likely, as may be presumed by the state and condition of the present affaires. *Mathew* saith, That hauing heard this newes, *with great ioy of heart, cheerefulnesse of countenance, and eleuation of voice, he vttered these words, I reioyce certainly, and so let all the vpholders of the Roman Church exult together with me, because two of our greatest enemies are now dead, one Ecclesiasticall, the other of the Laitie, Robert Bishop of Lincolne, and Conrade king of Sicile*. He therefore embracing this opportunitie, found it an easie matter to recover into his hands, Naples, Capua, and a part of the kingdome. But *Manfred*, being assisted by the nobles of the kingdome, he both crossed him in this prosperous course of his proceedings, and daring to wage battell, vanquished and overthrew him in the same, *and so his last error was worse than the first*. Whereupon *Innocent* tooke such sorrow to heart, that within a few dayes after he dyed at Naples, suruiuing *Conrade* but a few moneths, and being molested by the Bishop of Lincolns meanes euen to his last gaspe, as in proper place shall plainly appeare. These things occurred in the yeare 1254, in the moneth of December. And so both the king of Englands treasure and ambitious desires perished together with him.

An. 1254.

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A The volume of the Decretals is ascribed to this *Innocent*, wherein his drift and maine scope was, That whatsoeuer had beene by his predecessors out of wonderfull pride digested and decreed against the temporall Monarchie, by them it might be ratified, and made authenticke; as also whatsoeuer profane or sacrilegious act they had performed against the Spirituall, it might be in them as it were hallowed and consecrated. To him also the Canonists haue reference, ouer whom hee was head and principall, hauing promoted them to some of the highest dignities of the Church, and many of them also he raised to the Cardinalls hat: out of which fountaine sprung that hideous gulph of forensiall contentions, and first of all that detestable clause of *Non obstante*, of which *Mathew* so often makes mention: After the induction whereof all the auncient Canons of the Councils, and Decrees of the old Popes, as also the verie liberties and priuiledges of the Churches, began at length to bee put downe: So that this abuse breaking afterwards into the ciuile Courts, it wrought wonderfull subuersions of equitie and justice. From hence proceeded that common complaint, *Our alas, alas, why looked we after these dayes: Behold the Courts ciuile are now corrupted, according to the example of the Ecclesiasticall, and the riuers are poysoned by a sulphurous fountaine*. Now the manner was, that the money ordayned for warre in the Holie Land, and the Indulgences of the Croysadoes were then, in their vse, by the Popes diuerted against the Emperours, and other Princes. This man, that he might exceed all others, diuulged out of the Pulpit, That whosoever tooke vp armes against *Conrade*, he should obtaine more ample remission of sinnes than if hee fought against the Souldan: *So that if any man were crossed against Conrade, both he, his father, and mother, should gaine full pardon of all their sinnes*. He married also his neeces verie highly, and amongst the rest, one he married to *Henrie*, *Fredericks* sonne, and nephew to the king of England, that thus hee might be adopted a sonne of the Church: Which seemed a thing maruellous strange to all the Nobles of the Empire, That a Pope (said they) would presume so to disparage a noble & royall gentleman. In conclusion, he so pillled and polled the Christian Commonwealth, as upon due computation made, it was found (saith our Author) *and that most truly and exactly, that this present Pope, Innocent the fourth, had more impouersished the Church vniuersall, than all his other predecessors, from the time of the primitive Papacie: and the reuenues of the Clergie by him alienated in England, which had aunciently beene endowed therewith by the Church of Rome, amounted to more than seuentie thousand markes, whereas the kings meere reuenue could not be valued as a third part so much*.

OPPOSITION.

E And for that same *Robert* Bishop of Lincolne, whom we formerly spake of, it should seeme *Innocent* had commaunded him to performe some wicked office, which (saith *Mathew*) he did both to him and diuers other Prelats of England: Wherefore he made answer by an Epistle, which he produceth whole and entire in this tenor: *Health: Your discretion shall vnderstand, that deuoutly and reuerently I obey with filiall affection; the Apostolicall inuinciblen, and so affecting reuerent honour, I oppugne and resist such as are opposit to commaunds Apostolicall; for to both these courses I am obliged by commaundement diuine. The Apostolicall commaunds neither can be wor are any other than the doctrine of the Apostles, and of our Lord Iesus Christ, Master and head of the Apostles, whose figure and person our Lord the Pope specially representeth in the Hierarchie*

Math. Paris in Henrico 3.

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rarchie of the Church, being consonant and conformable. And there he enters into a declaration of that clause, *Non obstante, From whence springeth up* (saith he) *the head and fountaine of inconstancie, boldnesse, and obstinacie, of shamefull lying, deceiuing, distrustfully beleeuing, or giuing credit to another, and so from these a number of other subsequent vices, which doe but disturbe and coinquinat the puritie of Christian religion, and the peace and quiet of ciuile conuersation. Furthermore* (saith he) *next to the sinne of Lucifer* (which shall be the same of Antichrist the sonne of perdition, in the end of times, whom God shall destroy with the breath of his mouth) *there neither is nor can be any kind of sinne so opposit and contrarie to the doctrine Euangelicall, and of the Apostles, and to the same our Lord Iesus Christ, so odious, detestable, and abhominable, as to kill and destroy soules, by defrauding them of Pastorall offices and ministeries, &c. The introducers of such manquellers and butcheries amongst the sheepe in the Church of God, are worse than the murderers themselues, neerer both to Lucifer and Antichrist, and particularly, they are worse in this degree, in that being supereminent of place, out of a greater and more diuine power granted vnto them from above, for further edification, and not for destruction, they were the deebelier engaged to exclude and extirpate such bloud-suckers out of the Church of God. And so inferring, that his commaundments were of this nature, and therefore not Apostolicall: For this* (saith he) *would be but either a manifest defect, corruption, or abuse of his sacred and absolute power, or an absolute recession from the glorious throne of our Lord Iesus Christ, and a present accession to the pestilentiall chaire of infernall torments, intimated in the two formentioned Princes of darkenesse. Neither can any subiect or faithfull one vnto that seat (in immaculat and incontaminat obedience, and no wayes by schisme disscuered nor rent from the same bodie of Christ, and the same holie seat) obey the same precepts, commaundments, or iniunctions, from whence soeuer they come, yea though it were from the highest order of Angels, but of necessitie he must needs with his whole power contradiet & oppose them: For the sanctitie of the See Apostolicall can enioyne nothing but that which tends to edification, and not destruction, for here in consists the fulnesse of power, That all things may be done to edification: and these things which are termed Prouisions, tend no way to edification, but to manifest destruction: wherefore the blessed seat Apostolicall may no wayes entertaine them, because flesh and blood, which shall not inherit the kingdome of heauen, hath revealed these things, and not the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who is in heauen. Vpon the receipt of these letters Innocent so stormed, as he vowed by Peter and Paul, That if a certaine naturall clemencie did not dissuade me, I would bring him to such a confusion that he should be an example, terrour, prodigie, and a verie fable to all the world: Is not the king of England our vassall, nay and to say more, our bondchild, who at a becke of our finger can imprison and impose vpon him any reproach or shame? And the Cardinals could hardly assuage his furie, by saying, How it was not conuenient to denounce any hard Decree against the Bishop; for, to confesse but truth, said they, these things are most true which he inferreth: Condemne him we cannot, he is a Catholike, nay and a most holie one, more holy, more religious, and more excellent than our selues, and of farre better life, so as it may hardly be beleued, that amongst all the Prelats there is any one better, or equall to him. This the whole French and English Clergie know, and therefore our contradictions would but little auail; and so the truth of this Epistle, which peradventure is well knowne to many, may excite and stirre up many against vs: For he is reputed a great Philosopher, absolutely learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, a louer of iustice, a publike Reader in Diuinitie Scholes, a Preacher to the people, a louer of chastitie, and a persecutor of Symoniacks. This was uttered by the Lord Egidius a Spanisb Cardinall, and others, who seemed to be touched euen in their owne consciences. And so they aduised our Lord the Pope*

- A Pope conuiently with dissimulation to passe over all these matters, not raising any stirre or tumult thereupon. But obserue the reason which he annexed to all the former allegations, *Especially* (saith he) *because it is knowne that a departure must one day happen. That departure foretold by the Apostle in the second to the Theffalonians, cap. 2. Antichrist himselfe being to be the author hereof, whom they expected and looked for; not as they would haue it beleued, from Babylon, but euen out of the heart of the Church, from Rome it selfe. And hereupon grew Innocents mortall hatred to Lincolne. But this verie year he fell sicke in his house at Buckmorton, where speaking to Frier John of S. Giles, one of the Predicant Order, he both sharply reprehended him & others of his institution, vowing pouertie, That they did not reprehend the sinnes of great men, with whom they were familiar, yea though it were of the Pope himselfe; who committed the care of soules to his owne vnworthie kinsmen, that were both ignorant and greene in yeares: this beeing a true heresie, contrarie to sacred Scripture, which commaunds vs to ordaine fit and conuenient Pastors: and therefore the Pope was an heretike in doing so, and they in conuiuing thereat, being both worthie of eternall punishment. Then calling about him his Clergie, and mourning for those soules which perished through the auarice of the Court of Rome: Christ (saith he) *came into the world that he might gaine soules; and therefore whosoeuer feares not to loose soules, he may not worthily be termed an Antichrist? God in six dayes created the whole world, but for mans redemption he trauelled and suffered therein more than thirtie yeares: may not therefore a destroyer of soules be thought to be the enemy of God, and Antichrist? The Pope impudently annihilates the priuiledges of the holie Roman Bishops his predecessors, with this Prouiso, Non obstante, &c. Grant that any of those Popes were sawed, and God forbid the contrarie: doth not our Saviour say, He that is least in the kingdome of heauen is greater than Iohn Baptist, a greater than whom there was neuer any amongst the sonnes of women. Is not then such a Pope who was a giuer and confirmer of priuiledges, greater than this man liuing? wherefore doe they then that follow root up the foundations laid by their predecessors? Many Apostolicall persons confirmed diuers priuiledges, which had formerly in pietie bene granted. Are not many already sawed through diuine grace, of farre greater authoritie than one who yet hangs in danger? From whence then proceeds this inuisious temeritie, to frustrate the priuiledges of so many auncient Saints? And here hee spake liberally against the rapines and simonies of the Roman Church, which enioyned the Friers Mendicants to be alwayes neere at hand to those who were departing the world, to the end to persuaade them to bequeath a part of their goods by Will and Testament for the aid of the Holie Land, or if they recouered health to vow a journey thither. They sold the Croisado to lay persons, euen as they were woont to sell oxen and sheepe in the Temple: they sold many things, and these, peradventure, to be appropriated to their owne uses. And we also viewed the Popes letter, wherein we found written, That they which made such Testaments, tooke vpon them the crose, or afforded any aid or succour to the Holie Land, the more money they bestowed, the more plenary Indulgence they should receiue. In brieft:**

*Eius auaricia, totus non sufficit orbis,
Eius luxuria, meretricis non sufficit omnis.*

The whole world not suffic'd his auarice to content,
Nor harlots all, his lust: so ill his mind was bent.

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And it was in this, that he did manifest by what means the Roman Court, like **A** as Behemoth (in Job) promised to swallow up all Iordan in his throat, might usurpe vnto her selfe the goods of all intestates, and distinct legacies, and for the more licentious performance hereof, how she might draw the king to be a partaker and consort with her, in her rapines: For (said he) the Church shall neuer be freed from her Egyptian seruitude, till she embraue her sword in blood: But towards the end of this prophetic, being much pressed with sobs and teares, this same holie Bishop of Lincolne, Robert the second, left the banishment of this world, which he neuer loued, who was a seuerer reprehender of our lord the Pope and the king, a reformer of Prelats, a corrector of Monkes, the director of Priests, an instructor of Clerks, a supporter of schollers, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of incontinent men, a carefull searcher of diuers Scriptures, and the verie **B** mallet, and beater downe of the Romans.

Innocent notwithstanding, out of an obstinat will, against all his Cardinals consent, caused his bones to be throwne out of the Church, and that hee should be proclaimed ouer all the world, for an Ethnick, disobedient, and rebellious; and such a letter he caused to be written, and sent ouer to the king of England, in that he knew the king would willingly assume any occasion of rigour towards him, and to prey vpon the Church. But the night following the Bishop of Lincolne appeared to him, in his Pontifical robes, and so with a seuerer countenance, and ghastly aspect, he approached and spake to the Pope in a lamentable and mournfull voyce, as he lay in his bed, taking no rest, and giuing him a forcible push on the side with the point of the Pastorall Staffe he carried **C** on his shoulder, saying vnto him: Senebald, thou miserable Pope, from whence proceeds it, that thou determinest to cast my bones out of the Church, both to mine and the reproch of my Church of Lincolne: It were more fit that thy selfe being exalted and honoured by God, thou shouldst likewise respect, and esteeme Gods louers, though dead and buried: God will suffer thee in no wise, to haue any power ouer me: I writ vnto thee, in the spirit of humilitie, and loue, that thou wouldest correct and amend thy frequent errors, but thou, with an obdurat heart, and proud looke, didst contemne my healthfull admonitions: woe be to thee that contemnest, shalt not thou also be dispised? And so Bishop Robert, going backe, he left the Pope, who when he was pushed (as I told you) lamented wonderfully, as one pierced through with a lance halfe dead, sighing and sobbing with a submisse, and **D** deploring voyce, so as they of his Chamber hearing the same and being astonished, they demanded the reason thereof; the Pope with sobs and sighes, made answer, and sayd; I haue beene mightily vexed with visions of the night, and there is no meanes for me to be absolutely restored to my former state, out alas, alas, how my side torments me, which was goared through with the lance of a Ghost: So as he neither eat nor drunke all that day, but fained himselfe to be grieved with the feauer asmaticall, and againe, that he was sicke of an incurable plarisie: neither did the Pope euer after this, liue one good or prosperous day, while the night, or one night, while the day, but altogether without rest, and much disturbed and molested, till his whole armie was discomfited, and then **E** his sadnesse conuerting into deepe and growen melancholie, he ended his life at Naples, when perceiuing his kinsmen to lament and houle, renting their garments, and tearing their haire for griefe, lifting vp his eyes, which were almost drowned in death, he sayd, Poore miserable soules, why doe you lament? doe not I leaue you all rich? what would you haue more? and instantly vpon the words he gaue vp the Ghost, his soule being to vndergoe the strict and seuerer sentence of the euerling God. Auentinus obserues thus much in few words: that Innocent entending to deuoure, and swallow vp the kingdome, from Conrades son of 2 yeres old was suddenly taken away, in a day diuinely prescribed vnto him (as we find in the Annales) by the suprcame **and**

and highest Iudge. Castrensis saies that the same night he died a voyce was heard **A** in the Popes Palace, *Veni miser ad Iudicium*: and a pale deadly wound was found in his side: But the vision of a certain Cardinal which happened the same weeke, is worthie of speciall note, and Mathew conceales his name for some purpose: He though the was in heauen, before the Maiesie of the euerling Lord, sitting on the Tribunal; & on his right hand stood the blessed Virgin, and on his left, a certain noble Matron verie venerable both in bodie and in habit, who stretching out her right arme ouer her left hand, she supported as it were a Temple, on the Frontispice of which Temple, was written in golden letters, Ecclesia; and Innocent the fourth prostituted before his diuine Maiesie, with hands ioyned and erected, and bended knees, requiring pardon and **B** not iudgement. But this noble Matron contrariwise said, Most iust Iudge giue a iust iudgement, for I accuse him in three points: first, when thou laidst the foundation of thy Church on earth thou diddest endow it with liberties, which proceeded from thy selfe; but this man hath made her a most contemptible bondmaid: secondly, thou diddest found thy Church for the saluation of sinners, that so she might gaine the soules of miserable caitiues & offenders; but this man hath made it a table of money changers: thirdly, the Church was founded in constancie of faith, justice, & truth; but this man hath made both **C** faith & good to maners wauer and fleet, he hath remoued iustice, & ouershadowed veritie: yeeld me therefore iust sentence. Then the Lord sayd: well, depart and receive the reward of thine owne demerits: and so he was taken away. But when the Cardinal, but of the terror of the sentence, awaked, he was almost out of his senses, and all his men supposed him to be mad. At last his distraction being mitigated, he began more at large to expose his vision, & so it came to be published ouer all those parts. Of the same kind was that of Alexander his successor, who saw him in this state, and a beautifull woman expostulating with him before God on his throne in these words: *Dissipasti Ecclesiam Dei, dum viueres, & carnalis penitus factus &c.* And he heard God denouncing the same sentence formerly related; whereupon (saith the author) being vehemently terrified, for the space of certaine daies, he could not well come to himselfe again: & therefore one presenting him a gift, to obtaine from him a grant of a certain church, he made answer: *No brother, the Church seller is dead: but it is thought, that if out of the astonishment of this vision, he doe not amend, he will be more seuerely taken vp before God.* All which things haue some reference to Robert of Lincolnes Historie, whom he, of all Ecclesiasticall persons, tooke to be his greatest enemy, although he is celebrated by writers of those time, to haue beene a man most renowned, both for sanctimonie and miracle. Mathew auers, that diuers excellent men were also of this opinion, whom he had both seene and heard in France, as the Abbot of Flaie, of the Cistercian order, James de Vitry, Robert Curkham and others. The same Author also makes mention of an Epistle written by Innocent from Lyons, to the bishop of S. Albones in England, wherein he intreated him, nay, and by authoritie Apostolicall commaunded him, to inuest one John de Caneca- **E** *ua*, his nephew and chaplaine, in the Church of Wengrade, ouer which hee was Patron, but so, that he might change the same for another, whensoever the same John, or any procuror of his should desire it; that of Wengrade being perpetually notwithstanding reserved to his donation, *non obstante* the priuiledge & indulgence graunted to the English, That no benefices should be immediatly conferred vpon Italian Priests: And this we thought good (saith he) to insert into this booke, that the Readers may discern, with how many iniuries and oppressions the Court of Rome surchargeth vs miserable English: but this was, that the threatening saying of the Apostle might be fulfilled; Except first a departure come, the sonne of iniquitie shall **not**

not be reuealed. Behold here the cause, behold here the matter, why hearts, though not bodies, fall away from our father the Pope, who growes austere and rigorous like a stepfather; and from our mother the Roman Church, who persecuteth and vexeth like a stepmother. And on this all men fix their eyes.

Let vs now come to France. We see how Innocent excited and stirred vp the Croisado against Conrade, the Emperour Fredericks sonne, promising larger indulgences to them that would serue against him, than to those that should goe into Palestina; for remission of sinnes was not granted onely to euery one of the Croisado, but further, to their parents and kinsfolkes also; yea and that euen at the same time (saith Mathew) when S. Lewis lay distressed for all necessarie things at Cæsarea, the which he intimated to his mother, brethren, and faithfull subiects, in a lamentable Epistle: *But when Madam Blanch heard of this, who swayed the French gouernment beyond feminine force or abilitie, she conuocated all the nobles of the kingdome, to aduise seriously on this affaire; and in this treatie much murmuring and anger occurred, they alledging how our Lord the Pope excited a new and intestine warre, which within the confines of Christendome raised Christians against Christians; and preaching to this end to men ordained for Gods seruice, for the augmentation of his dominion, he showed himselfe carelesse and forgetfull of our Lord the King, who sustained for the Christian faith so many discommodities and aduersities. For now his foresaid sermon was divulged ouer all the French confines. Blanch being therefore herewith much moued, because this murmure grew not without iust cause, she tooke into her hands the lands and possessions of all them of the Croisado; she alledging, They that serue the Pope let them liue on the Popes meanes, and so be gone, without returning any more. All the Potentates in like manner bordering on France, in whose countries this sermon had signed all to this warre, did the like. And thus the sermon grew inualidious, and the signed were reuoked: as also the Predicants and Minorites, who had so highly aduanced this affaire, were verie seuerely reprehended by the nobles, they obiecting, We build you churches, and houses, we educat, entertaine, apparell, and feed you, what benefit reape you from the Pope? He disturbeth and exacteth of you, he makes you his toll-takers; and so you become odious euen to your owne benefactors. To whom they replied, Meere obedience moues vs hereunto. From that time forward the Pope, blushing for shame, listened to treaties of peace. In the meane while, vnder pretext of such great obedience to this warre, S. Lewis his succours were cut off, his armie defeated, all Palestina exposed to spoyle and prey, and himselfe was taken by the enemy: whereupon he conceived such an irradicable grieue and forrow, that for a certaine time after his libertie procured, he would not be comforted.*

The Friers Mendicants, as hath formerly beene said, were either chiefe ministers, or in a great part authors of these calamities, whereupon they grew so powerful, that the rest of the Clergie began to be afraid, while by their confessions they diued into the peoples hearts, beat the Popes eares with continuall flatteries, and at length depriued all ordinarie ministers of place and function: whom they termed Blind, and leaders of the blind, which neuer studied in the Decretals, nor had learned so much as to resolue one doubt: not shaming to demaund of many, Are you content to whom if they answered, Yea; they would aske, Of whom? Why by my parish Priest: And who is that idiot? I thinke he neuer heard of Diuinitie: Confesse hardily vnto vs, to whom you both see and heare such authoritie is granted. Wherefore many of the Nobles and their wines, contemning their proper Priests and Prelats, were confessed by these Predicants. And here againe (courteous Reader) obserue the forme and expresse Idea of these times. The matter grew to such an head, as the Pope himselfe perceiuing them

Mathew Paris
in Henrico 3.

them transported so headlong to ambition, was forced to suppress it: *What means this, brethren (said he) where is your humilitie, your vow of povertie? And hereupon the Vniuersitie of Paris began first to stirre & oppose, but especially, because with their subtilties and sophistries, they had adulterated the true Christian doctrine; teaching first, That the diuine essence was neither beheld by angell nor glorified man. Secondly, That though the liuelie diuine essence be one and the selfesame in the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghost, yet as it comes within the reason and compasse of Forme, it is one in the Father and the Sonne, and not alike vnto these in the holie Ghost; and yet Forme is the same thing with diuine Essence. Thirdly, That the holie Ghost as he is Loue, and connexed, doth not proceed from the Sonne, but onely from the Father. Fourthly, That neither the glorified soule nor purified bodie, shall be in the Imperiall heauen with the angels, but in the watrie or Crystaline heauen, which is aboue the firmament: the which they also affirmed by the blessed Virgine Marie. Fifthly, That the euill angell was euill at the verie instant of his creation, and how he neuer had been good. Sixthly, That there were many verities from eternitie, which were not God. Seuenthly, That an angell at the same instant could be in diuers places, and that euerie where, if it so pleased. Eightly, That beginning, present time, creation, and passion, is neither Creator, nor creature. Ninthly, That the euill angell neuer had the meanes to stand, no nor yet Adam, in his state of innocencie. Tenthly, That he who hath the best naturall gifts must of necessitie receive most grace and glorie. All which positions, the Ecclesiasticall Prelats, together with the Vniuersitie of Paris, being assembled, expressly condemned in these words, *We seuerely prohibit this error, and excommunicat the maintainers and defenders thereof, as men (saith our Author) that dare touch the holie hill, to be oppressed with Gods glorie, and that rashly endeuour to search out the inscrutable secrets of God, and are presumptuously inquisitiue into the iudgements of God, which are like bottomelesse depths.* Afterwards the Author also noteth in diuers places, how they laboured as much as in them lay to ouerthrow the Parisian Academie, to whose lawes and statutes they would in no wise be subiect, since they were made Confessors and Counsellors to kings. The students therefore were constrained to contribute and make a collection, euerie one according to his meanes, to send to Rome; and euerie ones weekes allowance was cut shorter. But they found the Pope aduerse to their proicets, as also the Cardinals of the same stampe, who in the behalfe of the Mendicants augmented the number of Diuinitie Doctors, that so they might be brought in: by meanes of which schisme the Vniuersitie was in great danger of a dissipation. What was the effect and issue of all these turbulencies, will afterwards more manifestly appeare.*

Concerning the Waldenses, they did so spread abroad both in France and Germanie, that throughout the course of all histories, we may as it were discern their prints and footsteps. And also in Lombardie, where Petrus Veronensis, a Dominican, vsed all rigour of Inquisition against those who were called Credentes, Believers, inlicting vpon them all kind of seuerer punishment; when seising on some of the principall, he was found slaine in the territories of Mylan. One Carinus was apprehended for this slaughter, who notwithstanding the tenth day after was dismissed by the Pretor, as guiltlesse, and Petrus Veronensis, least others should be discouraged, canonized by the Pope for a Saint. But we must not omit to mention, how Innocent, though he employed much labour and studie to this end, and in authorizing his Decretals (nor any of his successors) could euer effect that the French Churches would be subiect to them. As concerning the Canons, they rested

Math. Paris in
Henrico 3.

rested in the auncient collection of them which commonly is called *Corpus Canonum*; and for the Epistles of the Popes, they approved of none, but til *Gregorie* the seconds time, that is to say, before *Boniface* Archbishop of Magunce infringed the libertie of the French Synods, about the yeare 742: which was so sound and good law, that *John Andreas*, a famous Ciuilian, testifies in his Prologue vpon the Decretals; That whosoever cited any thing not conceiued within this bodie of the Canons, he was to be esteemed a criminall of false testimonie: The which is farre from that opinion which Pope *Nicholas* the first held in the nineteenth distinction, aboue by vs mentioned.

Johannes Andreas in Prologo l. 1. Nichol. 1. ad Episc. in Gallia constitutos in Epist. Bonifacii 1. 3. Epist. 42.

53. PROGRESSION.

Alexander the fourth succeeds *Innocent*. He treats with *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, and with the king of England, for his sonne *Edmonds* inuestiture in the kingdomes of *Apulia* and *Sicilie*. *Conradinus* pretended Emperour, and *Frederick Duke of Austria*, not much differing in yeares, are both beheaded in the market place of *Naples*. A duell appointed betweene *Peter king of Arragon*, and *Charles of Anion*.
Diuers Succession of Popes.

Pope *Innocent* dying at *Naples*, the Governour shut the gates, and enioyned the Cardinals to chuse a successor. This was *Renaudus* of *Anagnia*, Cardinal of *Hestia*, who was called *Alexander* the fourth. This man, whether out of the late vision mouing him, or his owne natural instinct thereto enclining, gaue greater hopes of better regiment, which principally was conceiued from this, because after his arriall he solicited in generall by letters, to make prayers in his behalfe vnto God, That he might proue fit and sufficient for the gouernement of the Church; For his other successors (saith *Mathew*) neuer used any such custome: as also for that in his letters, especially in those to the Bishops of Germany, a copie whereof is to be seene in *Auentine*, he sharply rebuked their abuses and vices: But (saith *Mathew*) giuing too much care to the imposturous whisperings of flatterers, and to the wicked suggestions of men auaricious (that is, to his Cardinals) his simplicitie was suddenly diuerted and misled: And his Bulls, which is as it were the earnest and testimonie of Papall integritie, came to be tearmed vnepected fraud; although in these poynts also I cannot excuse him, that relying on the aduice of some in whom hee was most confident, and by the persuation of Pope *Innocent* the fourth, his predecessor (whom his death had animated the Cardinals therunto) in that he powerfully determined to continue the warre begun against *Fredericks* partakers, especially against *Manfred*, *Fredericks* naturall sonne. The which resolution was pretended with deuotion and pietie, because *Nocera*, a citie of *Calabria*, was then held by the *Saracens*. And in that it was not fit the king of England should so soone discover the fraud intended to him, a Legat was sent, which by a ring inuested *Edmond* his sonne king of *Apulia* and *Sicilia*: and this incircumspect Prince thought that hee both possessed the cities and the hearts of the subiects too. Wherefore he presently set forward on his journey, taking care for nothing, but how he might conuey his treasure through France. Presently after, another Legat called *Rustand* was sent to demand a Tenth in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as also he had authoritie to absolue the king of his

Auent. l. 7. Math. Paris in Henrico 3.

A vow of going to the Holie Land, so he would commence a warre against *Manfred*. Thus this credulous Prince suffered himselfe to be deluded with these artes; nay, and *Rustand* moreouer both in London and other cities, preached the Crosse against *Manfred* in expresse words: And Christians wondered (saith the Author) when they heard him promise as largely vnto them for the effusion of Christian blood, as sometimes he did for killing of Infidels: And the Preachers instabilitie moued mockerie and laughter: As also on a certaine day, at the end of a sermon, not doubting to adde, Be sonnes of obedience: And wherein should this consist, I pray you? Why, be bound to such or such a Merchant in such or such a summe of money. But now obserue the Catastrophe: *Manfred* defeated the Popes forces in *Apulia*, and the subiects of the kingdome vnderstanding that the Pope had constituted them a foraine king, vnknowne to their Nobilitie; as also that the Croifadoes were diuerted from their first ends, and employed against them as Infidels, they all repayed to *Manfred*, yea euen they who before were of the Popes partialitie, raising against him a mightie armie: wherefore (saith our Author) the vsuall respect and deuotion borne by the Prelats and people towards our mother the Roman Church, and our Lord, our Father and Shepheard, the Pope, was almost expired. For though that Court had many times with great bitternesse of spirit terrified Christs faithfull ones, yet it neuer so mortally wounded, both in generall and particular, the seruants of Christ, as both in this and the yeare following; for innocents were enforced to idolatries, and as Apostates to renounce truth, which is God himselfe. And here the Author stayes a little in declaring some circumstances, which were these, Prelats were sold like Oxen and Asses: Behold the vttermost condition of seruitude: behold the sellers which should haue bene cast out of the Temple and bene whipped. But because it is a more vnworthie thing to commit an iniurie violently, than to suffer innocently; it may be thought that the complaining crie of this will ascend vnto the Lord God of reuenge. But at length he concludes, The Pope hath power in all those things which tend to edification, not in those which lead to ruine, according to *Robert* Bishop of *Lincolne*.

D Neither did matters succeed any better with him in other places; for (saith he) when they perceived his actions so different from those prayers which at his first coming to the chaire he had caused to be made in his behalfe, *Manies* deuotion grew coole towards him, and diuers construed it to be meere hypocrisie, and masking of his secular power; therefore their former hopes conceiued of his sanctimonie fell to the ground. And first at *Rome* Senator *Brancaleone*, of whom former mention was made, executing justice at *Rome* without any exception of persons, and the Nobilitie hardly digesting this seueritie, after apprehension they put him in prison, but his wife escaped out of the tumult; and got to *Bologna*, and there caused the hostages to be closely kept. The Romans moued the Pope, that out of his Pontificall prerogatiue he would commaund the *Bolognians* to deliuer them: who to gratifie the Romans, omitted neither threats nor intreats herein; yet hee had the deniall. Then the people rose against the Nobilitie, and in despight both of them and the Pope restored and set at libertie *Brancaleone*. The Pope, being hereunto solicited by the Nobilitie, excommunicated both the Senator and all his followers, that is to say, the people of *Rome*, omnes cachi nantes, all of them with scorne and laughter condemned and mocked at his threatenings. The Senator suppressed all the seditious, not sparing the Popes friends and neere kinsfolkes; and at length he vrged himselfe to forsake the citie, and threatned to demolish his naturall town and cuntry *Anagnia*. The matter came to this passe, that will he nill he, in verie submisse and humble words, he was enforced by Legats to intreat them to forbear the

the ruine of his naturall Citie: *least he should become an opprobrie to the whole world.* A
 In the meane while, *Brancalone* makes euery with the ground the Palaces of the
 Roman Nobilitie, part of them he casts into prison, and other some he hanged, &
 maimed, many of which were kinsmen and nere allies to the Cardinals, being as
 great a friend to *Manfred* as he was an enemy to *Alexander*. Yea, and after his
 death, his memorie was so venerable amongst the people, that in hatred and de-
 testation of the Pope, they chose his vnckle Senator in his place, and closing his
 head within a rich urne, they set it vpon a marble pillar, for a monument of his in-
 tegrity and justice. These things tume the rather to the skorne and contempt of
 the Roman Court, because the Pope vnderstanding of his death, admonished the
 people, *That they should chuse no man Senator without his consent: but they laughing* B
hereat, and despising the Popes iniunction, chose forthwith Brancalone his vnckle, sol-
lemnely electing and constituting him Senator in his nephewes place. These things *Ma-*
thew relates, whereby he proues as much as he had formerly spoken, in what great
 contempt and skorne the Pope was held of all men, for his euill proceedings and
 gouernement.

An. 1259.

In Germanie, about the yeare 1257, *William* Count of Holland retayned the
 Title of Emperour, beeing conferred, and continued in him by the Popes; who
 retiring out of an hot battaile, beeing shot through the bodie with an arrow, di-
 ed. *Conrades* sonne was yet too young to be chosen Emperour; *Alexander* not-
 withstanding, commaunded the Archbishop of Magunza, and the other German C
 Prelats, threatning them with all in verie grieuous penalties, if they did elect this
 boy, soone to the excommunicated Emperour, seeing they could not be igno-
 rant how opposit his grandfather *Frederick* was to the Popes: but so he highly
 commended vnto them *Richard* Earle of Cornwall, of whom, part of the Princes
 accepted, especially for this respect, because he was reputed to be rich in treasure
 and coyne: whereupon grew this verse,

Nummus ait pro me, nubis Cornubia Roma.

The money plainly saies it selfe: Rome marries Cornewall for vile pelfe. D

Part of the Electors, made choice of *Alphonsus* king of Castile, but the most
 voices concurred, at last, with *Richard*, who being sent for out of England, he was
 conducted into Germanie. *Alphonsus* began to moue warre, for the holding of
 his place, and sollicitated the Pope by Embassadours, that no other might be crow-
 ned but himselfe. Answer was returned from him, that the custome was, that none
 could receiue the imperiall crowne, except he had formerly beene instald in the
 Germanie and Italian kingdomes. The Empire therefore hanging in doubt, Ger-
 many was diuided, while *Ostanius* (his Legat) abusing the institution of the crosse, E
 proceeded with all kind of cruelty against the imperiall adherents; and during
 these ambiguities, *Alexander* died in the yeare 1261, to whom, three moneths af-
 ter, *Vrbans* the fourth succeeded, borne of obscure parents in Troie, a towne of
 Campania Celtica.

Men obserued one notable constitution of his (our author calls it most cruell)
 which was, That euery Bishop or Abbot elect, was bound personally to trauell
 beyond the Alpes, this is, *to enrich to his owne hurt, nay, and vsset ruine, the Romans*
purses. *Vrbans* called a Councell at Rome, not about matters of faith, which
 now grew obsolete, but about the expelling of *Manfred*. He thought good there-
 fore

Summa consi-
 tut.
 Firma profecto
 consiliis.
 An. 1262.
 Sigon. l. 19. de
 regno Italia.

Math. Paris in
 Hemico 3.

fore to produce against him the Croysadoes, and augmented for this end their in-
 dulgences. *Charles* Earle of Anjou, brother to *S. Lewis*, he also called into Italie,
 out of hope to be installed in the kingdomes of Apulia and Sicilie. And thus all
 the treasure which *Henrie* king of England had so vnaduisedly disbursed, was sunk
 and swallowed vp in this ambitious gulph: And *Charles* took counsel of king *Lewis*
 about this affaire. But *Vrbans* death preuented his coming, whom *Clement* the
 fourth (prosecuting the same designe) succeeded, borne at Narbone, & elected at
 Perugia, he presently sent Legats to *Charles*: who commaunding his armie to fol-
 low him by land, went by sea to Rome, where he was louingly entertained by the
 Romans, being created perpetuall Senator, which then was the supremest digni-
 tie of that citie: And *Clement* in the meane while held his residence at Viterbe,
 by reason of some controuersies that occurred betwixt him and the Romans.
 Wherefore by foure Cardinals the inuestiture of the kingdomes was conferred
 vpon *Charles*, on this condition, That he should pay 40000 crownes yearly, in to-
 ken of homage, which he referued to himselfe; as also further, that he should not
 accept of the Roman Empire, though it were imposed vpon him. *Charles* there-
 fore went forward into Apulia, the Bishop of Constance, who was *Clements* Le-
 gat, accompaning him, *Giving plenary remission of sinnes to those that should take* collen. 14.
vp armes for Charles. Nere to Beneuento he discomfited *Manfred* in battell, who
 was there slaine; by meanes of which victorie he presently after secured to him-
 selfe the kingdomes, and did no little reuiue the factions of the Guelphes and
 Popes, which before were prostrat and troden vnder feet ouer all Italie. But the
 Gibellines on the other side rousing themselues vp, called *Conrade*, *Fredericks* ne-
 phew (commonly named *Conradinus*) out of Germanie, to oppose *Charles*. He in
 the later end of the yeare 1267 coming to Verona, about the beginning of the
 Spring he went forward into Apulia, and so being proclaimed Emperour by all
 the Gibelline faction, not farre from Arezzo, he by the way defeated part of *Charles*
 his forces, and then going to Rome, ouerslipping the Pope that lay at Viterbe, he
 was with general voyce and acclamation receiued by all the people: But not long
 after joyning battell with *Charles* in the confines of the kingdomes, vpon the first
 charge he put his armie to flight; but while his men were attende on bootie and
 spoyle, *Charles* reenforcing the fight, obtained victorie, and himselfe with the chie-
 fest of his nobles being driuen to flie, he fell into his enemies hands. And here
Clements pastorall mercie and commiseration plainly appeared. *Sigonius* glaun-
 cingly vseth these words, *Conradine*, by *Charles* commaund and definitive sentence, collen. 14.
was put to death like an ordinarie theefe, because by armes he made claime to his fa-
 thers and grandfathers kingdomes. The Princes are at great variance amongst
 themselues, vpon ambiguous title. But the Neapolitan Historiographer, and
 some others, write freely, That after *Charles* had kept him a whole yeare in prison,
 he consulted with the Pope what should be done with him; who briefly made
 this answer, *Conradines life is Charles his death, and Conradines death is Charles his life*, collen. 14.
 vnderstanding by this, that he was to be put to death. The Historiographer ob-
 serues, That diuers of the French Nobilitie could not be brought to condescend
 vnto this sentence, but especially the Earle of Flanders, *Charles* his sonne in law,
 who thought it fitter to set him at libertie, and haue him obliged by some matri-
 moniall affinitie, whose opinion the nobler sort were of, especially those who
 were free from preiudicat passions: but (saith he) *the more cruell sentence tooke place.*
 Neither certainly hapned this (to omit the law of Nations) without some super-
 humane instinct; for besides the Vespers or Sicilian Euen-song, which tooke pub-
 like

Collen. 14.
 Hist Neapo-
 litano.

like reuenge hereof; *Charles* Prince of Salerno, sonne to the aboue mentioned *A* *Charles*, hauing thirtie gallies ouerthrowne, himselfe with a number of other Nobles was taken, and with nine other kept close prisoners, and two hundred other gentlemen had their heads cut off at Messina: others also that were in du-
 rance, in a popular tumult, who set fire on euerie part of the prison (in contempt of the Popes excommunication) were burned together in the same flame. And the Ciuilians of the kingdome, assuming a president, from the proceeding against *Conradine*, sat in triall vpon *Charles*; & the like sentence & execution he had vnder-
 gone but onely for *Queene Constantia*, wife to *Peter* king of Aragon, a Ladie of singular prudence and pietie, who vnder pretext of conueying him into Caralog-
 ana to the king, preuented this intended just reuenge; for which she purchased a *B* *subject*, *Charles* caused *Conradine*, being scarce eightene yeares of age, to be headed in the publique market place of Naples; who called God to witnesse of the iniurie and injustice done vnto him herein; and so throwing his gloues vp in-
 to the ayre, he denounced *Frederick* of Castile, his aunts sonne, heire and succes-
 four to his kingdome. In his view and sight *Frederick*, Duke of Austria, his in-
 ward familiar, and equall in yeres, had his head cut off, that by his death he might
 the more be daunted and terrified; which he tooke vp and kissed: then after him,
 eleauen other noble men, Italians, and Suciuians. The Historiographer adds, that
Charles would needs haue the executioners head chopt off in the place by an-
 other appointed to performe this office, because he might not hereafter boast of
 the cutting off his head, who was descended from so illustrious a familie: as al-
 so, that the Count of Flaunders in a rage slew him with his owne hand that had
 pronounced the sentence. All Christendome held this wicked deed in most odi-
 ous detestation, especially all the Princes, in that they remembered how king *S.*
Lewis, and this *Charles* his brother, being taken prisoners, not long before, by the
 Souldan in Palestina, were curteously and friendly entertayned. And from hence
 it proceeds, that *Peter* of Aragon exprobrateth to *Charles* in some letters of his: *Tu*
Nerone Neronior, & Saracenis crudelior, thou art more bloudie than Nero, and more *D*
cruell than the Saracens. There was not any one which ascribed nor this crueltie in
 the greatest part to *Clement*; and the verie sentence it selfe denounced against
Conradine may testifie as much: which was, *For disturbing the peace of the Church*
and falsly vsurping to himselfe the Royal title. But I pray you was not his right good
 enough for the clayming of this title? Furthermore, we haue the same *Clements*
 owne letters, that is to say, the letters of this *Charles* king of Sicilie, to *Peter* of A-
 ragon, *ordained and deuised*, saith the Author, *by Pope Clement the fourth*, wherein
 he proudly threatens *Peter* of Aragon, being backt by this Pope, that sought to
 obtaine the kingdome of Naples by armes: *Thou most wicked man*, saith he, *didst*
thou not consider the inexplicable excellencie of the mother the Church, who is sum- *E*
maundower all Nations, and whom the whole earth and all the people in the same doe
obey? Shee it is, whom land, Sea, and skies obey, worship and reſound; to whom, all that line
vnder her Sun are bound with stooping heads to pay due duties and tribute. So as he ex-
 probrated & cast him in the teeth with *Conradines* death for a terror to himselfe, of
 whom notwithstanding he shamed not to say, that he had wel deserved: who be-
 ing taken in fight like a theef, & by the just sentence of death had deserved the gib-
 bet, yet he permitted him to vndergoe the stroak of cruel death, by the sword of a
 bloudy heads-man, presaging vnto him also the same ruin: which sounded not like
 the stile of a king or prince descended of the French royal race, but of the Popes of
 these

Henricus Gul-
 delfingenſis in
 Historia Au-
 ſtriaca.

Apud Pertam
 de Vincis.

these present times, of the same vnclement *Clement*. And thus much the Author
 himselfe intimates. *Peter* of Aragon returning an answer to the same, set before
 his eyes the just judgement of God, in that he lately put his hand to such a brutish
 immanitie, as was detestable & execrable to all men. And long time they slept not
 in this flagition, for as *Collenucius* notes, *Charls* from that time forward was conti-
 nually afflicted and tormented with the anguish & terror of his daily misfortunes
 and ouerthrows; & *Clement* suruiued them but one moneth, when, as the fruit and
 triumph of victorie, he thought to haue gotten all Italie into his hands. The Pa-
 pacie was then vacant for two yeares and nine moneths, though his predecessors
 had euerie way studied and endeouored to preuent such an inconueniencie: For
 those Cardinals which were resident at Viterbe, supposing no one was interieur
 to another, could resolue vpon nothing certaine; amongst whom one of the num-
 ber, laughing at the others curiositie, said, *Sir, we had need open the top of this Con-*
clawe, for the holie Ghost cannot descend through so many roofes downe vpon vs. At last
Philip king of France, and *Charles* king of Sicilie, were faine to come thither, to
 their rebuke and shame, and for the further encouragement of the Gibelline facti-
 on; who after long and many contestations, at last brought it to passe, that they
 consented to chuse *Theobald* Vicont of Placentia, and Archdeacon of Liege, who
 was then in Syria: he returning into Italy obtained the place, and was named *Grego-*
gorie the tenth; and hereupon grew these verses of the Cardinal *de Porto*.

Onuphrius in
 Pontificibus.

*Papatus munus tulit Archidiaconum vnus,
 Quem Patrem Patrum, fecit discordia fratrum.*

*An Archdeacon obtained the Papall dignitie,
 Father of fathers made by brothers enmitie.*

These things occurred in the yeare 1272. In the meane while *Richard* Earle of *An. 1272.*
 Cornwall dyed, being another competitor for the Empire, for supplie of whose
 place the Princes assembled together to take some order. Part of them, after *Ri-*
chards death, thought good to retaine *Alphonſus* of Castile: others alledged,
 That a king of Germanie was to be brought from no other part but Germanie,
 when *Gregorie* put in his spoke, and told them plainely, That if they presently resolued
 not vpon some bodie, he, out of his Pontificall authoritie, would constitute
 them an Emperour. All things therefore being maturely debated and consid-
 ered, at last they concluded vpon *Radulph*, sonne to *Albert* Count of Hasburg, a
 Prince of no great State, but renowned for his militarie experience and judge-
 ment, whom they declared Emperour. All gaue their consent, except onely *Oto-*
carus king of Bohemia, whose steward this *Radulph* had bene, and he was here-
 with highly moued, so as they came to a sharpe war amongst themselues. He was
 chiefe of the house of Austria, in which familie the Empire at this day continues.
Alphonſus was much discontented because *Gregorie* gaue his consent thereunto,
 complaining wonderfully against *Gregorie*, in that, vnkowne to him, he had con-
 descended to this election, aduising him to desist from this enterprife, proceeding
 no further in it.

During Pope *Gregories* raigne a Councell was celebrated at Lyons, whereat
Philip king of France, the Emperour of Greece, and many other Princes were,
 and for the better successe and issue hereof, certaine Prelats out of euerie Pro-
 uince, well affected to him, were cited to be there present. Their propofition was
 out

out of the example of the Machabees, to shew, That the Bishop of Rome, as he was high Priest, had power ouer both swords, and therefore that it concerned him to ordaine warre, especially when it was for sacred ends: for deluding them with this sauce he made them swallow and digest many vnfauoray cates. Consequently he decreed, That a tenth of all benefices should be paid for six yeares to this purpose. All Penitentiaries and Confessors were enioyned to vrge vehemently all sinners and offenders, to assist him with their riches and wealth, he imposing on all Christians in generall, without exception of sex, age, or qualitie, a yearely penie, vnder paine of excommunication. *Rodulphus*, without the priuie of the States of the Empire, did first yeeld vnto him Romania, which before was wont to pay to the Empire yearely seuentie thousand dragmes of gold. The Emperour of Greece complained, who was at this Councell, That he being daily threatened and menaced by the Turke, who lay hard by him, yet *Charles* of Anjou disturbed him with other attempts; and after his returne into Greece hee promised *Gregorie* by embassadors, That if he would but crosse *Charles* his designes, he would joyne a new to an old Rome, which was Constantinople. The which embassage *Gregorie* readily gaue care vnto, returning vnto him againe by his Nuntioes, who were to accord with him of three conditions; *First*, That in their sacred administrations and offices, *en tais isepais vnuotias*, with the foure Patriarches he might be first nominated. *Secondly*, *τῷ ἐκκλησίῃ*, That any might be permitted to appeale to Rome, as to the higher and most soueraigne tribunall. *Thirdly*, *τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐν ἀπασιν*, That in all things he might be allowed supremacie and highest place. About any other points of diuinitie (saith *Gregoras*) there past not a word, *No not of the addition made to the Creed*, *ἀλλὰ μὲν τῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ ἀσέβειας*, but all things were quiet and pacified. In these things there was a long addormentation and silence, onely hee regarded that which belonged to his own peculiar interest. But it fell not out well with him, that the Greeke Church disauowed the Emperour, especially in this Councell, where a certaine forme of electing the Popewas set downe, which at this day is obserued in the Conclauē, as we may read in the chapter, *Vbi periculum de electione in sexto*. And there he doth not onely exhort the Cardinals, *That they would chuse the Vicar of Christ, Peters successor, gouernour of the whole Church, and guider of the Lords stocke*, but further is not ashamed to adde, *For a necessarie prouision of the whole world, & as a fit spouse for the same Church*. That which *Innocent* the third, in truth, did formerly produce, in the third sermon of his consecration, he brings it out more audaciouly from a Decretall, which they esteeme of highest authoritie, being the order and forme according to which the Popes are chosen and inuicted, with their proper attributes and titles. What can be done more to Christ our Lord, the onely true Bridegroom of the Church? Or besides him who could say, *In mercie and pitie I haue espoused thee*? VWho besides him doth sanctifie her? *He yeelded vp himselfe for her, that so she might be sanctified and cleansed, by the washing of water in the word*: and therefore who is that fit Bridegroome for the Church but he? and who will arrogate to himselfe these titles, but Antichrist? not by way of comparison, or in any proportion (which yet had beene too much) but simply, properly, absolutely. But if *Bellarmino* here say, That *Gregorie* did this but as he was Christs Vicar; I aske him, Whether he euer so much as heard, that if a Princes embassadour contract any matrimonie in his Masters name, he calls himselfe the Bridegroome, or if he could doe this without committing an hainous offence? Or how can hee in thus doing auoid *S. Bernards* reprehension, who forbids Pope *Eugenius* this tytle, but rather that he should take heed of *S. Johns* Prophesie, in assuming to himselfe

Nicephor. Gregoras l. 5.

Vbi periculum de electione. & c. Et potestate in sexto. Innocent. 3. in serm. 3. de consecratione Summi Pontificis.

Ofce 3. Ephes. 5. v. 25. & 26.

Bellarmino de Romano Pontifice. l. 2. c. 3. Bern. Epist. 237. ad Eugenium.

B

C

D

E

such

A such blasphemous titles. *Questionlesse Thomas de Corcellis* speaks not so in the Councell of *Basil*, We said (saith hee) that the Church was Christs spouse, and the Pope wee know is his Vicar: but no bodie substitutes a Vicar in such a sort as that hee will submit his spouse vnto him, nay the spouse in matters very important may be thought to haue more authoritie than the Vicar, whereas she and her husband haue but one bodie; but so it stands not betweene the Vicar and his Lord. This *Gregorie* died about the beginning of the yeare 1276, whom *Peter* of Tarento succeeded, that was Bishop of *Ostia*, of the Order of *Predicants*, being nominated *Innocent* the first; and about sixe moneths after *Otho Fliscus*, a Genoway, came to the Papacie, after this man also, who was called *Adrian* the first, he being chosen at Rome in king *Charles* his presence, who was created and chosen Senator of that citie.

This manner of election was no wayes pleasing to the Cardinals, because their authoritie herein seemed to be somewhat impaired. Presently after his comming to the Papacie he departed to *Viterbe*, the better to abate *Charles* his power and greatnesse, for extenuation whereof he sent for the Emperour *Rodulphus* into *Italie*, to oppugne and make head against *Charles*; who being formerly solicited by *Gregorie*, had promised to come. And here the Reader may easily iudge, whether he was not wonderfully transported with this affaire, that hauing occupied the chaire Pontificall but eleuen dayes onely, and not yet being fully consecrated, he studied and deuised how to supplant *Charles*. Neither were the Cardinals satisfied with that forme of Conclauē instituted by *Gregorie*, the which was not obserued in the election of his successor, nor likewise of this present Pope, but contrariwise it was reuoked by *Adrian*, in the small time he liued, by an expresse Bull published to that end, that so by this means all ambition and practise might be cut off, and all means of attaining to the place by bribes & gifts, that so they might rather chuse to create the Pope by bandie, and partialitie. When therefore this Bull could not stand in force and vigor, by reason it was made before his consecration, *John* the 22, who succeeded him, presently confirmed the same. And hereupon *Nicholas* the third, *Martine* the fourth, *Honorius* the fourth, *Nicholas* the fourth, and *Celestinus* the first, were elected without Conclauē. Whereby you may plainly discern how inconstant the spirit is that leads and directs them. *John* treads his predecessors foot-steps, though he was but a foolish and vnworthie man, *Bringing* (as they say) more detriment than either honor or profit to the Papacie: and therefore hee importuned *Rodulphus* to come into *Italie*. But hee excused himselfe through the warre he had in hand with the king of *Bohemia*: and *John* in the second yere of his Papacie died at *Viterbe*, being by the fall of a vault crushed to death. Vpon this occasion the Cardinals returned to Rome, and now likewise *Charles* discharging the Senators place of the citie, carried greatest sway in the election, who labouring (but in vaine) that some French man might be nominated, after much alteration, the sixth month after, *John Vrstinus* was chosen, being afterwards called *Nicholas* the third, who was a man full of ambition and insolencie; for so he is deciphered by *Machiauel*, and he impatiently supporting *Charles* his so great power, he instantly propounded to him how behouetull it was that *Rodulph* should come into *Italie*, and so from thence to passe by sea into *Pactina*, which otherwise could by no meanes be succoured and releued: also, That *Tuscan* was vnder the iurisdiction of the Empire, and except it were restored againe to *Rodulphus*, he would make this serue for him as a just excuse. Vnder this pretext therefore he took away from him *Tuscan*, which his predecessors had conferred vpon him, by way of Vicariate, as also at Rome, in that he could not endure to see him a Senator of such soueraigne authoritie,

Thomas de Corcellis apud Eusebium 7. Commentar. de Concil. Basiliens.

Platina in Adriano 5.

Platina in Joh. han. 22.

Platina & Stel. la in Nichol. 3. Machiauel. hist. Flor. 3.

ritie, he excited his fauouries againſt him, laboring to be choſen Senator himſelfe. **A** And thus depoſing *Charles*, he alone diſcharged both the Pontificall and Senatorian dignities. He furthermore ordained, That no King, Prince, or any other borne of royall ſtocke, or otherwiſe of any high & eminent dignitie, ſhould be preferred to the Senatorſhip, and that the citie, vnder no title or office whatſoever, might not be governed by any one for aboue the terme of a yere, without his ſpeciall fauour and permiſſion. And thus the Suenian familie being wholly extinct, in that he could the more eaſily forbear his amitie, he now began to tread *Charles* vnder foot: For *Rodulph*, he heard that he had buſineſſe ynough in Germany, without attempting any thing in Italic; in whoſe mouth the ſaying was verie frequent. *Veſtigia Italiam aduentum videre ſe, non cernere redeuntiu.* He ſaw the ſteps of thoſe that **B** entred into Italic, but not of ſuch as came well our againe. Wherefore out of this confidence he ſo much the more vrged him, ſeeming to be verie angrie with his delays, but eſpecially in that he prepared not himſelfe for a voyage to Ieruſalem, the which was wont to be a common pretext for excommunicating of the Emperors. *Rodulph* therefore not minding to looſe a certaine ſubſtance for a greater ſhadow, that he might be freed from this burden, he peaceably ſurrendred and confidemed vnto *Nicholas* the poſſeſſion of all Romania, vpon this condition, That taking *Tuſcan* out of *Charles* his hands he ſhould reſtore it vnto him. Which being done *Nicholas* created *Bertold* *Vrſine*, his brother, Count of Romania, furniſhing him with an armie wherewith to recouer thoſe towns that were held by the Gibellines. **C** He alſo allotted another armie to *Franciſcus* *Latinus*, his ſiſters ſonne, being Biſhop of *Oſtia*, with the ſame to ſcoure ouer all *Tuſcan*, the *Marquiſat*, and *Lombardie*. And thus he diſpoſed of the greater part of Italic. *Martinus* and *Platina* ſay, That if death had not preuented him, hee was minded to haue made two kings of his name, one of *Tuſcan*, and the other of *Lombardie*, that the one with his power might euer be readie to ſuppreſſe the Germans beyond the *Alpes*, and the other to ouerawe the French within the kingdome of *Naples*: but againſt theſe principally he ſtirred vp *Peter* king of *Aragon*, whom he perſuaded, that enioying his fauour and aſſiſtance, he would ſet afoot againe his title, that grew from his marriage with *Conſtancia*, *Manfreds* daughter, although formerly, both by verie many Bulls of his predeceſſors, as alſo by the Decree of two Councils at *Lyons*, all *Fredericks* poſterity was excluded. And doubtleſſe ſome two yeres after this *Peter* by him incited, plotted the *Sicilian* *Veſpers*, or *Euenſong* (ſo by writers tearmed) on an *Eſter* Monday, every one killing his lodger and gueſt. And ſo by this meanes *Peter* was reduced into his kingdome by the inhabitants. Here we muſt note, that after he had taken from *Charles* the *Vicariate* of *Tuſcan*, and the dignitie Senatoriall, by ſome priuie intelligencers of his he diued into his mind, to ſee whether he now ought any rancor or reuenge againſt him: who affirming, That they found him no other wayes affected to the Church than before, *Yea, yea*, ſaith he (meaſuring the Princes nature and diſpoſition by his owne) his fidelitie he hath from the Houſe and race of *France*, his pregnancie of wit from the kingdome of *Spain*, but the grauie and weight of his words, from his often frequenting the Court: wel we may toller at others, but this man is no wayes to be endured. Furthermore, this good *Nicholas* was author of that famous Decretall which is extant in the chapter *Fundamenta de electione & electi poſteſtate in ſexto*, whoſe words run thus, *Peter* (ſaith he) God called into the ſocietie of the indiuiduall *Trinitie*, ſo be called as he was, the Lord ſaying, *Thou art Peter, &c.* that from him, as from a certaine head, hee might deriue and poure forth all his gifts throughout the bodie, meaning the Church: That the worſer men they be, and the

Blondus Decad.
2. l. 8.

Martinus Polonus in Chron.
ad an. 1277.
Platina in Nichol. 2.
Blondus Decad.
2. l. 8.
Stella ibid.

Ca. Fundamenta
de electione &
electi poſteſtate.

wickeder

A wickeder actions they enter into, ſo much the more they might continually and independently arrogat and aſſume to themſelues.

Nicholas dying in the yere 1282, *Simon* of *Tours* ſucceeded him, who was called *Martine* the fourth, the French Cardinals preuayling in number, and he was conſecrated at *Oruetto*. He proſecuted the ſame deſigne which his predeceſſours begun, of getting all *Italie* into his hands, but by contrarie meanes: for he reſtored the Senatorian dignitie to *Charles*, and in fauour of him, excommunicated *Peter* of *Aragon*, publiſhing the *Croiſado* againſt him and all his abettors, as if the ſpirit that governed them had been quite contrarie in himſelfe; concurring onely with his predeceſſour in this, that he retayned his concubine, and **B** becauſe ſhe brought forth to him a beare, to auoid the like inconuenience, he cauſed all the armes of the *Vrſin* within the Court to be raſed out, leaſt by continuall beholding the ſame the might againe conceiue ſuch a forme. *Historiographers* here report, that *Peter* of *Aragon* being mightily preſſed by *Charles* his forces, who intended a reuenge of the *Sicilian* butcherie, he tooke occaſion out of this mans letters to turn the warre into a duell; and therefore he offered to decide the quarrell of the kingdome in a battell of a thouſand to a thouſand, an hundred to an hundred, or in ſingle fight: *Charles* chearefully embraced the condition of ſingle combat, a day was conſtituted, and the field appointed at *Burdeaux* in *Aquitane*, and the king of *England*, as a kiſman to them both, was to be judge of the field. They relate alſo that *Martine* (though this ſeemed verie abſurd) conſented thereunto, and ſent thither *Gerard*, Cardinall of *Parma*, to obſerue both the progreſſe and euent of this matter, *Charles* appeared attending there the greateſt part of the day, which the judge of the field did teſtifie; but *Peter* of *Aragon* ſaying of his preſence, he departed and left the field, the Pope for this cauſe excommunicating *Peter*, and denouncing him vnworthie and incapable of the kingdome of *Naples*: as alſo he depoſed him from the kingdome of *Catalogna*, which then was conſferred vpon *Charles*, ſecond ſonne to *Philip* king of *Fraunce*. Not long after, he turned likewise the *Croiſado* againſt him, and in the aſſiſtance and fauour of *Charles*, he promiſed plenarie remiſſion of ſins to all thoſe that would aſſume this conſcription military vpon them. Gentle Reader doe but obſerue what manner of *Christs* Vicar this is, who permitted two ſuch mightie Princes to entertaine a duell; make you any doubt but *Chriſt* did abjure him? All the *Sicilians* being likewise included in the ſame excommunication, & *Peters* affaires obtaining hard ſucceſſe, in moſt ſubmiſſiue manner they had recourſe to *Martine*, and ſo proſtrat on the earth they were enioyned to crie out aloud, far off from him, *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem*, Lambe of God that takeſt away the ſinnes of the world, graunt vs thy peace: which blaſphemie he no wayes reſuſed to but backe, neither did theſe miſerable ſoules diſcerne that while he ſhewed the hornes of the **E** Lambe a Dragon ſpake out of his mouth. *Nicholas* de *Biberach*, a Diuine of *Erford*, complains of this ſeſefame Pope, that in his young yeres at *Rome* he would prostitute himſelfe in the deteſtable office of a *Ganymed*: theſe are his words that he mortally hated Germanie, that he often wiſht it were turned into a ſtanding mere: whereupon alſo he framed vnto him this Epitaph,

Hic iacet ante chorum ſubmerſor Teutonicorum
Paſtor Martinus, extra qui totus ouinus,
Et lupus introrſus, cui nulla redemptio prorſus,
Sed ſit ad inferna, detruſus ab arce ſuperma.

N n ij

Before

Ca. Fundamenta
de electione
& electi poſteſtate.
An. 1282.

Johannes Nouo
dunenſis in il-
luſtrationibus
Beatae.

Blondus Decad.
2. l. 8.
Collenu. l. 4.

Pul. Emilius in
Hiſtor. Franco-
rum in Philip.
tertio.

Nicholaus de
Biberach. l.
qui in ſcribi-
tur occultus.

Before the Quire, a restlesse enemie
To German name, Pope *Martin* here doth lye :
Without a sheepe, within a rauening wolfe,
From heauen thrust downe into th' infernall gulph.

And hereupon many instile him *Teutenicorum inimicum*, the Germans enemie, but especially the Author of the historie of the South. There succeeded him about two yeres after, *Jacobus Sauellus*, a Roman, who was called *Honorius* the fourth, who proceeded in the reduction of Romania vnder the obedience of his See, and at last obtained his desire, partly by subjugating in a warre *Guido* of Montefelro, head of the Gibelline faction, that principally withstood it, and partly vrging him to come to an accord, who was faine to retire himselfe into the countie of Ast, and so vpon this condition was receiued into grace and fauour. But that which principally then set the Popes agog in Italie, was *Rodulphes* either too great simplicitie, or too great wisdom: from the one side he fearing the powerfull oppositions which the Popes had raised against his predecessors, and then on the other vnderstanding by *Princevall Eliscus* his Chauncellor, how hard a matter it was to reduce the cities of Italic, now for so long time inured to libertie, vnder their ancient obedience, he resolved to yeeld them their absolute liberties, so that each of them would furnish him with a certaine summe of money, whereof he stood in great need: He therefore sent *Princevall* againe to paste these couenants with them. He for the summes aboue mentioned gaue them severall charters; and so from hence came most of their immunities and liberties: as the citie of Luca obtained her libertie for 12000 crownes, Florence for six thousand, and so of the rest: which being by this means made free, they were afterwards called *Imperij fideles*, Feudatories to the Empire. The Historiographers, *Blondus*, *Sabellicus*, *Trithemius*, *Cuspinianus*, *Krantzius*, *Naucerus*, and others, reprehend *Rodulphus* much, because herein he wonderfully impeached the authoritie of the Empire: But so Pope *Honorius* (say they) was no wayes displeas'd with this redemption, though it did altogether misbecome so great a Prince, because he thought the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction would in the future come to be the more secure, and better confirmed.

Hereunto may briefly be added, the superstition which together with ambition so much augmented vnder *Alexander* the fourth: for then at Perugia, where he held his seat, rose vp the sect of *Flagellantes*, a certaine hermit being author and patron thereof, and men and women stript naked to the nauels, for expiation and satisfaction of their sinnes, would whip themselues throughout the townes and villages, with fearefull howlings and cries, calling out vpon the Virgine *Marie*, compassing in this manner the whole citie, exciting others by their example to do the like, and drawing after them people of all kinds and conditions. Out of Tuscany they went and spred themselues in the Marquisat, and then in Romania, this foolish superstition like a fire deuouring whatsoeuer it met withall. *Auentine* sayes of this, A bloudie kind of penance did then arise at Perugia in Tuscan, neither could any weather or way stop them from going forward in their iourney once vnder taken, or affliction vpon themselues these sacred cruelties, especially in Germanie, where for three and thirtie dayes continuing in these austere regularities, without so much as taking their quiet sleepe and rest, they then thought themselues absolved from their sinnes, and perfectly reconciled vnto God. Now (saith he) they were passed the Alpes, gone through high *Ba-reconia*, and entred as farre within the land as *Erisinghen*, where *Lewis* forbade them to goe any further forward in his countrey, and *Henric* commaunded them by publike Edict,

Iabannes No-
uo magus in
illust. Bede.

Blondus l. 8.
Decad. 2.

A

That, as prophane and vagrant persons, they should not set foot within his confines. But *Krantzius* deliuering what the better sort of men thought of them, in this see (saith he) horrible errors did lurke, which being by Gods goodness discovered, were occasion to banish these diabolical inuentions: In the meane while they being of desiect countenance, and framing lookes to moue commiseration and pitie, they sung hymnes in prayse of Christs crosse, and as often as the name of Christ was mentioned, which was not seldome, they fell downe flat on their faces, no wayes respecting the place, whether it were durty, craggie, brittle, asperous, moyst, or drie, fearing nothing. For the diuell amongst mortall men hath also his Martyrs. These be the words of the Pontifical Author, although this fearefull superstition was not onely by the Popes approued, but euen moreouer adoull red. By this Popes authentication also *S. Clare* was canonized, hauing her festiuall day by her selfe apart, that she might obtaine the same respect from women, as *S. Francis* had from men. Other such blasphemies as these euen sraule and creepe all ouer his Legend. *Vrban* the fourth out of the same spirit at this verie instant instituted the festiuitie of *Corpus Christi*, or *Corpus Christi* day, of whose originall diuers Authors haue written diuersly. Some say it sprung from this, That the Priest celebrating the Sacrament in the citie of *Bolsca*, bloud was seene to come forth of the Hoast: From whence that Bull came, which began, *Transiturus de hoc mundo*, &c. Others report, That a certaine woman, a Recluse of the towne of *Liege*, called *Eue*, whom Pope *Vrban*, before his being Pope, had knowne familiarly, told him it was reuealed vnto her from aboue: Whereupon that other Bull came, *Scimus o filia*, &c. grounded on the like foundation. Vnder *Clement* the fourth *John Semeca* was the first that dared to write commentaries against *Gratians Decree*, for thus they relate of him, Some call him *John Teutonicus* gouernor of *Haltee*, who thought he had not slenderly deserued of this chaire, by many good maximes and digestis which he had published in fauour of the Popes, of which we will speake in their proper place. But when vnclement *Clement* demanded the tenthes of the German Clergie, vnder pretext of an holie warre, he discerning the knauerie, opposed himselfe, and appealed to a Councell, for which cause he was excommunicated: in which state notwithstanding he dying, for the renowme of his myracles he was afterwards canonized. *Gregoric* the tenth, as before you saw, ordained a forme and vse of electing the Pope in the Conclau: hee also in the Councell of Lyons reduced the Orders of Mendicants to foure speciall obseruants, new daily creeping in, and were now growne to be in number nine or ten; that *Saccorum Fratres*, *Fratres Pratorum*, and others. But *Nicholas* the third would haue the Minorite regularities publicly read in the scholes, threatening him with excommunication that should but withstand it. And yet we may cleerely see what manner of man he was, for as euerie one of the rest did, he likewise augmented the esteeme and repute of the Mendicants, that so they might make them the ordinarie toll-masters, and gatherers of his impositions and exactions. But it was *Honorius* at last that gaue them the height of their authoritie, so as afterwards the Popes grew into a ialousie and feare of them: that as they that were the sons, nephews, and progenie of heretikes (for thus they might nominat any whom they pleased) vnder no pretext or colour whatsoeuer, they could not be receiued to no personall dignitie, no publike function, nor Ecclesiasticall benefice. And in France we haue obserued by experience, what that beginning of the Bull meant, *Exhibita nobis*, &c. which was sent forth against the vpholders and fauourers of heretikes, that is to say, euen as their huffnor or passion lead them.

Krantzius in
Metrop. l. 9. c. 44

Summa consti-
tit.

Et in *Clement.*
3. de Reliquijs
& Veneratione
sanctorum tit.
10. c. 1.

Petrus Premon-
strat. in Chron.
qui inscribitur,
Biblia pauperu.
Arnoldus
Bosius.

Krantzius Sax-
onie l. 8. c. 17.
Auent. l. 7.
Volaterra in
Austropologia.
c. 21. Chron.
Æditiu.

O P P O S I T I O N .

A

This monster of the Papacie grew at length to such a greatnesse, that all the Christian parts would scantly satisfie their ambitious thirst; to which the Legats and Mendicants were like cloukes and talons to gripe and fasten on their prey: For first Princes feared their censures, not so much out of religion, as that they feared least their people would be abused by these stratagemes; or that ambitious neighbours, vnder this pretext might make some vse of them, for their owne avarice and greedinesse. And yet there wanted not those that opposed and withstood them, euen, as about all others, our king S. Lewis, who shined in an example herein beyond all the rest, in that his pragmaticall sanction, which discreetly runnes in this manner: *We will and commaund that the pestiferous crime of simonie, which defaceth and ruinate the Church, be utterly banished and extirpated out of our kingdome: As also we will in no wise permit any such exactions, and grieuous pecuniarie impositions, laid, or to be leuied upon our Church by the Court of Rome, whereby our kingdome is miserably imponerished; or that hereafter shall be imposed and layd, to be leuied or collected, except upon a reasonable, piows, and verie urgent occasion, or inevitable necessitie, and that by our owne voluntarie & expresse consent, as also by that of the Church of our whole kingdome.* He likewise reformed the location of benefices called *Prouisiones*, according to the auncient Canons of the Church, expressly forbidding the transporting of any money to Rome, for the confirmation of Prelats, either electiue or presentatiue. But the Clergie of England were yet somewhat more bold, for seeing the Legats neuer came thither but to pill and spoil the kingdome and the Clergie, they humbly intreated the king, That according to the auncient lawes and priuiledges of England, no Legat might be suffered to crosse the seas without expresse leaue and permission first demaunded. They likewise instantly required, That the like Decree might be enacted about the Mendicants, Predicants, and Minorites, especially those who are vulgarly called *Legatos sophisticos*, sophisticall Legats: and no doubt they had obtained this suit, but that they light on a king who was ready to joyne hands with the Pope, that soby a common accord they might both glib, and euen flea the people. *Rustand* the Popes Legat vrging a most tyrannicall and cruell exaction, whereto the king gaue his consent, *steeming out of the sulphuric fountaine (Oh miserable) of the Roman Church, Fulco* Bishop of London, in a verie solemne assembly, said, *Before I will agree to such a seruitude & iniurie to the Church, I will by intollerable oppression yeeld first my head to be cut off:* Then followed the Bishop of Worcester, who spake in a lowd voyce, *Before holie Church shall be subiect to such corrodiation, and vtter subuersion, I will be hanged on a gibbet.* *Rustand* replied, *All Churches were vnder the Pope,* when master *Leonard* modestly made this exception, *Tuitione, non fruitione,* in tuition, not in fruition; not to be ruined, but preferred. The king, to whom the Legat had granted a share in this gaine, threatned the Bishop of London with seuerer punishment, as he that instigated the rest; when he replied and said, *The Pope and the King, who are stronger than I, may take away my Bishoprick, which notwithstanding by no equitie they can doe; they may take away my Myster, but yet I shall haue an head-peece left.* All this occurred vnder *Alexander* the fourth, to which the people added, *This is the Pope who at his first comming to the chaire caused prayers and supplications to be made to God for him, that hee might raigne and gouerne well, how can it be that he should performe worse things than all the rest? God forbid.*

But no man bore himselfe herein more stoutly than *Seuual* Archbishop of York, of

Bo: bellus l. 4.
Decret. Galli-
can. p. 647.

Matth. Paris in
Henrico 3.

- A of whom, *S. Edmond*, Archbishop of Canturburie, out of whose schole he came, had presaged so many excellent things. This man perceiuing how the Pope with his prouisions, left nothing throughout his whole Archbishoprick vnharrowed, he with a noble constancie oppugned his proceedings. First, because he placed all the Ecclesiasticall benefices in Italians that were about himselfe, and so consequently were leauers of their flocks: and secondly, in that he commaunded all the Prelats of England to passe personally ouer the Alpes, to be confirmed at Rome: *Our Lord the Pope, therefore bare an heauie hand ouer him, and procuring him ignominiously to be excommunicated all England ouer, with lighting of tapers and ringing of Bells, that by this terrible and fearefull forme he might quail and daunt his constancie: but he no wayes dispaired of comfort, to be sent downe to him from heauen, patiently vndergoing the Popes tyrannie: neither would he suffer the large reuenewes of his church, to be conferred upon unworthie and unknowne Transalpineans, nor yet leauing the letter of strict equitie and right, effeminatly stoop to the Popes will and pleasure. Wherefore, the more he was cursed by the Popes order & commandement, the more the people blessed him, although closely for feare of the Romans. Flying out of this worldly prison, he ascended into heauen, while most constantly, with his whole power, he stoutly defended his Church from the tyrannie of the Roman Court, and sombeing depressed and vext with many tribulations, for this earthlie life, as all men firmly beleued, he purchased the kingdome of the highest heauens. And here it must not be omitted, that *S. Edmond* was euer wont to say vnto this his deare and speciall disciple, *O Seuual, Seuual, thou must leaue this world a Martyr, eyther by the sword, or else overlaid and euen killed with insuperable and grieuous worldlie afflictions. Yet let him be thy comfortor, who inspired that saying into his Psalmist, Multi tribulationes iustorum, de quibus quandoq; liberabit omnibus eos Dominus. Many are the tribulations of the righteous; but God shall deliuer them out of all.* The same Author also recounteth; that perceiuing himselfe approaching to death, lifting vp his watrie eyes vnto heauen, he burst out into these words. *I call the Pope by appeale before the supreme and most incorruptible Iudge, and both heauen and earth shall be my witnesses, how vniustly he hath prosecuted and scandalized me, with sundrie & importants oppressions. Wherefore, in this bitterness of soule, after Robert the bishop of Lincolns example, he by letters layd downe to the Pope all his enormous actions, and that he would obserue his admonitions in bandoning his accustomed tyrannies, and returning againe into the humble pathes of his holie predecessours: For the Lord sayd vnto Peter, Feed my sheepe, doe not sheare or flea them, doe not eniseraat and by continuall deuorations consume and destroy them. But our Lord Pope, scoffing and deriding hereat, conceived no small indignation, that they would breake out into such a presumption and rashnesse, as to dare in any wise to sollicit and moue him: and therefore he stopped his eare to the healthfull admonitions, both of Archbishop *Seuual*, as also of *Robert of Lincolne*. And yet our Author ascribeth miracles to this man. And these things also happened during the Papacie of *Alexander* the fourth.**

Vnder *Gregorie* the tenth, one *Nicholaus Gallus* a countrie man of ours, flourished, who was borne in Languedoc; the seuenth Prior generall of the Carmelites, who distasting the corruptions that then crept into his order, returned into his auncient hermitage, and there ended his life; he being Authour of that booke, intituled, *Ignia sagitta*, wherein he layes open the customes and manners of the Monkes of his time, especially the Mendicants; who beeing but newly risen vp, were yet growne to such an hight of deprauation, that in their conuents there was no so much as any mention made of studies, or any Christian exercises; so wholly

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wholly they were transported with pleasure and vncleanesse. That these, after the leauing of hermitages, and entering into cities, were so degenerated, as they seduced the present, and were like to corrupt those future and to come. And this was wholly the Popes fault, who denied them nothing, both to the Churches preiudice, and the danger of their owne saluation. Much after this vaine *Elias Rubens* an English man, in his *Simidiali* inferres, That the Monkes had conuerted religion into superstition, and turned from the interior to the exterior, to the forme of an hood, to colour, and to meats; making saluation to consist in things of themselves vaine, or indifferent. That there was no kind of men more blind in concupiscences, or infamous for vncleanesse, than the Clergie: that a man who otherwise was good and commendable for his life and manners, if he but once attained to any Clericall place, he was instantly transformed into a theefe; of a lambe he became a wolfe, and of a souldier of Christ a base broaker and huckster. And therefore it was deseruedly spoken of a Monke, who was consecrated to be a Bishop, *Monachum promouenda perimunt*, They kill the Monke by promoting him. All Bishops, breaking downe the walls, entred not into the Bishopricks by the open gate, neither could inferiors by any other meanes be promoted or preferred. The saying was in the Court of Rome, *Except you bring purses laden with money, you cannot be promoted to the honour of any Ecclesiasticall dignitie*. No esteeme was made of learning, vertue, or religion, *In such a case reall allegations of royals preuailed above learning, vertue, or morall understanding*: And therefore, because they thus promoted doe glorie in their exaltation by means of money, they afterwards become extreme and shamelesse extorters of money; but, *in my opinion, Ecclesiasticall persons erre mightily in this, nay what may we say of the verie gouernours and rulers of the Church? certainly, to auerre nothing but truth, without lying, we can deliuer no good of them in generall*. *Nicholas* of Biberache in Germanie affirmed no lesse: He tells how he was at Rome, and declares how they there vsed only fained flatteries toward strangers & leamed men, and that *Turamenta per oscula Indau*, Oathes passed for *Indas* kisses: Faith and pietie were there rare and deere like aromaticall spices. And that the Pope and his assistants raked all to themselves, being robbers and theeues, worfe than *Pharao*, *Perpetuo in sinu mulierum*, and dayly lulling in womens laps: he concluding in these verses:

*Papa dicatis, precor intuitu pietatis,
Quod stat in Ecclesia, iam multiplex simonia:
Et mala quamplura, fidei qua sunt nocitura,
Quae si durabunt, eclipsim forte creabunt.*

Shew to the Pope in zeale and pietie,
That in the Church raignes too much simonie,
And euils many more that hurtfull are,
Which will eclipse true faith in spreading farre.

He presaging herein some eclipse and reuolt in the Church. But *Arnold de Villa noua*, borne in Catalognia, a man endued with the knowledge of all Tongues and Sciences, speaks somewhat more broadly: *The diuell (saith he) led all Christian people from the veritie and truth of Iesus Christ. The faith that Christians now retaine is but such as the diuels themselves hold. All Cloysters swarue from charitie, and are damned. All falsifie the doctrine of Christ, and Diuines did ill, namely the Schole-men, in mixing Philosophie with Diuinitie. The Popes*

in their consultations haue no regard but to humane respect and interests. And as for doctrine, he expressly condemneth the sacrifice of the Altar. Masses are not to be celebrated. We must not sacrifice for the dead: Nothing herein is offered vnto God. Almes rather represents the passion of Christ, than this sacrifice. He therefore for these propositions was condemned of heresie by Frier *John* of Longuil, of the Order of the Predicants, and *Geoffrey* of Crudilles.

But Germanie vnder, *Honorius* the fourth, renewed her auncient vertue, & sent *John* Bishop of Tusculum, a Roman Cardinall, to *Rodulphus* the Emperour, vnder pretext of intreating him to goe into Italie, there to be crowned, which notwithstanding he did not greatly desire: and he demaunded of all his Clergie for five yeeres, a fourth of all reuenues as well secular as Ecclesiasticall; as also of the Conuents of women and Nunnes. A Diet therefore was called at *Wwitzberge*, where his demaunds and patents were opened, being corroborated and vrged with many intimations and reasons. By a generall consent the Archbishop of *Collen* rose vp, who opposing himselfe, appealed to a generall Councell; and as he was deliuering there reasons, according to the charge imposed vpon him, hee was by the Cardinall interrupted, threatened, and excommunicated. The Monks and Priests receiued him with scorne and laughter, filling the whole temple with clamors and tumult. He exclaimed of the wrong and violence done vnto him, imploring aid of the Emperour, who was present; who by his Marshall caused him to be conducted, halfe dead, into his lodging. Then *Probus* Bishop of *Thoul*, a Doctor of Diuinitie, standing on his feet neere to the Font, made this Oration: *How long (deere Collegues) shall these Romulan Vultures abuse our patience, if rather I may not say, our follie and blindnesse? How long shall we endure their impietie, auarice, pride, and exorbitancies? This wicked race of arch Synagoguists will neuer giue ouer before they haue brought vs all to powertie, & slavish seruitude. And comparing the Popes to the Iewish Priests, Our owne discord (saide he) brought forth this inconuenience. These imposters haue made use of our differences, and as long as they are upheld the Christians will neuer be able to enioy happie peace, to auoyd the miseries of warre, or to exercise pietie and charitie one towards another. They lately set the Suenians and Saxons together by the eares, then did they deprive both of State and life Frederick the second, an excellent member of the Christian Commonwealth, and Conrade the fourth, both Suenian, and worthie Princes. The impes of Sathan and Antichrist sowed seditious and dissentions in Germanie, then afterwards by fraud and deceit they intercepted and put to death Conrade, a most innocent and harmlesse yong gentleman, of singular hopes, and one might say, an offspring of heauen, in seeking, by the law of nations, but to recover the inheritance of his royall progenitors. They stirred up the Suenians against the French (Conrade against Charles) causing them to take vp armes, as a spectacle of pleasure and delight to themselves; afterwards against these they excited the Spaniards, and now they would set vs against the French and Spaniards, being our consanguinians, and comming heretofore out of Germanie, to driue both the one and other out of Italie.) You must needs remember what that famous Decimist, *Gregorie* the tenth, about ten yeeres since, did with his tenthes, and the same will this *Honorius* the fourth doe with his fourthes. Thus this subtil *Gregorie*, to wipe vs of these tenthes, he armed against vs the Scythians, Arabians, and Turkes: And if I should not lye, truely beleeuvs, considering the great profits that come in to him by this meane, that he wishes better to them than vs. These of the Order of *S. Bernard*, to whom notwithstanding he professed much kindnesse, were faine to redeeme themselves with a summe of 600000 crownes. Hereby you may see what his conuentions cost, and what summes of money are raised thereby. One deceit intrudes another,*

Bernard, Luitzenbergens. Catalogo hereticorum.

Auent. 17. Tancleuus vol. 2. Gener. 43.

ther, and his Decrees paffe vnder the forme rather of subtiltie and deceit, than of open A
 A quitie and iustice. And euen as Sathan transformes himselfe into an Angell of light, so
 doe they inuent meanes and deuises how to cast a mist before the peoples eyes. And that
 these things are no wayes agreeable nor pleasing to Christ our Lord and God, the euents and
 issues, except we be utterly blind, doe plainly proue, daily effects teach vs, and the holie
 Scriptures in euerie place declare and manifest. Wherefore, most reuerend Fathers in Christ,
 wake your selues out of this sleepe, prouide and succour things almost lost and perished, re-
 gard and defend the Commonwealth. Our predecessors, who notwithstanding held not then
 the Empire, did euer shake off the Roman yoke, though they were a people expert in armes,
 skilfull in militarie discipline, conquerors of nations, subduers of the whole world, and a
 terror to mankind, not well enduring their Empire so much as ouer confining and border- B
 B ing countries, and shall we (not to speake more bitterly) basely submit our selues to boyes
 and effeminats? What this Tusculan is I am not ignorant, I know well his maners and fa-
 shions, he is a gold-sucker, an vsurer, a perfidious man, and a seruile slaue to money and
 coyne. I lightly esteeme of his threatnings, and appeale vnto the generall Councell of the
 whole Christian Commonwealth. When Probus had vttered these words, and all the rest
 both approued and followed his opinion, Tusculan fearing some violence to be offered, and
 therefore not daring to come abroad, in a few dayes by little and little they all slunke away.
 And so nothing at all being done in the matter, the assembly was dissolued. But the Pope
 for reuenge of this contumelie, thundered excommunication against Probus, and
 did what he could to depriue him of his Bishopricke. C

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In the like case Mathew Paris the Monke breaks out into this exclamation, O
 the seruile and vaine solicitations of the Roman Court, O blind, though holie ambition (so
 he speakes by ironie) which notwithstanding is oftentimes abused by the counsel of the
 wicked, why dost thou not suppress thy violence with the bridle of discretion, learning
 wit by things past, & hauing beene taught and chastised by so often and much experience?
 In thy ruines we are all punished. We all suffer and feele with opprobrie a generall confu-
 sion. Thou didst attempt to create two Emperors in Germanie, in whose preferment infinit
 treasures (howsoeuer gotten and brought in) must needs be wasted, and yet both of them
 vncertaine and doubtfull of the dignitie. And now in the parts of Apulia the Popes armie D
 D being twice most shamefully overthrowne, that is to say, once vnder the conduct of Willi-
 am the Cardinall, and secondly vnder the Legatship and gouernement of Cardinall Ocla-
 uian, it hath preiudiced the children of the whole Church by stealths and rapines, drown-
 ed them with opprobries, and euen mortally wounded them with anguishes and vexati-
 ons. And to conclude in few words, the generall Church, which was supposed to be defend-
 ed by the Roman Court, complains her selfe to haue beene rather in many things aggra-
 uated and oppress. These things fell out a little before vnder Alexander the fourth.

Vnder the same Pope also fell out the controuersies betweene the Diuines of
 Paris and the Mendicants, who of Pharifies becoming the Popes Publicans,
 proued the verie scourge of other ordinarie Pastors, and the disturbers of all Vni-
 uersities: As also wee haue lately seene that they were rebuked and condemned E
 E for many hereticall propositions, readie to haue beene excommunicated if they
 had persevered and stood in the same. And now againe they are censured of a new
 crime and error, especially the Dominicans, being the authors of a new Gospel,
 which they call Eternall, by which they meant to haue buried in obliuion the sa-
 cred Testament of our Lord Iesus. Authors therefore speake of it in these words,
 Rancors and hatreds multiplying betweene the Masters of Paris and the Friars Predi-
 cant, certaine famous Doctours, publike Readers, were chosen, with sound deliberation and
 aduice, that is to say, Master William de Sancto Amore, or S. Amors, Master Otho of Dou-
 uey,

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any, who had worthily discharged themselues in the Artes and Decretalls, and then in Di-
 uinitie, Master Christian, Canon of Beunais, a great Philosopher, and afterwards a Di-
 uine, Master Nicholas of Baro upon Aube, professor in the Artes, Lawes, and Decretals,
 being readie to read publicly in Diuinitie, Master Iohn of Sechwill, an English man, the
 Vniuersitie Rhetoritian, and Master Iohn Belim a French man, all these being famous Phi-
 losophers, and professors in the Artes. These men proceeding from worthie parents, be-
 cause the Christian faith began to be much shaken and depraued, were out of mature aduice
 and iudgement chosen to goe to Rome, and to moue our Lord the Pope for a reconciliation
 in the Vniuersitie of Paris, and a reestablishment of the Christian faith, especially
 in that this euill threatened a further propagation and encrease: and for their char-
 ges a common collection was made ouer all the Vniuersitie. For it was reported that
 the Friars preached, read, and taught, certaine new opinions and errors, drawne out of a
 booke of one Iochim an Abbot, whose writings Pope Gregorie condemned: and they had
 written a booke which it pleased them to intitle thus, Incipit Euangelium eternum,
 Here begins the eternall Gospell; with some other poynts which it is not requisite to repeat.
 The Predicants on the other side sent their special messengers against the Vniuersitie, that
 they might oppugne the masters face to face. The people scoffed at them, withdrawing their
 accustomed almes, and tearing them Antichrists, hypocrites, and the successors of Anti-
 christ, false preachers, flatterers, and misleadors of Princes, contemptors of ordinarie Pa-
 stors, and their supplanters, creepers into royall chambers, and adulterators of confessions,
 as they that roaming ouer unknowne Prouinces, administred a libertie and boldnesse of
 sinning. All these complaints being heard, the Pope commaunded that this new booke, C
 C which they called The eternall Gospell, should secretly, and with as little scandall as could
 be to the Friars, be burnt, with some other inuentions, which were said to proceed from
 Iochims erroneous braine. This execution therefore was closely and priuily performed,
 and with as little scandall as possible might be to the Friars, through the speciall diligence
 of Cardinall Hugo, and the Bishop of Messina, both which were of the Predicant Order:
 so as this tumult at that time ceased and slept. The opinions of this Gospell were
 these, That God the Father raigned vnder the Law, and the Sonne vnder Grace, but by
 the rising of the foure Orders Mendicants, the holie Ghost began then to raigne, and so
 should doe while the end of the world; and that from this time forward they onely should
 be saued, that beleued in this new Gospell: That Christs Gospell was not true, perfect, nor
 sufficient to saluation, as also his Sacraments were of little esteeme; but if this new one
 were compared with that, it as farre exceeded it as the Sunne doth the Moore, and so
 consequently, that the Church which should be grounded on this new Gospell, would in the
 same proportion excell the other precedent. The authors notwithstanding of these in-
 uentions, which were to be extirpated, the Pope did tollerat and support; be-
 cause any thing whatsoever, seemes just and equall to them, so it make for their
 prerogatiue and powers; and they were afraid especially, least these their hucksters
 should grow out of grace with the people, by whose tongues and talons so much
 good bootie and spoyle came vnto their hands. Wherefore that same William of
 S. Amors, one of wonderful estimation amongst good men, both preached & writ
 against them, declaring in his sermons, That he affected aboue all other crimes,
 to be zealous in discouering of hypocrisie, because this brought more damage
 and preiudice to true pietie than all the other besides; as also in that the Church
 was now ouergrowne with the same sinne, and no bodie, for feare of the Pope and
 Prelats, durst lay hand to the irradiation of it. Amongst others, wee read at this
 day a booke of his intituled, De periculis mundi, seu nouissimorum temporum, which
 begins thus, Quia nos vacantes sacris Scripturis, &c. printed at Basil in the yeare
 1555, and no wayes to be suspected of falsitie, seeing Mathew Paris in a great vo-
 lume

Math. Paris in
 libro de Anti-
 christo.

lume that he writ against Antichrist, comprehends the same wholly and entirely, A ascribing it to the Vniuersitie of Paris, and this questionlesse, because it was made and published by authoritie thereof, especially in that hee alwayes speakes in the Plurall number. In which booke he conuinceth them, That they preached vsent, or at least without a Mission canonicall, against, and contrarie to the veritie of the sacred Scriptures, and fraudulently concealing that which should most principally be deliuered: That they crept into houses, and insinuated into the peoples priuities by confessions, whom by this means they bring vnder their power, the easier to commaund and rule them: And they call themselues *Generall aders and supporters of the Church*, preferring themselues before all men, even before the religious Orders themselues: And to appeare the more holy, they deuise new B and superstitious traditions: That they loued the highest places at inuitements, and the chiefest chaires in Synagogues, reuerences and low bowings in the open market places, and of men to be called Rabbies: That they vaunted of the great good they did in the Church of God, boasted of their owne and their followers myracles, and chalenging the prayse of that they neuer performed: That vnder pretext of humilitie they insinuated themselues into the Courts of Princes, and affect to be reputed Courtiers: That they smoothed the defects of men, and arrogantly assumed a farre greater zeale than that of ordinarie Pastors: That at first men entertaine them joyfully, but at last they grow wearie of them, the which C happened quite contrary with the true Apostles: That they asked with importunitie, and receiued indifferently, not to releue necessities, but to prosecute their delights and pleasures: To conclude, That they solicited and sued to obtaine letters commendatorie from great men. (And here the Reader may obserue the maners and carriage of these Neotericke Pharisies.) The same man deliuered in a certaine sermon, That Christ chose plaine and simple men to preach, but Antichrist on the D contrarie, for the propagation of his falsities and errours, made election of men of a double heart, subtile and expert in worldlie policies, and not onely Antichrist himselfe made choyce of such, but also his members and champions. No maruell therefore though they persecute the professors of the Christian faith to death, seeing *John* faith in his Apocalyps, *I saw a beast rise out of the sea that had seven heads and seven hornes*: this beast was intended by Antichrist and his followers.

And certaine yeares after, *John de Poliac*, *Williams* disciple, and *Laurence* an English man, defended these propositions publicly in Sorbon: In a sermon of his he particularly admonished the Church, *That a great danger hung ouer her head by the Monkes: That they were the seducers and ministers of Antichrist, of Antichrist who was hard at their doores*. But when the Pope had suppressed the scandall of this new Gospell, least it might haue prejudiced his affaires, taking an occasion of reuenge against *William* of *S. Omers*, and some other his like, for the denunciation of these trutthes, whether by right or wrong, he published and declared him for an heretike; as also he complained of him to our Princes, that had need of his helpe and fauour, and caused him to be expelled out of the Vniuersitie, which remained as it were desart and forsaken; exciting in like manner *Thomas Bonauentura* and others, to write against him: so as all true Diuinitie yielded to Sophistrie, and *Paul* to *Aristotle*. But so the Mendicants on the other side euen seized on the Diuinitie Scholes, and the Canonists on the Ciuilians chaire, that so all points were decided by *Gratian* and *Lombard*, and of the holie Scriptures there was not so much as any mention in scholes. Out of their studies therefore from this time forward came bookes, easie to be smelt by their verie titles, as *Summe*, *Repetoria*, *Quodlibeta*, *Rosaria*,

Guilielmus de Sancto Amore lib. de periculis mundi edito Basilee An. 1555.

Duo Conciones Guilielmi de Sancto Amore in Antilogia Basilee edita, An. 1555.

Laurentius Anglicus in defensione Guilielmi de Sancto Amore, & Tractat. Cauendum esse a Pseudopropheta. Serm. in die Philippi & Jacobi, Thomas Cantipratensis in Apibus mysticis.

A *saria*, *Legenda*, *Specula*, in *Sententias*, *Decreta*, *Ordines*, *Monachorum Regulas*, *Confessiones*, *Tractatus de Potentia Papae & Clauium*, *de utilitate vite Monasticae*, *de Mendicitate*, *de sex alis Seraphim*, *de septem gradibus contemplationis*, with other such like: by meanes of which the mysts and darkenesse of ignorance and superstition taking further condensation, euen in these our dayes, the Papal tyrannie is risen to her verie top and height.

And here we must by no meanes omit, that *Michael Paleologus* Emperour of Greece, vpon hope to be succoured by *Gregorie* the tenth, promised in the Councell of Lyon to make the Patriarch of Constantinople consent to the Primacie of the Bishop of Rome, & that whosoeuer would he might thither appeale, by a *nesessarie* counsell faith *Trithemius*, at his returne into Greece putting *John Becke*, and some of his neere friends into a deepe dungeon, and there detaining him a good while, he wrought him to such a passe, as that he by letters gaue his consent and agreement thereunto. But *Michael* was no sooner dead when the Bishops of Greece deposed *John* by common consent, created another in his stead, and renounced all that which had formerly passed in the Councell to the preiudice of their liberties and prerogatiues; so as also the Clergie of the countrey being wonderfully prouoked by this matter, they denied *Michael* buriall in the holie Temple, notwithstanding any instance and suit that his sonne *Andronicus* made.

The Waldenses still continued during all these times in diuers countries, against whom the Dominicans, taking vpon them the office of Inquisition, they omitted no kind of rigour, but burned them aliue by dozens, and yet they augmented in such sort, that their verie ashes, by the power of God, being conuerted into the seed of the Gospell, the verie Bishops and Iudges (which appeareth out of the Decrees and sentences that were then denounced, especially in Auignon) were euen amazed at their constancie; and so by the inutilitie of rigorous punishments they were deterred from their crueltie. These things occurred in the yeare 1283, *Martine* the fourth hauing the Papall dignitie.

Chron. Hirsau. Nicephorus Gregoras in Histor. l. 5. & 6.

Thomas Cantipratensis l. 1. c. 55 Blondus Decade 2. l. 9.

An. 1283.

54. PROGRESSION.

An accord of peace made betwixt Charles of Anjou and Iames of Arragon, by the Popes meanes is broken, and reentred into againe. Pope Nicholas dyes.

John de Ascoli, of the order of the Minorites, succeeded *Honorius*, being elected on Mount Auentine, who was called *Nicholas* the fourth. He presently removed the Court to Rietto, either through the intemperature of the aire, which had bin verie infectious the yeare before, or that he was vexed with popular seditions, but being wearie of the place, the yeare following he returned to Rome. The Kingdomes of Apulia and Sicilia, were then the verie roots of all discord: wherefore it was accorded betweene *Charles* the second of Anjou, and *Iames* of Aragon, that *Iames* should haue Sicilia, wherein he should be inuested by the Pope, and this *Charles* tooke vpon him, and the Pope promised. The occasion of this accord grew from a nauall ouerthrow that *Charles* receiued, wherein he was taken and imprisoned, and being set at libertie he promised to returne againe, except within three yeares he made a full satisfaction: and in the meane while he left *Charles* and *Lewis* his sonnes for hostages. The affairs of Siria were now reduced to so miserable a passe, as nothing but finall ruine and destruction was daily expected: for the Souldan hauing taken in Tripoli, Tyre, Barut, and many other important places,

ces, there remained onely Ptolomaida to the Christians in all Palestine, and this likewise cried out incessantly for succor. These occasions excited *Nicholas* to ruer all the Christian forces that way: and so consequently by his authority to ruer tise a peace betweene *Charles* of Anjou, and *James* of Aragon. And himselfe sent fifteen hundred horse at his owne charge to Palestina, but so vnseasonable and with such ill direction, as imploying their first force against the Christians, they filled all places with rapines, adulteries, whore domes, and deuastations: then sccondly they broke the truce with the Souldan when it was most necessary to haue beene obserued, for the attending of fresh supplies: and this first error of *Nicholas* is specified vnto vs in the Historie of his time; Another is annexed, which de- faced the only happinesse of his Papacie; For desiring to gratifie *Charles* the second, he broke the peace constituted betwixt him and Aragon: And meaning to conferre vpon *Charles*, the kingdome due vnto him by paternall succession; he created him king of both the Siciles, of that beyond, and of the other of this side the Sea: with this permission, That for sixe yeares it should be lawfull for him to demaund the tenths. The which *James* being no wayes able to digest, he pressed *Charles* so hotly, as that the Pope himselfe consenting thereunto, he was enforced to his former accord, which he promised within two yeres to performe: but then during these protra- ctions, Ptolomais was miserably lost, and whatsoeuer had beene recouered in A- sia, by so much toyle and Christian bloud spilt, Cyprus onely excepted and the coast of Cilicia. This happened in the yeare 1290, wherein both Pope *Nicholas* and *Rodolphus* the Emperour died. *Rodolphus*, who while he liued neuer made ac- count of his consecration at Rome, though he was often perswaded thereunto, both by the Popes and by his owne Nobilitie; *Italie*, said he, hath ouerthrowne many *Alman* kings, I will not goe to Rome, I am a king and an Emperour, and I hope I shall discharge my selfe no worse for the benefit and good of the Common-wealth than if I had beene crowned at Rome. And *Nicholas* at his death endeauoured to propa- gate the Papacie, in the order of the Minorites. It is reported, saith *Krantzius*, that when he saw he should die, he called all the Cardinals together, and recounting vnto them his whole life past, out of his plenarie and absolute power, he discharged them of the place and dignitie they held, for the remainder of their liues to liue priuately: where- at the Cardinals at the first much wondred, afterwards (as a man that drew nere to his end, supposing him to be extaticall, or frantique) they left him: but then he called so many Friers of his owne order, on whom he imposed the Titles of Cardinals, obliging them by oath, That after his death they should create none Pope but of that Order, nor suf- fer any to be admitted into their Colledge, but those of that Fraternitie: and so hauing made this Testament he dyed. A most wonderfull thing, if a true report. And hereupon it is said, that till *Sixtus* the fourths time, there vsed to be a priuie Pope amongst the Mi- norites, which failed in his person when he came to be elected Pope publikely. This so sin- gular a note of blind and precipitant ambition, both in and after his death, de- serues thus briefly an end of this Progress.

OPPOSITION.

Vnder *Nicholas*, the Clergies complaint against the Mendicants was reuiued, they informing, That these men supplant all ordinarie Priests; the Vniuersitie of Paris joyning with them herein, but especially the Colledge of Sorbon. Now let but the Reader iudge what equitie or conscience one might expect in this Pope, transported with such a violent ambition of perpetuating the Papacie in

A his Order. Wherefore foure Archbishops and twentie Bishops, together with the Rector, faculties, and supposits of the Vniuersitie, assembled together in the Bishop of Paris hall, before whom the Archbishop of Burges, a profound Clerke (sayth our Author) generally reputed, made an Oration of charitie in these words, At this day charitie is waxen cold, and Order Ecclesiasticall wholly confounded, seeing many put their sickles into other mens corne; so as the Church may now truly bee tear- med a monster: For euen as in a naturall bodie we count it monstrous, when one member dischargeth another's office, euen so is it in a bodie spirituall, that is, in the Church, when the learned and prudent Friers, I meane the Maiorites and Minorites, vsurpe the place and office especially committed to vs, though most vniustly, in that no man should assume vnto himselfe this honour, except, like *Aaron*, hee were called therunto by the Lord. Because therefore we haue many times cited for this cause the Monkes personally before the king, as also by the mouthes of diuers other of the Nobilitie, entreated them to desist from intruding into our office, yet haue they not done it, but preached throughout all our diocesses against our wills, and heard confessions, warranting themselues herein by the Popes priuiledges. We come vnto you before whom we are present, hauing letters of rati- fication from all the Bishops in France, to make complaint vnto you of the Friers great in- solencie, because what we are, yee are one day like to be. For I suppose there is not one Prelate amongst vs, which was not called to his place out of this Vniuersitie. After this the Bishop of Amiens rose vp, who declared by many reasons, how it was no wayes probable the Popes mind was, that the priuiledges granted to the Mendic- ants should be prejudiciall to other members of the Church, especially in that Decretall of *Innocent* the third, *Omnis vtriusque sexus*, he intreating the Vniuersitie to joyne themselues in this cause with the Prelats, who were resolved to repell this iniurie, though it were with the losse of their liues: Exhorting likewise the Fri- ers Mendicants to repayre to Rome for a solution of these doubts and difficul- ties. The Mendicants by one of their societie made answer, That the same Bi- shop of Amiens was at Rome when these priuiledges were granted them; as also that the Prelats had then there both procurers and sollicitors, who spared no labour nor endeouour, and yet the Pope absolutely denounced, *Placet*, it pleaseth me: And therefore (said they) what hath authentically beene granted vs, wee haue no reason now to debate or call in question againe, because we are no members of any Vniuersitie. The day following the festiuitie of the Virgine *Maries* con- ception was celebrated at the Minorites, when one of the Majorites (the Do- minicans I meane) applied his whole sermon to this poynt: There the Scripture was fulfilled, which sayd, That day *Herod* and *Pylas* were made friends; for concerning her conception the difference was betwixt them. At length in an assemblee fol- lowing, held at the Bernardines on Saint *Thomas* eue, the Bishop of Amiens againe rose vp, and expounding that place, *Propè est Dominus inuocantibus eum in veritate*, according to a certaine Glosse of the Decretals, hee made three kinde of truths, The truth of Life, the truth of Doctrine, and the truth of In- justice; shewing by many authorities both in Diuinitie, the Canons and the Lawes, as also by euident effects, That there neither concurred with the Friers truth of Life, be- cause they are conuicted of manifest hypocrisie; nor veritie of Doctrine, because their mouthes preach honie, and their hearts harbour gall; neither any truth of Equitie and Iustice, because they vsurpe and take vnto themselues other mens functions. And so comming to a conclusion, hee caused the said priuiledges to be once more read with the said Constitution. Thus much *Godefridus de Fontibus*, who was then a Sor- bon Doctor, reports.

But Germanie neglecting the branches, put her hatchet to the very root of the Tree: For *Nicholas* had commaunded the Archbishops of Germanie, euerie one in his feuerall Prouince, to call a Councell: where vnder pretext of recouering the holie Land, he demaunded againe the tenths, which had so often afore bin abusiuely exacted, and employed: and the Bishop of Saltzburg to this end commaunded his Suffragans and Diocesans: who perceiuing the Roman auarice, to aime againe at the tenths, some few in behalfe of the whole assemblie made answer, How it was an hard matter to be graunted, and that with extraordinarie tribute and taxations they had bene wonderfully worne and wasted; and therefore it were much more necessarie to debate of an head for the Christian Common wealth, and then to reduce the Princes to loue and amitie, for without their authoritie, nothing could be decreed. In the same Councell, by the Popes commaund, *Meynard* Count of Tyroll, was excommunicated out of the Church, for two causes: first, because he detained certaine holds, within the Bishoprick of Trent, by maine force, and then in that vexing *Henrie* the Bishop with continuall warre, he enforced him at last to giue ouer his Bishoprick: but when he was dead *Nicholas* gaue this Bishoprick to *Philip* of Manton, by whose infligation he had excommunicated *Meynard*. He therefore protested against the injurie done vnto him by the Fathers, & by a publique Apologie, made a defence of himselfe. Vndoubtedly, saith he, I doe not raise but repell a warre, for there was neuer any thing more deare vnto me than to maintaine peace with euerie man, especially with the Bishops; but that these good Fathers, being corrupted with too great abundance, as other men are, haue care of a disordinate desire of rule, taken vp armes against vs altogether vnderstandedly, and laboured to drine vs out of our hereditarie Lands: Then indeed I betooke my selfe to armes, recouered certaine Castles from the enemies of my Countrie, that so I and my people might enjoy peace without the tumult and disturbance of warre. But if any man would be a securitie or pledge that I might not stand in feare of these wolues, and their treacheries, and that the like outrage shall neuer be committed vpon vs, by these proud and puffed vp Archbishops and gnipts (for I doubt whether I may name them Pastours) I would forthwith surrender all things againe: but otherwise I neuer meane to show my selfe so foolish, to suffer my selfe to be ript off my arme, or witting to expose both me and mine for a scorne and laughing stocke to these effeminate Antichrists and prodigious Eunuches: For who infringe Christian concord more than they, not giuing their minds to interpret or teach the holie Scriptures, but to get children; they loue wine, accumulate and most eagerly affect wealth, kingdomes, glorie and domination: For these things they contend with vs, in the blood of their sheepe: Christs pouertie and simplicitie, they are so farre from desiring, as they deride the same and studie how to race out all memoriall thereof: and therefore if these be not Antichrists, what then I pray you are they? Is this to feed the sheepe? to loue the stocke? to affect kingdomes, wealth, and other mens proprieties, for more glorie and dignities sake to draw the sword, oppresse their flockes, to kill and make warre: The precepts of Christ they inuert and condemne, and your coat and cloake they wold take away by maine force. Who is so stoue dull, or to speake more truely, so dull and stoue, patiently to beare the pride, arrogancie, perfidie, fraud, flagition, wickednesse, exesse, and auarice of such Insolents? being worse than Turkes, Saracens, Tartarans, and Jewes, in that they worship Christian integritie more than all these, by infringing the libertie obtained and purchased in the blood of Christ, and drawing to themselves all authoritie and power. They being borne our naturall subiects, against the Lawes of Nations, contrarie to the Lawes, Oracles, and authorities diuine, they themselves would rule & haue their Souerainties obey: The common saying is true, That the Priests by superstition

Auent. l. 7.

A tious delusions, cast a mist before mortall mens eyes, and by ceremonies, & cassis carminibus, ambiguous verses, deprave their understandings, and dull their senses, as it were with a potion of Mandragoras: does it belong to the Shepheard, to share or milke the flockes? and must not a messenger aduance the affaires of his Lord, or of those whomsoever for whose benefit he is sent and employed? And therefore from a cruell and iniust Pope, I appeal to a most iust Pastour, and a most clement Father. While these things daily came to the Popes vnderstanding, he left this life: And *Celestine*, the fifth, did afterwards releafe *Meynard* of this excommunication.

55. PROGRESSION.

B After a long vacancie, *Peter Moron*, an Hermit, was chosen Pope, but out of his simplicitie, being abused by *Benedict*, who was afterwards *Boniface* the 8, he renounced the Papacie, and priuily retourning to his hermitage, he was in the way by *Boniface* intercepted and put in prison, where he died, as reports went, being by *Boniface* put to death.

AFTER *Nicholas* death, the Cardinals by reason of the intemperature of the aire left Rome, and went to Perugia: and some were readie to affirme that all the disasters, which *Nicholas* brought vpon Christendome grew from this, that he was chosen at Rome in an infectious time. But in deed the true cause was their owne ambition, which so distracted their minds, in such sort, that in three moneths space they could agree vpon no successour. Although *Charles* king of Apulia, who foresaw these inconueniences remoued thither, to presse them forward, yet they delayed it for certaine moneths, so as *Benedict*, Cardinall of Cajeta, who afterwards was *Boniface* the eight, vrged them with many entreaties, as if his words should haue enforced them. But when he was gone they chose *Peter Moron*, an hermit, one that was verie old, but voyced to be of a verie good life. This was *Celestine* the fifth, if we may belieue *Stella*, elected by way of skorne and derision. And because it seemed straunge, that any should be chosen Pope but out of the middest of the Roman pride, 200000 are sayd to haue had recourse to his coronation. And in the first copulstorie, resolving to reforme the Roman Church, after Christs example, he made shew that he would ride on an Ass, and that the Cardinals should doe the like, which was a thing remote from their manners & customs: afterwards they winfully suffered him to fall into many grosse and childish petulancies, through his inexperience, that euerie man might hereby plainly discern how requisite it was to make choyce of another. But he sending out these stratagemes, began to be wearie of his imposed dignitie, desiring to be eased of it, though *Charles* perswaded him by all meanes to retain the Papacie, and for this end, carried him to Naples, causing the Archbishop in presence of all the people to demand his benediction, and feriously adiuuring him that hee would not renounce the Papacie. At length Cardinall *Benedict* policie carried the matter sheere away; for being retourned to Rome, *Benedict* being a verie subtle Canonist, put many toyes vnto his head, presenting herein vnto him the great burthen and trouble of his function: what a charge it was to giue an account of all the soules in the world: then how the course of his saluation should be hindered, if either through the infirmities of his yeares, or ignorance in affaires, the Christian Church should suffer any detriment: Nay further, he suborned di-

Stella in Pontifico Platina in Celestino. 5. Christianus Massius in Chronico. Henricus Erfordensis in Chronico. Auent. l. 7.

uers

uers, who priuily in the night by a reed or trunk conueyed to his care, should admonish him as if it were from aboue, *Celestine, Celestine, giue ouer the Papacie, if thou meanest to be saued, it is a burden beyond thy strength to support*; that so hee might thinke himselfe perswaded and vrged thereunto by some angell. This simple man therefore intended nothing else but how hee might resigne the Papacie, so this scruple could be removed, That he might doe it with a good conscience; where-in *Benedict* easily gaue him satisfaction, and producing many reasons, he caused a Decretall to be passed, *That the Pope might lawfully giue ouer his charge*. And not long insisting in this, he digested another like Decretall, which wee find in *Sexto*, *That the Pope might freely renounce the Papacie*; although when *Celestine* was dead he passed another, That it was *scelus inexcipiabile*, an inexcipable sinne to renounce the Papacie, the same Cardinals affirming and denying one and the selfsame thing, with their suffrages and consents. *Celestine* therefore reuolued onely in his mind how he might renounce the Papacie, and returne to his hermitage; but withdrawing himselfe priuily to goe thither, *Boniface* intercepted him in his journey, & cast him into a most strait imprisonment, that so he might hasten his death, as was thought: *For this subtle man much feared* (saith our Historiographer) *and not long time after it plainly appeared, least the people should rather follow Peter, so famous for his vnspeotted sanctitie, than himselfe swarming in doctrine, swelling in pride and arrogancie of mind, as Pope of Rome, successor to Peter, and Christs Vicar vpon earth.* There was none out of doubt which did not vtterly condemne his violent imprisonment, and vpon the rumor of his death *diuers opprobrious and ignominious reports were openly divulged both in the Court and Cittie, against Pope Boniface.* Thus spake *Blondus*, *Platina*, and others, of the ambition, impudencie, insolence, & ingratitude of *Boniface*. But aboue all others *Colenucius* speakes plainly to the poynt, and auers, That he cruelly caused him to be put to death in prison.

His Papacie afterwards exceeded in all kind of iniustice and violence, so as not without cause *Langius Monachus Cisticensis* said of him, *Tyrannizing rather with a Lyon-like mind, than Papizing, he sought to strike a feare and terror of himselfe in all the world.* Being jealous of *Iames* and *Peter Colonna*, Cardinals, as also of the whole familie of the *Colonesi*, he raised the Croysado against them, so as they were driuen to retire into *Preneste*, which then was held by *Sarra Colonna* their vnckle. This towne he presently besieged with the Croysadoes, who, to escape his hands, left the towne, and the same afterwards being driuen to yeeld, in reuenge and hatred to them, he vtterly demolished it, extending the same furie and rage to *Zagaruolo*, and other places whither they fled. Afterwards he deprived both the Cardinals of their hats, he excommunicated and banished out of Rome & the Church the whole familie, and *Sarra* by name, their vnckle, as *Petrarch* sayes, hee droue to such plunges, as he was constrained to roue priuily vp and downe the woods and defarts, nor daring to commit his life into any ones hands, for feare of being betrayed vnto *Boniface*. They complained to all Christian Princes of this violence offered them, which he stucke not to insert into the sixt booke of Decretals, which he then published, glorying therein, as in a thing honestly and justly performed. With the same furie and intemperance he proceeded against all the Gibellines and allies of the Empire. And here we will make mention of a stratageme well be-seeming and worthie of this prophane Pope: *Porchetto Spinola*, one of the *Minorites* Order, was nominated to succeed *Iames Varagine*, Archbishop of *Genues*; for his confirmation he came to Rome on an Ashwednesday, amongst many others *Porchetto* also fell down at his feet, to be signed on the forehead with a crosse

Platina & Stella in Bonifacio, & Continuatore Virentij l. 37.

Extra de reuocacione cap. in Sexto.

Auent. l. 7.

Colenucius l. 5.

Langius ad An. 1295.

Blondus Decad. 2. l. 9. Et Petrarcha.

Blondus ibid.

of Ashes: when *Boniface*, *Carmine musato*, changing the words of that Scripture, *Remember*, saith he, *that thou art a Gibbelline, and with the Gibbellines thou shalt returne to ashes*; and so casting ashes in his eyes, the same day he deprived him of his Archbishopricke. The Reader may hereby evidently iudge in what esteeme and reuerence he held his owne ceremonies: and afterwards, in the year 1300, An. 1300. celebrating the iubilie, whereof he was the inuentor, he vsed no better respect, being the first, according to Historiographers, that opened the golden gate; a gate, at the opening whereof there is such a concourse of people, from all parts of the world, as if by this they expected infallible saluation; and plenarie remission of sins, the which he ordayned to be opened euerie hundreth yere. And let but the Reader here obserue how this sacred ceremonie was derided and mocked euen by the Author, and inuentor thereof: *Before him* (saith the Historiographer) *the Popes neuer dreamt of troubling Christendome with such glorious festiuitie: & to shew the pompe and maiestie in this iubilie, which then was celebrated in Rome, he is reported to haue shewed himselfe on the first solemne day, to all the people in his Pontificalibus, bestowing vpon them his Apostolicall benediction; but the day after, he presented himselfe in imperiall habit, which was verie resplendent and remarkable, in an imperiall Diadem; when hauing a naked sword boene before him; and sitting on a throne he vttered with a loud voyce: Behold here two swords. And now Authors exclaime, Here O Peter, thou seest thy successour; and Saviour Christ, thou maist here discern thy Vicar: (The which words notwithstanding, many father vpon himselfe.) See to what height the pride of the seruants of seruants is mounted vnto.*

And because he would not be satisfied in these extremities, he prosecuted the matter hotly in effect: For he published a decretall, which is in the extrauagants, wherein he peremptorily declared: *That faith vrging vs thereunto, we were bound and obliged to beleue one holie Catholike Church, and that to be Apostolicall.* And from this he brings vs to the Roman Church, to obey one Pope: to whom in the person of *Peter* it was sayd, *Feed my sheepe*: so as whether they were Grecians or others, they were not to be accounted *Christs sheepe*, except they obeyed him. In this and his power, saith he, are comprehended two swords, that is the temporall, and spirituall, as in the sayd gospels we are taught: *For the Apostles saying to our Saviour, Behold here two swords; that is to sway in the Church: when the Apostles thus spake, our Lord did not answer, It was too much, but, It was sufficient. And questionlesse he that denies, the temporall sword to bee in Peters power, ill vnderstands our Lords words when he saies, Put thy sword into the scabberd: Arguing out of these words quite contrarie to the Fathers sence made thereof, That both the materiall and spirituall sword, was in the Churches power; but the one to be vsed for the Church, the other of the Church: one by the hand of the Priest, the other by the hand of Kings and souldiers; but this by direction and permission of the Priest; that is of the Pope: but, saith he, one sword must be vnder another, and the authoritie temporall must be subiect to that spirituall: For when the Apostle saies, there is no power but of God, and that power which is, is ordayned of God, and ordayned it should not be except one sword were vnder another, and as the inferiour were not by another reduced to supremest power: And here againe shamelesly against his owne vnderstanding and conscience, he cites the Apostle in these words (behold the place) *Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God, and what soeuer power is, is ordayned of God.* In which words, by all the Fathers explications, it is manifest that the Apostle in this place meant temporall powers, he in those generall words, excepting no man from their obedience, of what qualitie or order soeuer he were.*

Krantzius in Saxon. l. 8. c. 6.

Krantzius ibidem. John Marius Belga. lib. antiq. quinto. Liberties of the French church. Extra Tit. de maiestate, & obedientia C. vnam sanclam Ecclesiam.

Then

Then he goes forward, affirming, *That we must needs confesse the spirituall power so farre in dignitie and worth to excell the temporall, as things spirituall goe beyond things temporall: and thus the prophesie of Ieremie is verified in the power of the Church and persons Ecclesiasticall, Behold this day I have set thee over nations and kingdomes, with the rest which ensues. If therefore any temporall power erre and offend, he must be iudged by the spirituall; but if the spirituall inferiour swarme or erre, he must be tryed by his superiour.* Which sence of that place none of the Auncients euer applied to the Pope: and thus he might easily be victorious, where he had no opposite. But if this supreme spirituall power should offend, whether in this case must be our refuge? I pray you see how perspicuously he resolues this doubt, *if this supreme power erre, he must onely be iudged by God and not by man, the Apostle testifying, The spirituall man iudgeth all things, but he is iudged of no man:* but is this spirituall man of Paules to be onely vnderstood by the Pope, doth he not there rather oppose one to another, the man meere animal and liuing, to the man spirituall, the man regenerat by the spirit of God, to one vnregenerat? and haue all the faithful this power to iudge of Kings and Princes as their superiours? Is the Bishop of Rome then onely a faithfull one, in that he onely assumes to himselfe this power and prerogatiue? And thus in their Decretalls the Popes make as meere a mock of the Scriptures, no lesse than Roman Pasquill doth. Yet notwithstanding out of these ridiculous antecedents he impudently concludes, *We therefore affirme, declare, determine, and pronounce, That vnder paine of saluation euerie creature must be subiect to the Pope of Rome.* But now let vs see how wicked an vse he makes of so impious a Decretall.

After the Emperour Rodolphes death there grew a schisme and rend in the Empire, there concurring at the same time a vacancie of the Popedom; for part of the Princes, especially the Ecclesiasticall, chose Adolph Count of Nassau, and the other part Albert, Rodolphes sonne. But when Boniface came to be Pope hereiected them both, vnder this pretext, that without his approbation they could descend to no election. Hereupon grew a ciuile warre in Germanie, and at last a battell was fought, wherein Adolph was slaine, so as then Albert came to be easily confirmed in the dignitie by all the Doctors. When the Iubile was ended he sent embassadours to Rome to haue his election by him ratified and confirmed; *But this stout Prelat made answer, That without his authoritie the election past was not validious,* affirming, that he had in his hands the power of both swords. Another pregnant testimonie he gaue of himselfe in the Easterne Empire: Charles Count of Valois, brother to Philip le beauking of France, married Katherine daughter to Baldwin Emperour of Constantinople; he permitted him to inuade the Easterne Empire, out of which his father in law was driuen, vnder colour (sayth Platina) of vsing his aid in an expedition to the Holie Land, but rather, in truth, to constitute him his Lieutenant in Tuscan, for the extirpation of all the Gibellines. And at last he grew to that height of insolencie, as that he commaunded by authoritie Apostolicall, all Prelats, Clerkes, and persons Ecclesiasticall, to pay no tributes, tenthes, twenties, nor hundreds, to any lay powers, to Emperours, Kings, Dukes, Counts, Barons, or inferior Lords, &c. as also that they should impose nothing vpon them, vpon paine of incurring excommunication: enioyning the like to all communities and gouernements, vpon paine of interdiction, from which they could not be absolved before the verie point of death, and that by the Pope himselfe. A bold enterprise, very iniurious and preiudicial to all Princes and magistrats, which notwithstanding presently tooke effect in England, where the Cler-

1. Cor. 1. 2. 14.
Ch. 15.

Kranzius in
Saxon. l. 3. c. 36.

Platina in Bonifac. 8.
Extra in Sexto
l. 1. c. 23. Cleri-
cum.

Matthew West-
monast. in Flori-
bus Temporum,
an. 1302.

A gie proudly answered the king returning from a warre with the Scots, That it was no more lawfull for them to pay tribute; which he hearing, presently layd hold of all the Clergies temporall goods: where he also by expresse Patents forbad the attempting of any thing against Scotland, because *pleno iure*, in true right and equitie, it belonged to the See of Rome. Thus farre he preuailed without any resistance: but attempting the like oppressions in France, he light vpon king Philip the faire; who making no such extraordinarie account of his decretall, to the great benefit and emolument of all Princes, *curbed as we see and bridled his vnjust insolencies.*

OPPOSITION.

B In the yeare therefore 1301, Boniface sent the Bishop of Pamiers into France to Philip the faire, a man verie like himselfe in pride and arrogancie, to stir him vp to a sacred warre, with no greater fidelitie questionlesse than his predeceffours formerly had done. He furnished his Legat with imperious and menacing Letters vnlesse he stoopt at his beck, to thunder out against him excommunications, as also the Legat out of his own froward disposition, inserted with his persuasions, verie vnseemely and distastfull words. But Philip could not digest so great arrogancie, for apprehending his Legat, he committed him in custodie to the Archbishop of Narbon, while he should further determine of him: Boniface grew into a rage herewith, and sent the Archdeacon of Narbon, by birth a Roman, to Philip, by whose embassie he commaunded the king forthwith to set his Legat at libertie: the Bishops and Peeres of Fraunce also were enioyned to appeare in Rome at a Councell by a certaine day. But Philip mouing some scruple herein, the Pope protested that the kingdome of Fraunce did belong to the Roman Church; and therefore he should refrain the gouernement thereof, committing the same to him and the Church: forthwith he absolved his subjects from the oath of fidelitie, speaking to them personally that were presents; and for want of obedience in this point, he suspended *all the indulgences, pardons, and graunts*, which vnto that day the Popes had giuen to the kings and kingdome, presuming of his owne head to inuent and deuise, That in the Treasorie of Rome he found a certaine record which made mention, that Fraunce belonged to the Pope. Philip being exasperated with these threatnings, forbad the Prelats to goe out of the kingdome. The Pope railed out his excommunications the more against him, because he had layed hands on a Bishop, disposed of the goods of seats vacant, and inuested Bishops. True it is that Philip, to iustifie and confirme his owne right, freed the Bishop out of prison, but snatching the Bull out of the Archdeacons hand while he red it, he gaue the same to Robert of Artois, the Archdeacons hand while he red it, he gaue the same to Robert of Artois, to be burned in the Palace Court at Paris, commaunding him presently to withdraw, which he did. And here it is not amisse to see, what letters he brought, and what he retourned: These of Boniface were of this tenour, *Feare God and keepe his commaundements: We would haue you to vnderstand that both in Spirituall and Temporall things you are subiect to vs: The collations of benefices and prebends no wayes belong vnto you; for though you haue the vacancie of places, in your custodie, yet referre the fruits and profits thereof to the due successours: And if you haue conferred any, we denounce such collations voyd; or being already past, we reuoke them againe: and whosoemer belieue otherwise, we declare them heretikes. Philips of returne, were to this effect: *Let your grosse foolerie take notice, That in matters**

AN. 1301.

Henricus Ste-
von. in Annalib.
Ann. 1301.
Chronique de S.
Denis.
Paulus Emili-
us in Philippo
Pulchro.
Blondus Decad.
2. l. 9.
Naucler. vol. 2.
Generat. 44.
Bochellus De-
cret.
Gallican. Ec-
clesi. 2. c. 32.
Chronic. Mon-
fort.
Theodor. 2
Nyem.
Gulielm. de
Nangia.
Jean le Maire
de Belges.

temporall we are subiect to none: the collation of certaine Churches and Prebends vacant, A
 belongs vnto vs, out of our regall prerogatiue, and the fruits and benefitts during their
 vacancie shall be ours: That collations formerly conferred by vs, and to be conferred here-
 after, shall be validious, and by vigour and force of those grants we wil stoutly defend their
 possessors against all men: and whosoever thinks otherwise, we repute them to be but fooles
 and mad men. Euen as he was answered by Peter Flos, Philips embassadour, to the
 like menaces and threatnings, Your sword is verball, but my Soueraignes sword is re-
 like. And here our countrey man John Tillet, Bishop of Meaux, is worth the hea-
 ring, Let vs but behold (saith he) this mans impudencie, who dares affirme the kingdome
 of France to be feudatarie to the Papall Maiestie. And yet more foolish are they who
 foecer goe about to debate whether the Pope may doe thus much or no. B

Platina in Bo-
 nifac. 8.
 Naucerus vol.
 2. Gener. 4. 1.
 Chron. Martin.
 manuscriptum.

During these controuerfies the States of the kingdome assembled at Paris, assi-
 sted with all the Archbishops, Bishops, Prelats, Decretists, Diuines, and Masters of Es-
 culties; before all whom the Bishop of Narbon making an oration, hee produced
 feuerall heads of accusation against Boniface; First, That he was a Symonist: Se-
 condly, in that he said he could not commit simonie: Thirdly, That he was an homicide:
 Fourthly, an vsurer, which was most manifest: Fifthly, That he gaue no beliefe to the mi-
 nisters of the Eucharist: Sixtly, in that he affirmed the soule to be mortall, and there was
 no other ioy but of this present life: Seuenthly, because he was a reuealer of confessions,

Albertus Ar-
 gentin. in Chron.
 Krantzius in
 Saxon. l. 6. c. 37.

for he enforced a Cardinall to reueale vnto him selfe a confession that was made vnto him
 by a certaine Bishop of Spaine; which being knowne he remoued the Bishop from his place, C
 but the Pope afterwards being pacified with money, he restored him againe: Eighthly, be-
 cause he kept two of his owne neeces as concubines, and had begotten children by either
 of them (O fertile and lustie Father:) Ninthly, because he had granted all the tenthes of
 Ecclesiasticall goods for an aid of warre against the French king: And tenthly and last-
 ly, for that he entertained the Saracens into pay for the inuasion of Sicilia. Wherefore
 he appealed vnto the See Apostolicall, as he sayd, then vacant, and vnto the next
 Councell. In the meane while it was enacted vnder grieuous penalties, That no
 man might transport any gold or siluer out of the kingdome, to the vse or seruice
 any wayes of the Court of Rome. Wherewith Boniface bursting for anger, cal-
 ling a Councell at Rome, hee imposed his interdiction vpon the kingdome of
 France, excluding out of the Church the king himselfe and all his posteritie, to
 the fourth generation: sending the Archdeacon of Constance, to thunder out
 these things in all parts, whose journey notwithstanding was cut short by the ap-
 prehension of himselfe and of his Bull, at Troyes. And now Boniface resolued to
 confirme Albert in the Empire, whom before he had so often repelled, so he would
 promise to vndertake a warre against Philip, and to inuade his kingdome; vpon
 which condition he gaue him both the titles of king of Romans, and king of
 France. But Albert, doubtlesse out of his wisedome and discretion, refused these
 offers; but to the end he might not make him his open enemy, his answer was, E
 That he could not entertaine these offers, except he would permit the perpetua-
 tion of the Diademe Imperiall to his posteritie and familie. But in the meane while
 this warre turned into royal nuptials; and so reiecting Pope Boniface his vaine and
 hollow counsell, he embraced Philips affinitie and alliance by the marriage of his
 daughter.

And Philip seeing himselfe entangled with an implacable man, resolued to make an
 end of this great altercation & strife. As formerly we heard, Boniface had deprived
 the Cardinals Colonnaes of the hat, & their vnckle Sarra wandring vp and down by
 sea & land, fel into the hands of pyratts; who now had nothing left but only his wil
 and

A and desire of reuenge: a certaine noble man of France knew him as he was faste-
 ned to an oare with a chaine in the Tryreme of a Pyrat, and so suing for his libertie
 he priuily conueyed him to king Philip. Now the king was formerly determined
 to send William Nogarete of Narbone, a gentleman by birth, into Italic, to declare
 vnto Pope Boniface presentially, how the king appealed from him to a Councell,
 and whatsoeuer came of it, to put vpon him such an affront as his insolencie wor-
 thily deserued. Philip therefore joyned Sarra with Nogarete in commission, and
 Nogarete made some stay at Sienna, about taking vp some money out of the Bank
 of the Petrucci, while Sarra in disguised habit visited and solicited his old friends,
 but about all others he secured to his partie three hundred French horse, which
 B being remainder companies of the Sicilian warre, trouped vp and downe here
 and there: Wherefore betimes in the morning he suddenly surprisid Anagnia,
 where Boniface then was, in his fathers house; who vpon so sudden a tumult, being
 ignorant what the matter should be, robbing himselfe in his Pontificals, hee sat on
 a throne, and Nogarete entring in, shewed him the Appeale in the kings name, sig-
 nifying, that the Pope must come to Lyons, that so afterwards he might be depo-
 sed of his dignitie, in France: and taking him by the necke, when he made some
 resistance, he gaue him a good blow on the cheeke with his gantlet; and caused
 him to be carried to Rome. The Historie relates, That when they had taken him
 they set him on an vnbridled horse, his face turned to the horse tayle, and so they
 made him runne as long as he had any breath in him: This Boniface (saith the Au-
 thor of Mounforts Chronicle) who lately made Kings, Popes, Prelats, and oftentimes the
 C people, to tremble and feare, now suddenly in one day both feare, trembling, and griefe, af-
 fayed and ouerwhelmed, and thirsting so much after gold, he now lost the same, that all
 superiour Prelats may learne by his example not to tyrannize too insolently ouer the Cler-
 gie and people, but rather be an example to their flock, and to take care of those vnder their
 charge, struing more to be loued than feared. The same Boniface, who (saith Platina)
 sought rather to strike terror and feare into the minds of Emperours, Kings, Princes,
 nations, and people, than there to plant religion and pietie, as he that at his pleasure would
 giue and take away kingdomes, expell, and reduce men backe againe, greedily thirsting af-
 ter gold, howsoeuer gotten or come by. But after this just iudgement he fell into such
 D a desperation and madnesse, as some thirtie dayes after he yeilded vp his life; gi-
 uing occasion of a prouerbe, which did as it were epitomize his whole Pope-
 dome, He entred like a Foxe, liued like a Lyon, and dyed like a Dog. Some say, thus much
 was presaged vnto him by Celestine in these words, Ascendisti vt Vulpes, thou didst
 ascend like a Foxe. The Tuscan storie questionlesse deliues it written, That in the
 election of Popes it ranne by way of prophesie, Intrabit vt Vulpes, which the hi-
 storie called Fasciculus Temporum notes to haue bene fulfilled in euerie respect:
 This Pope grew to such an height of arrogancie, as he would stile himselfe to be the Lord
 of all the world, as well in things temporall as spirituall: and many things he did out of
 E magnificence, which at last failed most miserably.

Platina in Boni-
 fac. 8.

Ranulph. in Po-
 licronico l. 7.
 c. 39.
 Walsingham in
 histor. Angl.

Concerning matters of doctrine, there flourished at this time in France one
 Robertus Gallus, a man verie famous, who of a Prelat became a Dominican, and as
 it seemed he did not approue of the manners and customes of that Order. There
 is a booke of his extant at Paris, comming forth together with the prophesies of
 Hildegard, wherein comprehending certaine visions of his owne, in the fist chap-
 ter he calls the Pope Idolum, an Idoll; and he brings in God speaking in these words,
 Who set this Idoll on my throne, to command ouer my flocke? he hath eares, yet doth he not
 heare the clamor and crye of those that lament and descend downe into hell, though their
 howlings

howlings drowne the sound of trumpets, and the fearefull claps and reports of the A
thunder. Eyes he hath and yet he sees not the abominations of his people, nor the exorbi-
tancies of their pleasures: what wickednes does his people performe daily in my presence &
yet he will not looke into it, except he may gather money and coyne thereby: A mouth he
hath, and yet speaks nothing, for it is enough for him to say, I have appointed those
shall speake good things to them; it sufficeth that either by my selfe or others I doe
good. Accursed bee that ydoll, and woe be to him that set it there, for who can
bee equall to this ydoll upon earth? For hee hath magnified his name upon earth,
and sayd, who shall bring me vnder? Is not my familie linked with the most Noble of
the earth? I exceed them in all my sumptuous fare: Knights and Nobles serue me, B
that which was neuer done to my Fathers is done vnto me; Behold my house is paved
with siluer, and gold and gemmes are the ornaments thereof. Could that place of Za-
charie be more fitly applied to the Pope? O Pastor idolum, O ydoll Shepheard: In
the first, and twelfth Chapters, in the figure of the Serpent, he describes the
Pope, or Antichrist, who extols himselfe aboue measure, oppressing the godlie
though they be but of a verie small number, and beeing enuironed with many
false Prophets, who, in contempt of God, and Christ, onely preach and magni-
fie him, contrariwise, obscuring and defacing the name of Iesus: In conclusion, de-
ciphering the Roman Church, I did pray (saith he) on my knees, with my face to-
wards heauen, nere to the Altar of S. Iames, at Paris, on the right hand, and I saw in
the ayre before me the bodie of the onely high Priest, clad in white silken Roabes, and his C
backe was towards the East, and his hands lifted up towards the West, as Priests doe u-
sually stand while they say Masse: I did not see his head; and beholding wistly, whe-
ther he were altogether without an head, or no, I saw his head leane, withered, and as if
it had bene all of wood: and the spirit of the Lord sayd, This signifies the state of the
Roman Church, that is to say, wherein there is no bloud nor humour of life remay-
ning. That it might also signifie what maner of bread she distributed to her chil-
dren, Againe, saith he, intending the same worke another day, I saw in the spirit: And
behold a man of the same habit went about, bearing on his shoulders delicat bread and ex-
cellent wine: and the bread and wine hung downe on his sides, but he in his hands held D
a long hard stone gnawing it with his teeth, as an hungrie man would doe bread, but
effecting nothing at all: out of the stone came two Serpens heads; and the spirit of the
Lord instructed me, saying, Curious and unprofitable questions are this stone on which
the hungrie chew and gnaw, omitting points substantiall for the saluation of soules:
And I sayd, And what meanes those heads? And he answered, The name of one of
them, is Vayne glorie, and of the other Difference of religion. Was it possible in more
significant words to expresse the Sophistries & cauilations of these times, which
hauing the word of God readie at hand to distribute vnto the people for their
nourishment, they rejected this (though this was a burthen layed vpon their
shoulders) continually liuing, and dying, in chewing, and eating of idle and con-
tentious questions. The which, in like manner the Prophet objects to the
Iewes, why lay you out your money for no sustenance, and bestow your labour in a
thing that affords no repletion? As also in the vision before he thought that he
saw the Church reformed: I saw (saith he) a certaine cleare bright Crosse of siluer,
like the Crosse, the Armes of the Counts of Toulouse; but those twelue Apples which
are in the extents of the Crosse, were like certaine rotten corrupt Apples cast up by the
Sea: and I sayd, Lord Iesus, what meanes this? and the spirit sayd vnto me, This
Crosse, which thou seest is the Church, which through puritie and cleanness of lyfe
shall be bright, and resonant through the shrill voyce of the preaching of veritie: and being

Esay 55. v.a.

A being inquisitiue, I said, what is meant by these rotten and corrupt apples? and he sayd,
The future humiliation and digression of the Church. The which crosse vndoubtedly
did truly decipher the Church, in that the crosse of Christ is the Churches salua-
tion; the true preaching of this crosse the exact reformation of diuine worship, in-
uolued in humane traditions, which doe but obscure the glorie of the Crosse, and
euen cast a blacke cloud ouer the Church. And yet Possuine the Iesuite calls this
Author, An excellent preacher of the word of God. Neither need we to doubt, but
that in such a general coherence of the French Clergie against Boniface, there were
many more who together with Robert discerned both the Popes tyrannie, and the
Churches deformitie. For king Philip in the yeare 1302, when hee made his pro-
gresse through the Prouince of Narbon, heard many complaints made to him a-
gainst the Inquisitors of the Faith; who participating in all forfeitures and confis-
cations, they apprehended whom they thought good, without due prooffe con-
demning them: whereupon the Vidame of Piquigni was constrained to goe per-
sonally to the Court of Rome, to release those that were innocent and guiltlesse
out of their prisons. Whereunto we may annex, That the same Nogaretes father,
who by Philip the Fairs iniunction tooke Pope Boniface, was burnt in Languedoc,
for the opinions of the Waldenses: for these Waldenses did not only persist and
go forward in France, but euen out of the bloud which the Inquisitors daily shed,
their steps and impressions grew more frequent & famous ouer all Italie and Ger-
manie. In Italie, where Boniface with all rigor & seueritie, rooted out those whom
C he called Fratricellos, The brethren, whose principal Doctors were, Gerardus, disciple
to Sagarellus of Parma, & Dulcinus, disciple to one Nonarius Hermannus, who while
he liued, being in Italie esteemed for a Saint, was afterwards by Pope Boniface his
commandement digged out of his graue at Ferrara; whom notwithstanding,
D were reiected of God. And no man will presume there was any just cause why
they should vndergoe such impietie and crueltie from Boniface, a most vnconsci-
onable and prophane Pope: yet we see that at the same time we find them to haue
bene in Germanie.

Hereunto we will annexe, That vnder Nicholas the fourth, Peter the sonne of
John de Besiers, a Franciscan, made the Postille vpon the Apocalyps, wherein
he refers all those speciall places to the Roman Church, the which he calls a car-
nall Church, the Synagogue of Sathan; and the Pope mysticall Antichrist, as also his Pre-
lats Antichrists members: For which cause he was condemned of heresie by the In-
quisitors: and because they could not come by him when he was alieue, they plucke
E him out of his graue being dead. And also Peter Castiodorus, an Italian, who writ
that vehement and persuauiue Epistle to the English Church, Super Cathedram
Mosis sedens Scriba & Pharisei; c. v. inam illos equiparabo? &c. Wherein he exhorts
them to shake off the yoke of Antichrist, with his vniust and continuall exactions.
And these things fitly lead vs vnto the fourteenth Age.

Possuinus in
Apparatu tom.
2. An. 1302.Paulus Emili-
us in Philippo
Pulchro,
Guido Perpini-
an, de Heresib.
Blondus Decad.
2. l. 9.
Gulielmus de
Nangiac.
Nicholaus Eme-
ricus l. 1. Inqui-
sitionum.Guido Perpini-
anus de Heresi-
bus.Bernard. de
Lutsemburg.
de Heresibus.
Nicholaus Eme-
ricus l. 1. Inqui-
sitionum.

56. PROGRESSION.

Benedict the eleventh succeeds Boniface: he is poisoned, and Clement the fifth, a French man, obtaines his place. Henrie sonne to the Count of Lutsemburg going into Italie to be crowned Emperor, was poisoned in receiving the Hoast. Clement dyes in the way betwixt Vienna and Bourdeaux.

Benedict the eleventh, a Tuscan, of the Dominican Order, succeeded Boniface, B being elected by the Cardinals at Perugia, whither they were retired vpon Boniface his ouerthrow. At his first entrie he excommunicated *Nogarete* and the inhabitants of Anagnia, which assisted his enterprize; but so he restored both *John* and *James Colonna* to be cardinals, and yet they were commaunded for a time to refraine wearing of the hat. King *Philip* he absolutely released of all censures, restoring to him all those priuiledges that *Boniface* had taken from him: but in the ninth moneth of his Papacie, as many write, being killed with a poisoned fig, he dyed. Wherefore in the yeare 1305, after ten moneths altercation, the Cardinals chose *Raymond Gotb* a Gascoine, Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, who was absent, who tooke vpon him the name of *Clement* the fifth. He vnderstanding of his owne C election, commanded presently all the Cardinals to repaire to Lyons, who forthwith obey: and he determining to transferre the Papall See into France, made choyce for that end of the cite of Auignion; which also liked the Cardinals so well, as there it continued for seuentie foure yeares. Some say the cause was, in that there they might more freely wallow in their delights than in another place, though this no doubt they might haue done in Italie: but this seemes to bee the more solide reason, because at Rome, through the supreme authoritie & power of the Senators and Nobilitie, they were kept within due bounds, being oftentimes driuen with their whole Court to remoue to Perugia, Viterbe, Oruietto, Anagnia, and Assisia; And his predecessors hauing in diuers voyages into France D met with a more open & courteous conuersation, hauing here greater reuerence vouchsafed them than at Rome, as not being there yet so plainly discovered and looked into: These men also hoped they should more peaceably raigne in Auignion, and from hence, with lesse opposition, extend their authoritie and power ouer other nations. Doubtlesse *Herman* and *Occan*, Friers *Minorites*, who were renowned *Disinnes*, in this contentious age of the Church, lay vpon this Pope the notes of wonderfull ambition, auarice, and sensualitie: but more particularly *Villanus* and *Antoninus*, who preumptorily write, That he kept a concubine publicly in Auignion, who was daughter to the Count de *Foix*: Moreouer, That all the vices, crimes, sinnes, impieties, and flagitions, which formerly possessed the Roman Church, vnder a vale and cloke of vertue and pietie, did openly and most impudently in this man habituat and grow shamelesse. And hereupon our whole countrey of France brought forth little better fruits, if you consider loosse and lasciuious liberties: for *Clemangis* E Archdeacon of *Baieux* sayes, That Rome might cleerly herein discerne the immi-nency of her own ruine & ouerthrow, because leauing that cite for her odious & abhominable fornications, she fled into Auignion, where the more freely, the more openly & shamelessely, she discovered the courses of her simonies and wicked prostitutions, and so brought strange and corrupt manners into our France, which were the introducers of many other calamities.

Thomas Walsingham in Chronico. Leandro Alber. An. 1305.

Nicholam Clemangis in l. de corrupto Ecclesie statu.

A calamities. As also for forensiall delays and traueses, because they taught vs all the wiles and subtilties of the Roman Court, and the verie stile and forme of the Rota, which vterly extinguished our naturall simplicitie, so as we could neuer afterwards be repurged of these corruptions. Neither shall you read of any man who alledged, That Rome was *S. Peters* seat, or that wee must goe thither where the holie Ghost had his residence. Out of question Auignion, which liked and pleased them well, was then to them no lesse the same than the other: whereas now at this day they referre the vniuersal Church to Rome onely, as also onely to Rome this seat and chaire. When the Cardinals came to Lyons, they crowned *Clement* with a wonderfull concourse of nobilitie from all parts. King *Philip* and his B brother *Charles* were present, which *Charles* was lately returned out of Italie, and had not faintly furthered *Clements* election: *John* also Duke of Burgondie, and many other Princes: The recourse was such, as at the entring in of the multitude a wall instantly falling downe many were crushed, amongst whom *Charles* the kings brother and the Duke of Britaine were fore hurt, and the Pope himselfe was ouerthrowne, and his Myter strucke from his head, whereof one jewell of inestimable price was lost: And all these things presaged disauster and ruine. This made all men belecue that he transferred the Papacie into France for some speciall end, because this new Pope at his first entrie created many French Cardinals, in whose hands lay the whole authoritie and power of election: Then on the other side, C that the Romans might not grow into any great discontent, he sent them three Cardinals, on whom he conferred the dignitie of Senators, that so they might in somefort supplie his absence.

Now in the yeare 1308, *Albertus* being slaine, the electors chose for Emperor *An. 1308.* *Henrie*, sonne to *Henrie* Count of Lutsemburg, called the seuenth, being a Prince of noble valour and fortitude, imposing on him the Diademe at Aquisgrane: who presently sent embassadours to *Clement* being at Auignion, to obtaine at his hand, that his coronation might be celebrated at Rome: which *Clement* yielded vnto vpon this condition, That within the space of two yeares hee should goe into Italie. But *Henrie* not attending an appointed day, passing the D Alpes, came into Italie, where he found many cities of the Guelphish faction, ill affected towards him, who had formerly bound themselues vnto him in very strict league, as also *Robert* king of Sicilia, the Popes friend, who supplied them with forces, to erect strong garrisons where speciall need did require. An armie in like manner he brought with him, to defend their league and societie. But so on the other side many that receiued him with great applause, suffered him willingly to haue both succours, and captaines, but especially in Lombardie, which being more remote from *Robert*, was the lesse subiect to his plots and stratagems. When he came to Viterbe the Clergie and people of Rome met and saluted him, conducting him honourably to Rome. At his entrie he discovered a conspiracie on E foot against him, and therefore for his securitie he bound the Nobilitie to him by oath, and put sufficient defensiu forces into all the strong places. Many also adde hereunto, That out of a new and vnknowne example he would haue exacted a tribute of the people on the same day when other Emperours contrariwise were wont to giue great largesse. For these respects therefore the Guelphes found fit opportunitie to stirre vp the people against him, especially being backed by *Robert* king of Sicilia, who, vnder colour of honouring this festiuitie, was come thither. *Henrie* therefore being crowned at *S. John Laterans*, leauing the cite to the Cardinals, was enforced to retire to *Tiuoli*, whither he being gone, they then manifestly

Henricus Ste-
ron in Annali-
bus sub annu
1213.
Clemens Ne sede
vacante aliquid
inuenitur.
Jdem de sen-
tentia & de re
iudicata.
Collonur. lib 5.
Henricus Ste-
ro in Annalibus
Tribem. in
Chronia Abba-
te Hen. 13.

nifestly shewed, how they were not so precisely enjoined to set the Crowne on A his head, as to forbid him the Citie. For vpon his occasion, *Clement* presently enacted this Law, That the elected kings of Romans in Germanie, could neither be held nor taken for absolute Emperours, before they received this title and investiture from the Popes owne hands: and moreover, That during the Interregnum, and vacancie of that dignitie, the Pope should rule and commaund ouer all the Cities and precincts of the Empire. But the controuersie betwixt them lasted not long; For this good Prince going towards Sienna, and besieging Bonconuento by the way, in few dayes after he was poysoned, whereof he died. Our of the precedent Storie, let the Reader conjecture of his death, although in this point all writers consent that this poyson was administred to him, by one *Bernard* a Dominican, who was *Henries* confessor, in the Hoast, from whence grew this verse.

*Iure dolet mundus, quod Iacobita secundus,
Iudas nunc extat; mors Cesaris hac manifestat.*

The world much grieues, a Iacobine, making great shew of pietie,
Should prouea second *Iudas*, poysoning th' imperiall Majestie.

And some affirme, the Popes Legat, insfigating him thereunto. They that put C their hands into these practises, belieue they vnfaignedly (thinke you) in their hearts Transubstantiation? Others relate, that the Dominican Priests in commemoration of this haynous deed, were commaunded afterwards to communicat onely with the left hand. An indictment was framed against this criminall by *Henrie* Count of Flanders, and other Noble men of the Armie; but the partie, after he saw the effect of this poison, made an escape. *Auentine* notes, that *Clement* became an enemy to *Henrie*, because in receiuing the Crowne he denied to take an othe before the Cardinals, saying, *How, it was against the custome of his predecessors, and the libertie of Christian religion, that a Prince of Princes, and Lord ouer all the whole earth, should be put to an oath by a seruant of seruants:* By meanes D whereof, he stirred vp *Robert* of Naples and other Princes against himselfe: then he perceiuing this *Robert's* practise to take away his life by poyson, appointed him a day of triall, when he meant to haue pronouced him a rebell and Traytor, and so haue stript them of his kingdome: But *Clement* gaue him to vnderstand, that it belonged not to him, to dispose any way of the kingdome of Naples, but to the Roman See, of which he held in homage.

Clement being made Pope, by *Charles* Count of Valois his procurement, according to *Antoninus*, he promised by solemne oath, to performe six things, which are set downe, both in *Antoninus* and other writers. First that he should absolve all those that had colleagued against *Boniface*, and that he should redeliuer the hat to the Cardinals *Collonnaes*: one thing he referred to be propounded in due and conuenient time, which was to raise out the verie memoriall of *Boniface*, excluding his name out of the Catalogue of Popes, and to disinterre his carcasse. In the yeare therefore 1310, in Auignon, *Philip King of Fraunce* being E publicly excused by him of some matters that hee had attempted against the memorie of *Boniface* sometimes Pope, hee pronouced further in the Kings behalfe, That what hee did hee did out of a good mind, intention, and zeale, the Kings Orators, beeing then present: and these things consequently as hath beene sayd were

Antonin. parte;
Tit. 2. c. 1. p.
148. 3.
Vellan. in Hi-
storia Florent.

An. 1310.
Chronie. Mar-
tini. Chronie.
Mansfort.
Thom. Walsin-
gham in Chro-
nico.

A were confirmed by the testimonie of the Popes Bulla: this businesse was presently refer-
red to Pope *Clement*, who in this Proesse of *Boniface* tooke vpon him to bee both
accusant and defendant, the Pope vndertaking both to examine, and finally to determine
this controuersie. Item, At the same time Pope *Clement* absolved *William de Nogarete*
of the sentence of excommunication which was laid vpon him for the surprizing of Pope
Boniface. A further clause of fauour was added by the consent of the whole Con-
sistorie, which was, That neither the kings nor kingdome of France could not be
subiect to any excommunication or interdict: which Bull is reserued in the Treas-
urie of the Charters. *Momsfort's* Chronicle sayes expressly, That he reuoked two
of *Bonifaces* Decrees, one wherein he had written to the king, That he was subiect to the
B Church of Rome both in spiritual and temporall things: and another inserted in the sixt
of the Decretals, whose beginning is, Clericos &c. The *Collonnaes* were already pro-
vided for; but the defacing of *Bonifaces* memorie remained yet to be performed,
being sufficiently conuicted by *Philips* testimonie, and the absolution of the at-
temptors: but this poynt was referred to the Councell of Vienna, which began
about the end of this present yeare. There it was debated on the behalfe of king
Philip, That *Boniface* was to be condemned for an heretike; which three Cardi-
nals about all the rest vehemently argued: but at last the stronger partie ouer-
came, partly because the Cardinals by him created feared least by this meanes
they should endanger their owne places; and partly, because *Clements* election,
wherein their hands bare the stroke, might wonderfully by this proceeding bee
C weakened and disioynted. But certaine it is, that king *Philip* was so persouerant
in this affaire, That by speciall messengers (saith *Walsingham*) he with much importuni-
tie demaunded the bones of his predecessor *Boniface* to be burned as an heretikes. And
this questionlesse he did not without the consent of the Parisian Senat, and of the
Sorbon.

In this Councell three heads were propounded, The affaire of the Templers,
The warre of the Holie Land, and The reformation of the Church. The Tem-
plers were condemned both of heresie and other crimes, and hereupon cru-
elly burnt in many places, proscribed ouer all Europe, and spoyled of their goods.
D And yet many Authors afford testimonies of their innocencie, as *Bocacius*, *Villa-*
nus, *Antoninus*, *Nauclerus*, *Auentinus*, and others: Some say, that greedinesse
of enioying their goods brought vpon them this prosecution; and herein they
blame *Philip*, and *Clement* himselfe, who would denie him nothing. Others af-
firme, that the Popes choler was incensd against them, because they detested the
Court of Rome, which was the onely caule of all the miseries in Christendome;
and of the vtter destruction of the Holie Land. So as by no torments nor crueltrie
of punishment inflicted, they could be brought to confesse the crimes imposed
and layd vpon them. And they of Germanie proued their owne innocencie in an
assemblie called at Mogunze, as *Emilius* witnesseth: They be not obscure Authors
E (saith he) which alledge that *James Burgond*, Principall of that Order (some call him
Molanus) being brought forth to dye, and enuironed with a mightie multitude; while the
fire was a setting about him, and being offered his life, and release of that painefull punish-
ment, if confessing publicly that which he had deliuered during his imprisonment both
of himselfe and his whole Order, he vttered these words: In these my last actions, it be-
ing unpardonable impietie to lye, I freely and frankly confesse, that I committed a great
offence both against my selfe and my Order, and that I haue therein deserued a most tor-
menting punishment, because in fauour of them for whom I should not, and allured with
the sweetness of life, I haue in my tortures slanderously imposed many impieties and de-
tractions,

Walsingham
Chronie.

Paulus Emili-
us in Philippo
putebro.

traitions, upon my Order, which hath ever deserved well of the Christian religion. I have A
now no need of a life obtained by inreatie, much lesse retained by lying and defamaton.
And then being set to the pile, and fire kindled about the nether parts of his feet, to wring
out from him some confession, euen when the flames began to waist and frie his entrails, he
neuer swarued from the constancie of his former speech, or shewed the least change or al-
teration of mind, neither he, nor two others of his Order, being of a great familie, one of
which was brother to the Dolphine of Vienna. From hence the Reader may easily obserue
and judge of the calumniation and slanders that the Popes in all ages haue
imposed and laid vpon their oppugnants. Some Authours of no small esteeme
adde, That two Cardinals were present at this execution, and that this great Ma-
ster summoned Pope Clement before the tribunall of the cuerliuing God, to an- B
swer to the judgement and sentence hee had denounced against him; who some
fortie dayes after died iustly on the same day: for this execution was the cleuenth
of March, and he dyed the twentieth of Aprill, a moneth after the publication of
his Clementines.

Supplementum
Maximi Pa-
rad. in Historia
Burgundica.

For that which concernes Palestina. The crosse was published to be assumed
against the Turkes, with a more ample and large grant of Indulgences than euer
before, that is to say, Whosoeuer tooke vpon them the Crosse for this expediti-
on, he could not incurre damnation, in these plaine words, *We will not that he be sub-*
iect to the torments of hell: we further granting to those that be signed with the Crosse
for this end, three or foure soules as their pleasure to be deliuered out of Purgatorie, by
their supplications and prayers. Whereat the Parisian Diuines were wonderfully
scandalized, and so much the rather, because there was a speciall clause annexed to
this Bull, *We commaund the Angels, that absolutely freeing the soule from Purgatorie,*
they conduct it into the glorie of Paradise. Conformable to a doctrine taught then
by themselves and their adherents, That the Pope could command the Angels as
his officers and sericants. And many copies of this Bull are yet referued at Vienna,
Poitiers, and Limoges.

As for Church reformation, little or nothing was spoken at all, as shall appeare
in the section ensuing. But by the conclusion and shutting vp of Clements life we
shall see what manner of man he was, which with such confidence tooke vpon D
him to dispose of Paradise. These be therefore the verie words of Antoninus him-
selfe: *After the celebration of a generall Councell in the yeare 1313, Clement going from*
Vienna to Bourdeaux, fell sicke by the way, and dyed. This man, as Chronicles relate,
was too much addicted to concupiscence, and for this cause the sinne of simonie, so deep-
ly detested, and punished by the Canons, tooke deepe root in his Court, about the recommen-
dations to benefices. And whereas some say, That simonie cannot concurre nor stand with
the Pope, S. Thomas sharply reprocues them. Besides, it is reported, That when he was de-
parting out of this world, a certaine nephew of his, whom he had sensually before affected
(marke well these words) brought in one that was skilfull in the art of Negromancie,
that by his wicked art he might seeke out how his nephew should be disposed of in another
life: who putting in practise his skill, he caused one of the Popes Chaplaines, a bold spiri-
ted man, to see the places infernall, and a Palace wherein was a fire bed, on which this
the Popes nephew lay: All which being related to the Pope, he was neuer after seene to be
merie, but within a while departed: whose bodie being layd in a certaine Church, with
many lights about it, in the night the Church was burnt with fire, and his bodie from the
loynes downe to the feet. And yet this is he which in his Clementine, Pastoralis, We,
as well out of the superioritie which vndoubtedly we haue ouer the Emperre, as out of the
power by which (in the Empires vacancie) we are to succed the Emperour, but more especi-
ally

Clement. La. tit.
21. de sententia
& re iudicata
C. Pastoralis.

- A ally out of the fulnesse of that power which hath pleased Christ the King of kings, and Lord
of lords, in the person of blessed S. Peter, to conferre vpon vs, &c. doe decree and ordaine.
May we not rather belecue, by the poynts aboue mentioned, that hee tooke his
power from him that sayd to the Lord, *I will giue thee all these kingdomes, if falling*
downe thou wilt worship me? This is he also that commaunded *Corpus Christi* day to
be kept holie of all men, in a Councell at Vienna, which was first instituted by
Urban the fourth, and then afterwards came to be neglected againe, and therefore
he granted new Indulgences, which is to say, *To all (saith he) penitents and confessed*
which shall be present at the Matines of this feast, in the same Church where it is celebra-
ted, shall haue 100, and he that is present at Masse as many: as also they that were pre-
sent at the first beginning of Euen-song of the same feast, 100, and they that were at
the second as many: and they that were present at the offices of the first, third, sixth, and
the ninth houres, and at those completorie, for each of the houres he had graunted fortie In-
dulgences: And to him that was present at the Matines of the Octaues of that feast,
and the Masses of the foresayd houres, he obtained an hundred for euery day of those Oc-
taues: And trusting in the mercies of God we release him of all enioyned penances. Can
we better judge of these inuentions, than by the inuentors themselves, who made
but laughter and scorn of these things, whether in life or death? And yet abu-
sing the reuerence falsely by them vsurped, they dare presumptuously vpon any
occasion offered, most vnworthily dare and prouoke Princes and Emperors. This
C occasion offered, most vnworthily dare and prouoke Princes and Emperors. This
was the Pope, amongst others, who being angrie with the Venetians for ta-
king of Ferrara, exposed them all both in generall and particular to bootie and
spoyle; so as they might haue bene brought vnder slauerie and seruitude. To be
redeemed from which miserie, they sending Francis Dandolo to require abolution
in their names, after many detractions & delays, the matter was thus concluded,
That he lying prostituted at his feet so long as the Popes pleasure was, to obtaine
the same, he was enforst, with a collar of yron about his necke, by way of pe-
nance, like a dog to lye vnder his table; and therefore amongst his countrymen he
was termed *Canis*, a Dog. And yet *Baronius* would needs excuse the crueltie of
Alexander the third against *Frederick* the first, *Because (saith he) to be true, it digres-*
D *seth too much from the accustomed clemencie of the Popes.*

Lib. 3. Clemen-
tinarum tit. 10.
de reliquis &
veneratione
sanctor.

OPPOSITION.

When Clement published the Councell of Vienna, to giue some hope of
Church reformation, he commanded *Durandus*, Auditor of the Rota, and Bishop
of Mende, a French man (vulgarly called the Visitor or Examiner) to digest cer-
tain principall heads thereunto sending, to bee propounded in this Councell.
There is a treatise yet extant, whose title is, *The celebrating of a Councell*, prin-
ted at Paris Anno 1545; this booke began with a sharpe reprehension of the Ro-
man Clergie, with an intention, if he might haue bene heard, or beleued, not
E to haue spared them a iot: *They follow (saith he) the way of Balaam of Bosor, who lo-*
ued the reward of iniquitie, and bore the chastisement of his owne madnesse: for a dumb
she Asse speaking to him in a mans voyce, discovered the Prophets follie and impietie. The
same happens amongst vs at this day, seeing so many foolish and dissolute parts are played
in the Church of God, by the sayd Ecclesiastical persons (who should be a light vnto others,
as candles set on candlestickes, according to that which the Lord sayth) as that they dull
and amaze the sense both of Iewes and Pagans: yea, and they who are altogether deprived
of the vnderstanding of diuine wisdom, doe detest their follie, and their by and digres-
sing

Tit. 2.

sing steps from Gods pathes, they correct, and conuince by a sounder vnderstanding. And therefore he briefly sets downe what course must be held to effect a reformation: By a sacred Councell (saith he) both Kings and Popes ioyning their hands together, we must haue recourse, First to the Law, to the Gospell, and to the Councels approued and confirmed by the instinct of the holie Ghost, as also to good and wholesome humane lawes; And what soeuer we find to the contrarie to haue bene attempted in worldlie gouernement, let it be reformed and amended, as well as may be, and the contrarie no wayes permitted to escape vnpunished. Let all abuses, customes, dispensations, priuiledges, liberties, and exemptions, which are opposit to the same reformation, be remoued, being to be reputed but meere deprauations and corruptions.

Tit. 2.

Secondly, Let the Popes themselues conforme their words and deeds, both to diuine and humane lawes, submitting themselues thereunto for imitation sake, and setting forth examples of those things to be performed in themselues, for their followers and subiects to imitate and behold: but otherwise, if they themselues swaue and digresse from lawes and precepts, desiring rather to ouerrule and commaund, than to aduise and counsell their subiects, Their honour will swell up into pride, and what was ordained for concord will turne to offence and discord. Thirdly, It cannot be denied, but that the Roman Church hath in many things declined from the Institutions of the sacred Primitiue Church, and from the sentences and approbations of the holie Fathers, Councels, and Decrees, So as it appears to haue vnterly forgotten the first Institutions, although wee should prefer the truth of the holie Scriptures before any custome, how auncient soeuer. Fourthly, That the Popes should not easily permit causes and controuersies to be transferred out of their Prouinces to be decreed in the Court of Rome. That Ecclesiasticall gouernement was manifestly confounded, when the Popes place benefices depending on the Bishops, yea and that before their vacation; so as it is to be feared, that the Roman Church hooking all to her selfe, will giue an occasion to verifie the prouerbe, *Qui vult totum, perdit totum, All craue, nothing haue.* And here he inueyed against the promotion of strangers, whose voice the subiects could not heare, they neither vnderstanding the people, nor the people them, being therefore vnworthie, blind leaders of the blind: And thus the whole Church may come to be ouerthrowne. Fifthly, He spake also against Simonie, which in the Roman Court so raignes (saith he) as if it were no sinne. Plurarilitie also of benefices he reprehended, and Cardinals pensions, wherewith the Bishoprickes were charged; as also other benefices perpetuated to the Popes nephewes and kinsmen, which neuer dye, nor are vacant: and that Saint Gregorie the Great refused the title of Vniuersall Bishop, neither would haue had any other to assume this nomination: Further, That the old Popes in their Epistles were wont to preferre other Bishops before themselues; which hee proueth by examples: and therefore the Church of Rome was so to be honoured, that the reuerence and honour due to other Churches might not likewise be abridged, he auerring, That the Canon of the Councell of Miletum was to be confirmed, *Ut vnaquaq. causa in sua prouincia terminetur.* Sixtly, That it seemed very behouefull in this Councell to allow the mariage of Priests, seeing hitherto they had idly and in vaine bin vrged to chastitie, the Priests of Greece being permitted to marie, as also it was vsed in the Apostles time. Seuenthly, That hand-labour was to be imposed upon Monkes, conformable to the customes in times past in the Churches of Ægypt, who would by no meanes receiue any Monke which had not learnt some trade or mysterie; marie about all the rest, it was no wayes to be suffered that they should discharge

Parte 2. tit. 2.
17. 18. 20. 21.
Titul. 32. eiusdem
partis & 4.

- A charge pastorall Offices, minister the Sacraments, visit the sicke, or burie the dead, and much lesse therefore the Mendicants. Eightly, That the abuse of Images was necessarily to be suppressed, and the sale of indulgences and penances: as also the vagrant libertie and rousing of Monkes in their Sermons, who leaue the sacred Scriptures, to preach the mere inuentions of men. Ninthly, Returning euer to the first poynt, That there was no hope nor meanes of reforming the Church, either in policie, discipline, or manners, except that of Rome would begin with an example, whose corruptions in euerie respect he displayed; except the Pope, before all others, prescribed a Law to himselfe, and were comprehended within sacred Lawes, both diuine and humane, affecting nothing in any wise to the contrarie, nor performing nothing without the aduise and direction of his fellow Bishops, seeing they hold the place of Apostles, on whom Christ conferred equall power and dignitie with Peter, nor on the Roman Courtries: Except also, the primacie of the Roman Church might be distinguished by Ecclesiasticall and secular Lawes, and that the Pope would forbear to be called the highest Priest of the Church vniuersall, taking this person vpon himselfe which Gregorie vnterly forbad. But, saith he, *The Church vniuersall suffers much scandall by the bad examples of the Roman Church, and the whole people in generall are infected, the rulers of the people, according to Esay, tollerating by this meanes the name of the Lord to be blasphemed: For, according to S. Augustine, nothing more confounds or hurts the Church of God, than when it is sayd, That the Clergie is worse than the Laetie.* And from hence he proceeds to the rapin of Legats, Nuntios, and of all the Popes Ministers, the exactions of indulgences, of priuiledges, of dispensations, the excesse and pride of the Pope, and his Prelats, by many degrees surmounting that of any King or Prince: as also, therewithall, the ignorance and negligence of a number, whereby innumerable soules perish. And then here againe he exclaims, casting away all hope, as in case of a most desperat disease: *Oh what a grieue is this, saith he, for the saying of the Prophet Esay, seemes now to be verified euen in the Church it selfe, Chap. 34, in the figure of the Citie of Babylon, glorious a bene other Kingdome, and renowned for the pride of the Chaldees, of whom it is sayd, shall there haue ber couch, there the Scrich-Oule shall haue his nest, and bring up his young ones, there the Kites assemble, and meet one with another. Also; I would the words of the Prophet Esay might not be verified vpon the Clergie, when he sayd, This people honors me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; with many other people occurring in this treatise, which is verie worthie to be wholly read ouer, neither will the Reader repent his paines taken. But in the meane while, these good admonitions brought forth no fruit: Contrariwise, in this Councell, that Decree tall came forth, which begins, *Pastoralis &c.* wherein Clement magnifies himself far boue the Emperors, seeing he was Vicar to the King of kings; & no other reformation was wrought, than that which proceeded from the ridiculous Law, whose beginning is set downe in the Clementines: *I came out of Paradise, I sayd I would water the garden of plants, saith that heauenlic husbandman, who was the true fountaine of wisdome, the word of God proceeding from the Father, in the Father remayning, be gotten from all eternitie &c.* But in vttering these words, see what he adds: *That is to say, this garden is the sacred order, and institution of the Friars Minorites, which being immured round about, with the walls of regular obseruance, and satisfied onely within it selfe, with Gods comforts, is wonderfully adorned by the new plantations, of in-**

Part. 2. Tit. 53
& Part. 3. Tit.
16. & 28. Part.
2. Tit. 57. Part.
3. Tit. 15. & 16.

Part. 3. Tit. 32.

Part. 3. Tit. 28.
& 29.Part. 3. Tit. 28.
& 30.

tians and nouices, which throughout all this prolix Bull he studies and contends A to ordaine, that fo those weightie scruples might be removed, wherewith they appeared to be vexed : as whether they were bound to obserue all the commaundements comprehended in the Gospell, as also whether all the Councils, or some onely, and particularly the precepts of vestments, what stuffe or cloth they should be of, what colour, what length, what breadth, what forme. Profound mysteries doubtlesse of the Christian religion, and worthie the discussion of a generall Council, of which notwithstanding he so ambiguously determined, as not long after by new Decrees they were driuen to prescribe and order them.

Dante the Florentine Poet flourished also in that time, who amongst the writers B of the same age obtained the prayse both of pietie and learning : hee writ a Treatate, whose title was *Monarchia*, wherein he proued, that the Pope was not superior to the Emperour, hauing no right nor prerogatiue ouer the same; which is diametrally opposit to that Clementine, *Pastoralis*, wherein the Pope preumptori-ly arrogates to himselfe both the one and the other : hee proceeding thus much further, when in his Canto of Purgatorie he sayes,

*Di hoggi mai che la Chiesa di Roma,
Per confonder in se due reggimenti
Cade nel fango & se bruta & la soma.*

The Church of Rome which now will needs confound
And joyne in one two diuers gouernements,
Her selfe defiles in dirt, and brings her keyes to ground.

He refutes also the donation of *Constantine*, that it neither was *de facto*, nor could be *de iure*, and therefore by some he was condemned of heresie : *There are a third sort* (saith he) *whom they call Decretalists, ignorant and vnlearned in all Diuinitie and Philosophie, who cleauing absolutely to their Decretalls, putting all their hope, as I suppose, in the vigour and force of them, they derogate from the Empire : And no maruell, when I haue heard one of them say, & constantly auerre, That the traditions of the Church were the foundation of faith : which wicked opinion and beleefe let them banish away far from them, those men, I meane, which before the traditions of the Church did beleue in Christ the Sonne of God, either to come, present, or past, and so beleeuing they hoped, and hoping were enflamed with charitie, and being thus diuinely enflamed, the world makes no doubt but they shall be coheires with him.* In his Poeme of *Paradise*, written in Italian, he complains, That the Pope of a Pastor was become a Wolfe, and diuerted Christs sheepe out of the true way, and therefore the Gospell was forsaken, the writing of the Fathers neglected; they relied onely on Decretals, no man thinks on Nazareth, where *Gabriel* displayes his wings, but the Popes and Cardinals onely repaire to the Vatican, and some other selected places of Rome. These things (saith he) were the absolute euersion of Christs warfare imposed vpon *Peter*, whose pure doctrine in the meane while lyes deeply buried at Rome. In times past war was made vpon the Church by the sword, but now the same is inflicted by a famine, that is, by taking away the bread which God allotted for the nourishment thereof, this being denyed to no man, which is the preaching of the holie word: *But thou* (saith he) addressing his speech to the Pope, *which by the Chancellor onely writest thus :*

Dante del Paradiso l. 9.
& 20.
Del Purgatorio
c. 22.

Cogi-

*Cogita Petrum & Paulum, qui mortem appetuere
Propter vineam, quam vastas, etiamnum viuere.
Potes tu quidem dicere, firmum habeo desiderium.
Sic ad eum, qui voluit viuere solus,
Quique per saltus fuit pertractus ad supplicium,
At qui nec piscatorem agnosco nec Paulum.*

In another place he deliuers what an vnworthie thing it was, that the holie Scriptures were either wholly layd apart, or violently peruered : That there was B no consideration had with how much bloud they were planted in the world, and how highly they accept of him that comes to them in humilitie of heart and spirit : Whereas on the other side euerie man applauded himselfe in his owne Fictions and Comments, but the Gospell was buried in silence. The publike chayres and Oratories resounded nothing all the yeare long but vaine questions, and meere fables; and so the poore sheep being fed with the puffes of wind, pined and consumed away : with many other things which might bee produced out of his workes, against the Popes Indulgences, and the abuses of the Roman Church, the which he so liuely describes, that one may most easily perceiue how he plainly acknowledged her to be that Whore in the Apocalyps.

It is a thing verie memorable, That at this time *Frederick* the third, king of Sicilia, a most religious Prince, was so moued with the depraued gouernment of the Church of Rome, that he began to doubt of the veritie of the Gospell; but being vrged by a vision, wherein his mother appeared to him with her face vncouered, and whom he knew by these words, *My sonne I giue thee my blessing, that thou mayest studie daily to obey the trueth*, hee sent for *Arnold de Villa noua*, who was then C of great estimation amongst all men, that by his assistance he might bee resolved in his doubts. His principall doubt was this, Whether the doctrine of the Gospell was an humane inuention, or a diuine tradition. And here three things principally disturbed his mind; First, That the whole Clergie, as well great as small, conformed their liues no wayes according to the Gospell; they discharged sacred offices but euen for forme sake only, or else in verie mockerie & scorn, and for the gouernment of soules they tooke no care, being contrariwise transported with all violence to vice and vaine glorie. Secondly, In that the Monks, who seemed to draw neerer to Apostolicall integritie, they were now so swarued and strayed from the wayes of God, that in respect of them not onely the secular Clerkes, but euen lay men themselves might rather bee justified, they being serpents and vipers, without any spirit of pietie. And there he decipheres them by all the notes of dishonestie, by hypocrisie, impietie, crueltie, rapine, wantonnesse, diuine contempt, incredulitie, and also about the verie Gospell it selfe. Thirdly, That in a doctrine so weightie, and of such consequence, he could not sufficiently wonder D at the negligence and carelesnesse of the See Apostolicall. When he sent into diuers countries, he was by some inquisitiue what progression the Gospell made: who returned him answer, They could discern no such matter, and that outwardly no course nor care was taken for the propagation of the Gospell; as also inwardly no greater studie employed for the extinguishing of schismes, but rather of nourishing and setting them on fire. The Legats were daily entangled in worldlie affaires, being little carefull either for the promotion or preservation of the Gospell. And consulting with some Friers about his vision, many made an- E

Colloquium
Frederici Regis
& Arnaldi de
Villa noua.

Q9

swer,

swer, it was but an illusion. Diuers out of this made implication, That his mother was yet in Purgatorie, and wanted prayers and suffrages. But *Arnold de Villa noua*, by many reasons and examples, and especially, in that her admonition was consonant to the words of the Gospell, plainly affirmed, That questionlesse this vision was of God, and thereupon exhorted him earnestly, to serue God according to his vocation, to performe justice and charitie, to prouide as well for the cause of the poore as of the rich; and for matters belonging to God, hee should continually preferre them before all humane respects and considerations. For the doctrine of the Gospell, that he must firmly auerre and beleue, that all the doctrine of the Euangelists is the verie doctrine of God: That Iesus of Nazareth is the Christ promised vnto the Auncients for a Sauour, euen God himself which created the whole world: which may be confirmed not onely out of the Articles of the Creed, but also by such euident demonstration as no man could oppugne or infringe: And setting downe the same in writing, he deliuered it him.

Then for the reasons of his wauering and being in doubt, they were of that nature, as they rather strengthened the beleefe and truth thereof, than any wayes impaired or weakened the same; especially the first and second, which touch the deprauations and corruptions of Regulars and Seculars, because our Sauour himselfe, being the foundation of the Church, both by his owne, and by the words of his Heralds, foretold expressly, That this should come to passe in those times, and that not onely in the Canonically Scriptures, but further as much hath bene exhibited to vs in the reuelations of the holie Church, by many sacred persons of both sex and kind, which the holie Popes with singular zeale and deuotion haue reserued in secret Records of the Apostolicall See, *Euen as* (saith he) *I haue seene, and handled with these my hands in the soueraigne citie.* For the third point, of the negligence and carelesnesse of the See Apostolicall, That which our Sauour Christ did in his owne time, and would shortly againe performe, might satisfie him: he formerly did it in that he twice commaunded, That the See Apostolicall should be taxed with a diabolicall Apostasie; first vnder *Boniface* the eighth, and lastly vnder *Benedict* the eleuenth, and that sometimes with plenitude of directory light: For (saith he) the denouncer declared, first, that the things he denounced proceeded not from himselfe, neither was he stirred up by any moue of his owne to declare these things, but by the illumination and precept of the Lord of lords. And so he laid open vnto them both the place, time, and meanes, he meant to make choyce of in the declaration of them. Secondly, he denounced vnto them a deceitful snare of *Sathan* layd for their seduction, in so much that openly these two things were inculcated to them: First, That they had counsellors and assistants about them, who were the Angels of *Sathan*, who vnder shew of religion, and a cloke of true zeale, should endeour to mislead them from the sifting & cleansing of the aboue mentioned Decrees & Statutes. Thirdly he declared to them, That if they should neglect to execute this message, God would make them tast a presagement of the eternall iudgement, so as it was told *Boniface* in writing, that he should fall into such and such a danger and confusion, and hee tooke no heed thereof, till he tasted the same: As also the like in writing was insinuated to *Benedict*, That if hee neglected the same hee should swiftly bee throwne downe from his seat; and from the day hee read this hee sat not aboue fise and thirtie dayes more: So as neither the things written to him, nor the fearefull euents of his predecessour, could moue him to beleue, but hee contemned all things. Fourthly, for illumination and motiue, many diabolicall and abominable deprauations were declared particularly vnto them, of many of that state formerly mentioned, which is to say, That those things aboue expressed were verie generally

*layd open; and moreover, other things in this forme: Certaine pestilent men dis- seuer and rend the Citie of the celestiaall Lambe, especially in the State which so much glories of the hight of all Euangelicall perfection; they subuert veritie Euangelicall, and ouerthrow the edifice thereof, in the people, not onely by peruerse workes, and examples, but by corruption of doctrine in their Sermons and preachings. For they preaching in the delusion, and subtiltie of malignitie, doe sometimes alledge indirectly, o- therwhiles impertinently and peruersly applie, and sometimes sophistically distinguish and most improperly expound. And thus the truth of the Scriptures was by them darkened and not clearly deliuered to the Auditors, but Gods sayings they did adulterat and falsifie. And in the spirit, saith he, of Antichrist they endeauour to diuert the people from excellent ordinarie Priests, and to plucke the Sheepe from their owne proper Pastours, by so many meanes, and in such sort as particularly are expressed in the writings, reserued to this day in the treasure of the See Apostolicall. Fifthly, the same writings obiected vnto them the diuinish plague of the inquisitors of that State and others: That is those, who bought these offices in Prouinces, not for the reducing of those that erred into the way, but rather that by mere calumniation and slander, they might thrust the man righteous and of good conuersation, into the furious oppressions of diuels and Tyrans: where hee enueyes mightily against diuers coinquinations, which raigned commonly amongst them, as also the frauds and deceits wherein they maintayned themselves: which being prolix and long, I would rather referre to the Reader, to peruse them in *Arnold*: but yet these things ensuing by him profecuted, are no wayes to be omitted: They burne and condemne the Scriptures, saith he, as superstitious and erroneous, expressing the veritie Euangelicall, declaring the mysteries of the sacred texts, and touching too nerely to the quicke their transgressions and uncleanesse, not vpon any erroneous or false, but onely for some ambiguous and doubtfull saying. They forbid all the Colledges of that state, to read or studie the fore- sayd holie Scriptures, vnder payne of death, and so by damming vp the well of the water of life, they denie the vnderstanding of the holie Oracles, and this water of life to those that are thirstie and crie out for the same. Sixtly, because the Popes were by this denunciation enjoyned to reueale these things in the behalfe of God vnto men; which plainly appears out of such writings which the holie Fathers left both at Rome, and in the auintient Monasteries: but they beeing wholly oppressed with spirituall lethargie, would giue no care to any good thing, or to extirpat Christs opprobrie on earth, but beeing bewitched as they were, made choyce rather to embrace most palpable and euident lies, than the mysterie of the truth and of the Gospell. And therefore the whole Church was so infatuated by these seducers, as that shee tooke the disordered multitude, which supplanted and rooted out the Gospell, to be a Religion and Order. Seuenthly, That this denouncer, exciting the vniuersall Church in these instigations, That shee would preuent the Gospels extirpation, all notwithstanding out of consent and compact, turne aside her care, either condemning the message, or raging against the Herald, That amongst them all, not one arose vp, endowed with Catholical veritie, armed with justice Euangelicall, and encouraged by the equitie and righteousnesse, of this celestiaall warfare, who would so much as say, *This man is zealous, for the honour and glorie of Christs spouse, and the saluation of soules: Let vs therefore examine and diligently by experience make triall, whether those things hee speakes, and declares, tend to the conuersion or corruption of the Gospell: But the Senat was all mute, and onely because he reuealed the blemishes and defects of the spouse vnto the Bride-groome (out of a zeale obscuring and healing these wounds) he was**

whipped: And they that bore the colours of Euangelicall sanctitie, persecuted him more cruelly than any other strangers, not onely in renouncing the rules of equitie and cheritie, but moreouer laying apart the bridle of all humane modestie, they laboured to pollute innocencie, and to destroy the innocent. He concludes notwithstanding, That Frederick should in no sort be scandalized with this negligence of the See Apostolike, for these reasons to make any doubt of the infallible veritie of Christs Gospell, seeing he himselfe foretold as much long time before, and God had now in one selfesame time made twice denunciation thereof: and this Herauld being vpon one selfesame time made twice denunciation thereof: was not at all therewith shaken, worthily repulsed, scorned, and cast into bonds, was not at all therewith shaken, nay, more constantly and firmly than euer before, he persevered in the Faith: For I know (saith he) that God will yet the third time denounce his predictions to the Seat Apostolike, but by whom, where, or when, I precisely know not, because it is not reuealed vnto me. And if this See receiues the denunciation, prosecuting it with Moses and Phineas zeale, he will honour her by his diuine power, both with all auncient and new-glories: but if she neglect and contemne the same, bee assured that God within the foresaid three yeares, will bring vpon her most fearefull and terrible iudgements, such as shall giue wonder and amazement to the Easterne and Westerne parts, what manner of ones I will tell you before my departure in the sence spirituall. And certainly much about that time grew that great and long discord betwene the Emperor and the Pope, Lewis of Bauaria then wearing the Diademe. But this Denouncer and Herauld, of whom mention hath beene made, was questionlesse Arnoldus himselfe, being a man then verie famous all Europe ouer, for the knowledge of all Tongues and Arts; who deliuering a speech about Church reformation, at Rome, answer was returned him, Meddle in Physicke, and not in Diuinitie, and we will honour thee: In which words (saith he) they endeoured to seclude Christs little ones out of the field of Diuinitie, desiring onely to haue this field possessed by Giants; that is, with such as make warre against God. Frederick therefore being moued by Arnoldus relations he resolued in himselfe verie curiously to search out the truth of the Gospell, to frame his life according to Christs doctrine, who is truth it selfe, and can only bestow on men eternall life: That he would by all labour and endeour procure the propagation thereof, rooting out whatsoever was aduersē and opposit thereunto: And he exhorted the king of Aragon his brother to doe the like, whom by letters he certified of all the proceedings; to which he likewise with the same resolution and intention made answer. Both of them are yet extant, being dated in the yeare 1309.

We also read an Epistle of king Edwards to Clement, wherein he inferres, how many kings and nobles of his kingdome, from the verie originall of the Church, had religiously built many Churches, liberally endowed them, and placed therein verie sufficient and fit ministers, so as the Catholike Faith might the more spread and encrease among the people and nations subiect to him: and by this meanes the Lords vine did wonderfully grow and spread; But (saith he) a thing much to be grieved at, the verie branches of this vine are degenerated into briars and brambles, and the wild boares of the forest extirpate it, and all the wild beasts feed thereon. But if you doubt whom he meant, obserue, while (saith he) the impositions and promotions of the See Apostolike, which daily grow more burdensome, contrarie to the intentions of the donors, and the best benefices are conferred on strangers, and those many times verie unworthie, and not altogether free from iust suspicion, who are not resident in the said benefices, know not the countenance of those sheepe committed to their charge, nor vnderstand not their language. And hee set many discommodities before his eyes,

A eyes, that thereof ensued, to the vnspeakable and wonderfull detriment of the States Temporall and Spirituall, both of Church, Kingdome, and people; earnestly requesting him, That he would forthwith remedie these inconueniences, because so principall an euill was no wayes to be shuffled vp: The successor (sayth he) of the Prince of the Apostles receiued a commaundement from Christ, to feed, and not to feed vpon, the Lords sheepe; to confirme and strengthen, and not to suppress and tread vpon, his brethren. But because Clement opened not readily his ears to these things, Edward forbad the Annates to be conueyed out of his kingdome, as also that Prelats should not goe personally to Rome for their ordination. The Epistle began thus, *Pensata sedis Apostolica clementia, &c.*

B The Waldenses continued still in diuers Prouinces, and vnder diuers nominations, according as their aduerfaries were for the most part pleased to impose vpon them: for we see that in Lombardy they were called *Fratricelli*, Little brethren, and because they hated the Pope, the Roman Court, and such as had brought in deprauation and corruption, both into doctrine and manners, they were not onely most cruelly put to death, but further by calumny and detraction made infamous to posteritie, in many kinds of vncleannesse, though their opinions were neuer any other than those of the Waldenses and Albigenes, being in the greater part consonant to the confessions of the reformed Churches. This is most apparent out of the relations of *Raynerius*, a writer of those times, who sayth he was present both in Lombardie and other places, when they were examined by the Inquisitors: But formerly, out of his workes, we extracted those things that were pertinent to their confessions, that they need not here any further repetition. Concerning their manners, he writes, they were modest, simple, meddling little with bargaines or contracts, to auoyd lying and deceit, living on their labour, being content with a little, chaste, and sober, inuiting others by their example to euerie good thing. Moreouer, hee addes, That the first rules and instructions which for rudiments they gaue vnto their children, was the Decalogue of the Law, the ten Commaundements of God, that they should learne to abstaine from those sinnes which vulgarly were called *mortalia*, mortall: all which poynts haue small coherence with the distastfull detractions imposed vpon them by many. Clement therefore commaunded the Crosse militar to be taken vp against them, exposing these poore soules to prey and spoyle, proscribing them to be stripped both of life and goods, and foure thousand of them he destroyed, being assembled together in one place. Others of them recovered the inaccessible and insuperable places of high mountaines, where, till Pope *Engenius* time, which was about an hundred yeares after, our Author *Antoninus* sayes, they abode. And these be the verie race of them from father to sonne, which we see in the vallies of Oste, Angrogne, and other places. The same opinion is held of them which at the same time were burned in great numbers within the town of Crema, in the Duchie of Austria, which the Abbot of Hirfaug, beleeuing his predecessors, taxeth with the same faith and beleefe, inuoluing the truth in many lyes and fictions: Yet by his testimonie it is manifest that they reiected the Masse, as vaine and vnprofitable, and the consecrated Hoast, a god inuented by men; affirming that the Church of Rome was a congregation of vnfaithfull, and not a Christian assemblie: as also the merits and intercession of Saints to God, the difference of dayes, and meats, the Roman consecrations, with many other things of this nature, they vtterly detested, and held friuolous. What the Author layes further vpon them proceeds from the father of lyes. But he testifies, that there were innumerable multitudes of this profession

Antonin. Part.
3. Tit. 22. c. 10.

Chronie. Hir-
faug.

tion, in Austria, Bohemia, and other bordering countries; and that one of their A Preachers being condemned to be burnt at Vienna, and conducted to the place of execution, more than eightie thousand vpon the same embraced that religion in those parts, of whom many were committed to the fire, in sundrie places, But they (saith he) *with ioynt will and consent persevered in their errors euen vnto death.* Now let the indifferent Reader judge, whether any one could euer cheerefully and joyfully lay hold of the flames for such haynous crimes and offences as they are imputed and charged withall, much lesse so great a number of all kinds and qualities. Not long after *Lombardus* was taken at Collen, a principall Pastor amongst them, who drew vnto him both there and elsewhere many disciples, by his bookes which were written in the German tongue, and vulgarly dispersed: B Wherin (saith the same Author) he defended his doctrine, strengthening and fortifying the same out of the holie Scriptures: and therefore he was condemned to the fire, *leaving many (as himselfe confesseth) both within and without the citie, secret professors, and disciples of his errors.* Moreouer he adds, *That Bohemia being then infected with this heresie, euen to this present day abounds and swarms with such errors & obscenities, as hereafter in the yere of Abbot Blasius 17, shall more fully be related;* though afterwards it was euident ynough to all the whole world, what the Bohemians were, especially in the time of the Councell of Constance, in whom no blemish of those corruptions appeared; and therefore *Trithemius* mouth may herein fitly be stoppt, who transported too violently with a vulgar asperision, replenisheth his historie too plentifully with these calumniationes. C

57. PROGRESSION.

Afer a vacancie of two yeres, three moneths, and seuentene dayes, the Cardinals dissenting, and referring it to his owne arbitrement, James de Ossa chose himselfe Pope, and was called John the two and twentieth. Lewis of Bauaria subduing Frederick of Austria, went to Rome with an armie, where, against the Popes will, he was crowned, and afterwards he elected another Pope, Peter Corbario of Rietto, being named Nicholas the first: This Nicholas comming in to Johns hands by treacherie, was cast into prison. John dyes at Auignion. D

An. 1316. IN the yere 1316, after a vacancie of two yeres, three moneths, and seuenteen dayes, during which time the Cardinals could not agree of their election, *James de Ossa* of Cahors, whom *Platina* calls *John* the three and twentieth, came to the dignitie. The Cardinalls dissenting, referred it to his arbitrement, to make choice of any one out of their number, whom he should judge wortheie and most fit. But beyond all mens expectation, and through Cardinal *Nepolion Vrsinoes* aduice, deluding them all, he chose himselfe Pope, and so mounting vpon the throne, I am Pope, saith he. And here *Antoninus* adds, *Though in other elections no man can choose himselfe, yet in the electing of a Pope this is not prohibited, when the election is thus absolutely referred to himselfe.* Let the indifferent Reader but censure of this kind of vocation to the Seat, by euents ensuing. All these things passed at Lyons, and not long after he went to Auignion, there to settle his residence. This *John* was borne of verie obscure parents, and as it is noted by the writers of those times, he much affected innouations, and was verie ambitious. *Henrie* the seuenth being dead, for supplying the place of the vacant Empire, the Electors were greatly diuided E

Antonin. part. 3. tit. 2. l. 6. 4.

A diuided in their voyces, many inclining to *Lewis*, Duke of Bauaria, and diuers to *Frederick*, Duke of Austria. *Lewis* to procure his owne coronation, solicited by Embassadours *Johns* consent. *John* alledged, that he had already promised to do things euerie way exceeding the power of an absolute Emperour: and so he repelled his entreaties. Then *Frederick* on the other side propounded vnto him by Embassadours, the demerit and valour of his predecessours, *Rodolphus* and *Albert*, both Emperours: His aunswer was brieft in one word, That *Salomons* son was not so wise a man, and so dismissed them: detayning them thus as long as he could betwixt two stooles, That he, according to the Law of his predecessour, might sway and gouerne the Empire; the which he challenging out of that law, arrogated to himselfe. *Lewis*, notwithstanding, still held his possession, and subdued *Frederick* in battaile, taking both him and the chiefeft of the Nobilitie in the field. Afterwards, prouiding for the affaires of Italie, he constituted *Mathew*, Vicount of Milan, and restored the Gibbellines in many places. When *John* obserued these proceedings, he commaunded him to lay downe the gouernement of the Empire, vnder paine of excommunication: as also he sent a Cardinall, Legat into Lombardie, who vpon the same penaltie enioyned the Vicounts, both father and sonne to depart Milan: and they vsing some protraction, he excommunicated them, interdicted the Citie it selfe from all sacred offices, and armed the Croysados against them. To this end therefore, in the Cathedrall Church of Auignion, C this excommunication was solemnely thundered out, as shall in proper place be mentioned; that *Lodowick* onely making some delay in his obedience, might be charged with heresie. And hereupon, Italie was diuided into more cruell factions than euer before; and the Guelphes rose against the Gibbellines in the selfe same Cities, being one fleshed against another, yea the verie Monkes themselves, some holding with the Pope, and others with the Emperour, the Minorites against the Dominicans, and the Dominicans rent and diuided amongst themselves. Notwithstanding amidst all these tumults, *Lodowick* passing through Italie with an armie, was louingly entertayned at Rome: and that he might the better manifest to al the world, the incredible loue and consent of the people herein, he deferred his coronation, while the Nobles of Italie, and the Embassadors of Cities; could arriue, which came daily to him from all parts: And then they set the Crowne on his head, at *S. John Laterans*, or as some say in *S. Peters* Church; and at the peoples great instance by the hands of *Stephen Colonna*, and *Vrsinio d'Vrsini*, he being consecrated likewise by *James de Prato*, Bishop of Castello, and the B. of Ellera: for they thought it not requisite to attend the Popes comming or any Legat from him, because then the gouernment of the city was in the hands of certaine principall Barons, or Nobles, who insited themselves to be the king of Romans Substitutes, they executing full and absolute authoritie; but they were yearly changed, except the Senat at any time thought good to vse some prorogation: *Lewis* proceeded yet further, by the Romans instigation (who had many times in vaine summoned and solicited the Pope as their naturall Bishop, to reside at Rome) causing election to be made of *Peter Corbario* of Rietto, a Frier Minorite, by the Clergie and people of Rome, he being a verie learned man, and fit for the managing of any gouernement, who was called *Nicholas* the first: and there were many that he made both Cardinals and Bishops. Nay and moreouer, *John* being conuincid in a solemne Councell of heresie, he condemned him to be burnt: which sentence was presently and publicly executed in effigie or picture. After the performance whereof, setting all things in as good order

Blondus Decad. 2. l. 10. Auentin. l. 7.

Antonin. Part. 3. Tit. 2. l. 6. Parag. 10.

Naucerus vol. 2.

An. 1327.

In Decret. Gre
gorij tit. 7. c.
Quanto Glossa
Lancelot in tem
plo omnium Ju
dicum l. 2. c. 1.
par. 4. Bald. in l.
rescripta. C. de
precib. Imperat.
offer. num. 7.
August. de Au
cona. de pote
stat. Eccles. q. 18
art. 1. 2. 3. 5.
Canonice ad
cap. Quanto de
Tranlat. Episc.
C. Proposuit
de Concess. Prae
bend.
Gloss. dist. 4. C. 4.
August. de Au
cona ut supra.
Hortensius in ca
put cum venis
sent de iudicijs.
Crauetta post
Baldum. Concil.
506. colum. 2. &
Rolland. Concil.
1. num. 93. &
num. 137.
Baldus Concil.
359 & Crauet
ta Concil. 241.
num. 3.
Glossa in Can. 4.
de concess. Pre
bend. & Can. 3.
q. 8. causa 15.
Deciso 1. vel
427. in compilat.
Rebusi edition.
Lugdunens. ann.
1555. p. 27.
Bald. in Lege vi
tima.
Cod. de senten
tijs rescindend.
& ibi Lancelo
tus & alij.
Lancel. l. 1. c. 1.
par. 4. de respon.
Pontif. C. de be
tur de Appellat.
Lancel. Conrad.
in Templo omni
um iudicium
l. 2. c. 1.
Bald. in cap.
Cum super de
causis propr. &
possest.
In Extrauagat.
Comm. l. 1. de
maiorit. Et obe
dientia.
C. vnam sancta.
& ibi Glossa.
Et additio Petri Bertrandi in iure Canonice. Editionis Gregoriana Lugdunens. C. Fundamenta de Electione in 6.

in celo & in terra, as also that which David prophesied of Christ, He shall beare rule from one sea to another. And hereupon the Canonists enlarge hand ouer head, in their Glosses and Decisions of the Rota: The Pope undoubtedly is Christs vicar, not onely in earthlie, celestially, and infernall things, but further ouer the Angels both good and bad: He onely hath the power and iurisdiction of all the Patriarches together, a greater priuiledge than all the Saints, or all the Angels haue; so as he may excommunicat the Angels themselues. The whole world is but his Diocesse, the square he may make round, right of iniurie, and something of nothing. He also may against lawes naturall, of nations, those ciuile, humane, and diuine, determine absolutely, and yet iustly. Above and contra rie to any law, above and contrarie to all Decrees, Canons, and Statutes of Councils, as he whose decree and sentence is above all the Bishops of the earth, hee being the cause of cau ses, of whom no reason can be yeilded, but himselfe; and he that demaunds any other pre sumps to liken himselfe to the most high, make himselfe equal to God; and there fore the Pope is their god: But heare more, He may dispencc against the Apostle, as superiour, and against the old Testament, in that he is greater than all the Authors of the same. Why sayes he not greater than the holie Ghost, which inspired them? And some say, against the Gospell it selfe: For the Popes will is the rule of all iustice: what soeuer he does, God holds it well done: God and he haue one Consistorie, Christ and he one tribunal, the Pope being like to God, sinne excepted, so as if he might change opinion, wee may as well presume that God can change opinion. Item, wee cannot appeale from him to God, in that vpon earth he is God, and as God he iudgeth. In conclusion, He may command the Angels to transferre soules into Paradise, and dwels, out of the vigour, and vertue of his Indulgences, to draw them out of hell and purgatorie. The bookes of this Age are full of these Axiomes, and no man is ignorant thereof, and now they strue who shall blaspheme highlyest; for the Canonists are not only thus violently carried, but euen the Authors themselues of the Glosses, who should haue made a more strict examination before the yeelding of them vp for authenticall; they recom mending vnto vs the Pope for a god, yea and that in essence, if it were lawfull for vs to beleue them: The which who would euer haue beleued, if the spirit of God had not foretold as much? The Glosses vpon the chapter Periculoso, of the state of Regulars in Sexto, tearmes him, The Prince of the whole world, but I suppose they call him not so in the same sence that Sathan is so called. What remains there more, but to be accounted God himselfe. But Peter Bertrands addition vpon Pope Boniface the eight his Extrauagant, speakes peremptorily to this purpose, Iesus Christ the Sonne of God, both while he was in this world, and also from eternitie, was naturall Lord ouer all, and out of naturall right might denounce sentence of depositi on and condemnation against the Emperour, or any other whatsoever, as against such per sons whom he had created, endowd them with gifts naturall, and those of grace, as also pray you, create or preferre these creatures? In stead of any reason alledged, ob serue but the execrable blasphemie: For the Lord should not else haue beene discreet (that so I may speake with his reuerence) except he had left such an onely Vicar behind him, that could doe all these things: now Peter was his Vicar, and so the same may bee af firmed of Peters successors. But because many Canonists of those times, were asha med of such words, in certaine editions they were quite rased out, and Gregorie the thirteenth, vnder colour of reformation, restored them againe. The Glosse vpon the chapter Fundamenta electionibus sexto, pronounces flatly, That the Pope is not a man: and in a little verse it is said, Thou greatest of all things, thou art neither

A
B
C
D
E
God

A God nor man, but some intermediant power: whereupon he surnames the Pope Admi rabilis, Admirable, by which name Christ is called in the 9 of Esay; & it was a wonder omitted the attribute following, Emanuel, God be with vs. That Glosse vpon the Extrauagants of Iohn the two and gwentienth, titulo 14, sayes, Non est purus homo: but yet that of the chapter Cum inter nonnullos, titulo 14, speakes as it were infuri ated, To beleue that our Lord the Pope could not so or so decree, is merely heretical. Now judge by all precedent inferences, what reformation is to be expected from these men, when Gregorie the thirteenth perusing the whole Canon law, left this Glosse absolute and entire, and being formerly rased out by others, precisely renewed the fame: such an heart-griefe it is vnto them, howsoeuer they may saime and dissem ble, to abridge the least title of Antichristian priuiledges. But as Antichrist aug ments and multiplies his blasphemous names and titles, so does God daily excite and stir vp men in the world, to detect and point him out with their finger, which we shall better obserue in the sequel of these relations.

OPPOSITION.

Lewis the fourth, Emperour, suppressed his competitor Frederick, and fortified himselfe by the king of Englands affinitie, whose wives sister hee married, being daughter to the Count of Holland: and therefore Pope Iohn thought to rayse a verie dangerous conspiracie against him, either to detain him still in Germanie, or to make all enterprises more difficult to him in Italie. He therefore entred in to a league with Charles the Faire, king of France, and Robert king of Sicilie, en joyning further Leopald Duke of Austria, and brother to Frederick, to take vp armes: he made the Duke of Poland a king, vpon condition that hee should war against him: and further, he commaunded the Teutonian Knights, to make peace with the Lituanians, who were yet Pagans, to inuade the Marquisat of Branden berg, which belonged to Lewis his sonne. When he saw that in all likelihood he would not leaue Germanie, he sent Philip de Valois into Italie, with Cardinall Bertrand, a Dominican, in his companie, to open a way for him, and he excommu nicated all those whofoeuer that were of Lodonikes partialitie. Lodonikes partakers cried out vnto him in these distresses, requesting his aid: He notwithstanding, to claime his right, fairely sent an embassadour to Iohn, yea to his Legat, to treat of a peace; who being entertained with threats and contumelies, returned backe a gaine. Iohn still reiterates his thundering excommunications; so as all other af faires layd apart, Lewis must needs enter Italie with an armie. In Auentine Iohns Bull against Lewis is to be read, taken out of the ancient Libraries of Bauaria, the which it will be verie requisit here to insert absolute and entire: After (saith he) that the Roman Empire, transferred by our predecessors from the Greeks to the Germans, was committed to the custodie and protection of Charles the Great, this soueraigne honor was wount to be the benefite and prerogative of the highest Priest: For it was then decreed, That if the Alman at any time made choyce of a king, this election should be of no vigor nor force, except the Pope of Rome, Father and Prince of Christendome, did raise the same, and he so assigned by the Princes and States of the Empire, could neither gouerne nor take vpon him royall Title, before the Pope, Gods Legat, authorized and approved him, suo numine, with his diuinitie. And further, the Empire being destitute of an head, the absolute power and prerogative lay in the Pope, whose see it manifestly is. And wet haue seene throughout all precedent discourse, what strife hath beene about this word Benefice, or Fee, as also how much bloud was shed in all parts of Italie: In

Glossa in proe mium.
Clementinar.
Ius. Canonicum impresum Lutetie an. 1520. apud Claudium Chouallonium in sale aureo.
Ius. Canonicum Gregorij 1. impresum Lugduni post me.
Editionis apud Tournillium in Extrauag. Ioh. ban. 12. C. cum inter. nonnullos. Tit. 14. n. verbo declaramus circa finem.
Auent. 17.

like

like manner when the seven Electors are divided, neither the one nor the other of the elected can be king: And so the Roman Bishop as the common parent to all men is to manage at his owne will the Roman Empire, being by such a dissention destitute of an head. And as the mind commaunds the bodie to serue, by whose benefit it onely liues, so no man can as the mind commaunds the bodie to serue, by whose benefit it onely liues, so no man can deny but that then the Christian affaires goe best forward, when things fraile yeeld to those eternall, prophane to sacred, and those corporall to the other spirituall: Which then comes to passe, when the Pope at his discretion gouernes both dignities; for both the Church is gouerned, and all other power is reduced vnder his lawes and obedience. And the Emperour by oath is bound vnto him, who by a Vicegerencie vnder the celestiall Emperour, sways and rules the earth. For this cause it is, that two after Henric the seventh death, hauing bene nominated Emperours, Frederick and Lewis, both the one and the other were incapable of this soueraigne dignitie, and so consequently the Christian Commonwealth came to be dissipated, and abandoned, and therefore in all right was to be directed and gouerned by vs. As also Lodouike to his owne great hurt and preiudice, and no lesse detriment to the Roman Church, before he was thought worthe by vs to rule, out of his owne head tooke vpon him the royall Titles, rashly vsurping the authoritie and power of Emperour, which still he holds both in Italie and Germanie: For hee hath given into his sonnes hands the Principalitie of Brandenburg, contrary to all lawes: And notwithstanding our opposition, he succoured Galeazzo and his hveshoren, who were condemned of heresie: (And this is continually for such an heresie as neither the Apostles nor the Fathers euer made mention of:) We therefore, according to the authoritie deriued to vs from heauen, peremptorily commaund Lewis, within the space of three moneths to abiuure all royal Title, and absolutly to forbeare all gouernment, publike administrations, and managing of affaires; disannulling all things formerly by him acted, and neuer hereafter to reassume the dignitie, except by our expresse iniunction and commaund. But if he delay any wayes in this case to obey, wee commaund all Patriarches, Bishops, Priests, Princes, and immunified cities, to fall from him, and forcibly to vрге him to submission. Dated and published in Anignon, the eighth of the Ides of October, in the eighth yeare of our Pontificall dignitie, and in that of Christ 1321. And that wee may aggrauate nothing out of our owne constructions, let the Reader but onely obserue this forme of speaking, which retaines with it a certaine similitude of that which hee sayes in one of his Extrauagants, where without any ambiguitye, God hath committed to me (saith he) the prerogatiue of Emperour, both celestiall and earthlie. When this Bull came to Lodouikes hands, prudent as he was, he seriously consulted with all the famous Diuines and Ciuilians both of Italie, Germanie, and France, but especially with those of Bologna and Paris: and all their opinions agreed in this conclusion, That Johns Decrees and promulgations against Caesar, were altogether repugnant to Christian integritie, and diuine Philosophie. These resolutions of the Diuines (saith Auentine) are yet extant in Libraries, written in parchment. Many renowned men also, of whom some were Ciuilians, and some Diuines, writ stidly against John, whom they sharply refuted out of the holic Scriptures, and the auncient lawes and Canons: And amongst others, some Minorites of greater note forsooke John, to cleaue vnto Lewis, summoning John as it were to a day of hearing. Lodouike in the meane while being constituted, published a solempne Diet to be held at Ratisbone, whither all the greatest Princes and Bishops of Germanie had recourse. Amongst these there assisted John king of Bohemia, Mathew, Henric, and Baldwine, of Magunce, and the two Archbishops of Collen and Treuers: Where it was decreed, That Lodouike the Emperour should be prouident to preuent the bringing of the German libertie into seruitude, and that the Maiestie Imperiall might be freed from tyrannicall

Extravag. no. 6.
de vacante c.
si fuerint

salons: and therefore by the Acts of this Diet all the Decrees of John the two and twentieth, were declared void and inualidious, and who soeuer stood in defence of them, hee was to be reputed anemie to the Commonwealth, and his goods to be confiscated. By the force of these Acts Orho Bishop of Carinthia, and Lambert of Tolouse, the Popes Legats, were expelled out of Germanie, and all the Bishops, Prelats, Priests, Monks, yea, and the Franciscans themselues obeyed this Decree; only the Dominicans hung neutrall, bending sometimes to John, and sometimes to Lewis, as their owne interests moued them, one while obseruing Johns interdict, & another time for feare of being expelled, celebrating and discharging sacred functions: as also by the high authoritie of this Diet an Act was published, which is to be read absolute and entire in Auentine, whose principall heads (to auoyd tedious prolixitie) it may suffice here to insert: *Christ the Sauour our Lord and God, and his chiefe Legats, Peter, Paule, James, and John, ascending into heauen, told vs of verie dangerous times, imminent and hanging ouer our heads, but above all they instantly admonished vs, That being subtile in some sort as serpents, we should take heed of the leauen of the Pharises, and auoid false Christs, false Apostles, and false Prophets, being so rearmed, by reason of the lying and hollow hypocrisie of their religion, who call themselues Christs Priests, when they are the verie messengers of Antichrist: They may be discerned by their unquenchable thirst of honour, power, and worldlie treasure, and their excesse auarice and pride is growne to a proverbe. We cannot denie, but must cleerely confesse, that our times can abide no strict examination or censure: For now manners being wholly corrupted, Christian sinceritie is troden vnder foot, & inured customes more preualent than truth, overcome: but yet indignation cannot but breake silence, and being placed in a most high watch tower of discouerie of humane proceedings, we must not hold our peace, least as the holic Prophet sayes, we shew our selues like to dumbe dogs, that cannot bark. And though we be not able utterly to expell such wolues clad in sheepes skinnes, yet it is our parts and duties to resist, and in some sort to discouer them. For though we cannot doe as we would, yet our mere good will, when we can attaine no further, is both honourable and commendable. At last he applies this theame to Pope John, declaring how many sundrie waies he wasted and spoiled the Christian Church; as he that prouoked Christians to draw their swords against their owne bowels, and stirred vp nations to periurie, treacherie, rebellion, and conspiracie: And this Antichrist (saith he) will not suffer us to keep that peace recommended to vs by God, so great is the peruersenesse of that man, or rather of Sathan, as in publike sermons he sets forth his owne flagitions, for singular benefits. When Christian Princes are at discord, then the Roman Priest raignes. In brieve, the Pope is then of greatest authoritie and power, when all others being weakened and pluckt downe by discords, seditions, and mutuall hatreds, his thunderings grow terrible, euerie becke of his obeyed, and wee obserue euen his verie sittings, &c. And questionlesse it was by this policie that both of vs were created to the dignitie, whom a verie brieve letter from him might easily haue reconciled, or at least haue perswaded vs to determine our right, rather by iudicall proceedings, than by armes. But contrariwise, he no wayes laboured to procure peace betwixt vs, but rather to nourish discord, enclining one while to mee, and then another while to my aduersarie of Austria. Now he would be on Frederickes side, and then on Lodouikes partie, and which of them grew weaker, him would hee alwayes fortifie with his aydes and supplies. First of his owne accord hee inuited vs secretly to communicate, giuing faire and equiuocall speeches to vs both, and being almost come to agreement, he would then againe perswade vs to reassume armes: All this he did politically, that while we thus ruine one another with domestical and intestine wars, he might racke the Empire, demolish castles and cities, and invade and spoyle both the*

people and the Common-wealth, whose destruction he hath conspired, reduce Christs A
 flocke into seruitude, and fight against the Saints and holie ones of God. He boasts, that
 he may presently, without all delay, denounce sentence against vs, before we are condem-
 ned: Being our capitall aduersarie, and publique encmie, yet in his owne cause, he sayes
 he is both sutor, witnesse and Iudge: The which we neuer red of amongst the Turkes,
 Iewes, Saracens, nor Sarmatians: Those that hold their loyaltie to Casar, obseruing here-
 in Christ our Saviours commandement, he for no other cause condemnes of heresie. What
 is his will, he thinkes to be lawfull; wealth purchaseth authoritie for all things &c. He
 assumes the spirit of Sathan, makes himselfe like to the most high, is content to be wor-
 shipped (which was forbidden Iohn from aboue by the Angell) and permits his feet to
 be kist, after the manner of Dioclesian, and Alexander, most cruell Tyrans: when B
 Christ a freeman, nay the Lord of heauen, and our God, washed the feet of poore fisher-
 men, his disciples, that his Apostles and messengers, by his example, might doe the like
 to those to whom they were sent. That there was one diuine Maestie, and prouidence,
 rich enough in it selfe, and needing nothing of ours, being present euerie where, consul-
 ting and prouiding of it selfe for all things &c. And Emperours were not constituted up-
 pon earth, by fortune, chauce, neither by mortall men, or the secret power of the fates,
 but they were chosen by supremest destie, diuinely created, and by a most mercifull and
 indulgent Father, placed in the administration and gouernement of all humane things.
 Furthermore the Roman Priest, whose conuersation should be in heauen and heauenlie
 things, holds and possesseth Cities, Castles, Borowgs, Prouinces, riches, power, great C
 worldlie honour and magnificence, the power of the sword, and accruments, not out of any
 right of his own, but by others liberalitie & benefite, that is by the beneuolence & bounties,
 if I may not rather say, the vilitie and basenesse of the Potentates of Germanie. But they of
 all others most ingrate, studie how to deserue ill of their benefactors; for the sword,
 which through our munificence they hold in their hand, they are not ashamed to draw
 and sheath euen in our bowels, which haue bene their benefactors: now these goodlie
 Pastors, raised by our predecessours, to honour and riches, can endure no equal: They
 haue excluded Casar out of Italie, and Christ out of Rome: true it is they yeeld him heauen
 and hell, and the world they challenge to themselues: And they will not onely be called, D
 but firmly beleued to be the gods of this world, and of men, as if they could rule our
 mens thoughts and tongues, or had an Empire equally diuided betwixt them and Ioue.
 Christ crucified, and supream power on earth, are verie repugnant and opposit, the soul-
 dier and the Priest, the Emperour and the Pastour, the Kingdome and the Crosse, corpor-
 rall and spirituall things, armes and sacred offices, warre and peace, Casar and an
 humble messenger, the Prince and the Minister, the Lord and the seruant: whose euer
 would be greatest amongst you (saith the highest heauenlie Arbitrator, to his Legats)
 let him be lowest and your seruant. To be both Emperour and Pope at one time, is a mon-
 ster with two heads: for in coynes and medals we see that Decius and Nero, with such
 like Tyrans, then worshippers of false gods, were the like. It is an abominable reproach
 to nature, a great prouocation to God, and our owne mere stouthnesse, and stupiditie, E
 that the Prince of Princes, should serue the seruant of seruants. If he be the seruant of
 Gods seruants, why serues he not? why does he not minister? why feeds he not? why
 does he not teach? why does he not preach? For greedinesse of power and pelfe he con-
 founds heauen and earth, all matters are vendible, he hath bell and heauen at command.
 Then he comes to refute the Popes Bull, by a president from his predecessours,
 especially the prerogatiue that he so arrogated to himselfe; as that in the vacancie
 of the Empire, and vpon the dissenting of the electors, the gouernement of the
 Empire belonged to the Pope. He justified also the course and proceeding of his
 electi-

A election, and all his actions since the same, explaining and laying open vnto all
 men, how justly he applied himselfe to a necessarie defence both in Germanie and
 Italie: And so going forward, He most falsly, saith he, accuses me for a favourer of
 Heretikes; I am a Christian, but he is an Heresiarch; for he cannot be Christs disciple that
 scornes his life, contemnes pouertie, despises pietie, pollutes Religion, prophanes holie
 functions, sets light by modest manners, condemnes institutions, and treads vnder foot
 all rule and precept: For S. Francis, who was an Herauld of veritie diuine, the en-
 signe-bearer of Christian pouertie, and all his whole order he condemned of impietie in
 Auignon, the sixth of the Ides December, anno 1322. I pray you heare for what cause. An. 1322.
 This pernicious man, thirsting after dominion and Empire, preferring siluer before the
 B Gospell (where wealth is termed sinne) and gold before Christs pouertie, calls the Fran-
 ciscan Friers, of contemptible opinion with him, a foolish kind of cattell, and pernicious
 foxes, who with religious hypocrisie, delude the world and deceiue the people. He attempt-
 ed to put downe their order, because they taught, preached, and proued to their followers,
 That Christ possessed nothing in proper on earth: But they, calling a solempne assemblie,
 at Perugia, by common consent of all the Diuines, set him forth in his liueliest colours,
 defending the truth by the holie Scriptures, and diuine Testimonies, though such kind of
 argumen deserue rather to bee chastised with imprisonment and bands, than with argu-
 ments and disputations: but yet they deciphered him most truly, evidently declaring
 him, to be an insatiable gulfe of Auarice, and a worshipper of Idols: For that wonderfull
 C masse of gold, sayd they, which he raked together out of all Christendome, but principally
 out of Alman, the kingdome of Arles, and Italie, vnder colour of an expedition, into A-
 sia, he distributed amongst the Saracens, to make warre vpon the Christians of Arme-
 nia, who refused to be pilld and pould by him. At last, drawing to a conclusion, he
 sayes, if he be not Antichrist, yet he must needs be his predecessour and forerunner: and
 therefore, for defence of Gods Temple (whereof he hath charged vs to haue a speciall care)
 we appeale from him, to a generall and vniuersall Christian Councell. This appeale
 many supposed to be full of perill and daunger, but William Ockham, a Franciscan,
 a Diuine of great reputation, and his colleagues, disuulging Bookes vpon this sub-
 iect, they fully satisfied all those, saith Auentine, who made a great scruple where none
 D was. This Apologie of Lodowickes, was of such force among other Princes, yea e-
 uen with his aduersaries, that the Counts of Tyroll and Goritz, treated a peace
 betwixt the two competitors, Lewis and Frederick, Lodowick taking Frederick in
 battaile, as hath bene related, held him in custodie for certaine yeares, he there-
 fore restored him to libertie, vpon condition that Frederick, should abjure all roy-
 all Title and plight his faithfull promise, That the house of Austria, should ne-
 uer contend with that of Bauaria for the Empire: hereupon they receiued the
 Sacrament together; but as many Historiographers make mention, Frederick did
 not afterwards performe his promises.
 Lewis, in the yeare 1327, as you haue heard, went into Italie, and ordering his
 E affaires in Lombardie, the imperiall Diademe was with sumptuous celebration, &c
 An. 1327.
 solemnitie, set on his head at Rome; There he assembled also a celebrous Synod,
 wherein, he grieuouly complaining of Pope Iohn, Diuers heauie censures past, and
 many things were spoken freely, boldly, and resolutely: and so at length Iohn, being de-
 posed, another was chosen in his place. It will be verie materiall, here to ex-
 presse the principall points of that decree, which may bee read in Auentine
 Auent. l. 7.
 whole and entire; which Lewis in forme of patents directed to all Christians in
 generall. He therefore declares, with what patience hitherto, he had borne so
 many grosse and important injuries, to whom notwithstanding God had giuen a
 Rrij sword

sword to be reuenged of them: but because that which he did out of a mere loue A
to peace, might not be ascribed to him for cowardise, or that by sparing the wick-
ed he should but be iniurious to good men, hee meant to plucke vp this euill by
the root: According to the prerogative granted to vs from aboue (saith he) we will pluck
the Lambes skinnes ouer the Wolfes eares, and to tell you in few words, without any collu-
sion, the whole affaire, doe but giue care, and attend, for all in generall in this matter are in-
teressed. We are all vulgar Communities, without authoritie, without fauour at home or
abroad, exposed to base sale: True Mastesie and authoritie, the libertie of religion, the
Empire of the Christian people, the lawes, and whatsoeuer is either diuine or humane, is
come into the hands of a most cruell enimie, his repose lies in sedition, and his trouble in
peace; a most wicked man, of bloudie hands, of brutish auarice, most nocent and most B
proud; also in lusts effeminate, in ambition precipitant; with whom fidelitie, modestie, and
pietie, are vices, and the vices vertues, all things honest and dishonest end in unlawfull
gaine: he possesseth the Christian Commonwealsh, stirring tumult out of tumult, and
warre out of warre. The head of all these factions is James de Baburco, but more truly,
Cadurco, who calls himselfe Pope: the mightie treasure which he fraudulently amassed to-
gether from all the Christian Nations, he employes against the Saints of God, and the sub-
iects of the Christian Empire, like Abiathar the Priest (who followed Absolon against
Dauid) conuerting the Imperiall sword granted to vs from heauen, enen against our selues:
contrarie to diuine precept he onely intends the temporall cares of this world, gapes after
worldlie dominion. As he is a masked shepheard, so is he a mysticall Antichrist, who being C
couered with a dogs skinnie, like a rauinous Wolfe he deuoures the flocke of Christ, sels sinnes,
makes merchandise of hell, heauen, and celestiall benefites: He entred into league and so-
cietie with the Saracens, who molested the Armenian Christians for five yeares together,
they daily imploring his aid and succours, with terrible threats and menaces he enioyned
the Duke of Prusia to take truce with the Lituanians, cruell enemies to Christian religion,
betraying the countrey vnto the enimie, and opening vnto them a way whereby to inuade
the Christians of the Marquisat of Brandenburg: For the Lituanians combining at Babur-
co, they foraged without feare ouer all the confines of Brandenburg, put the Christians to
slaughter and sword, and most cruelly killing crying infants in their cradles, and in their D
perents armes. The Temples, Monasteries, and Colledges of Priests and Monkes, were
pilled, burnt, and demolished; sacred virgins violently enforced, the sacred Host fastened
on the end of a lance, the enimie insulting, and vsing this exprobration, Behold here the
Christians God. And all these things came to passe through the impietie of Iohn the two
and twentieth. This two headed monster will needs bee both spirituall and temporall.
Christ our Saviour, to whom all power was giuen in heauen and earth, yet he refused the
Empire and kingdome of the earth, offered vnto him by the people. And it is most mani-
fest, by the opinions of all the most learned in diuine Philosophie, the lawes civile, and lawes
Pontificall, that both the dignities sacred and prophane stand not with the Bishop of Rome.
We absolutely denie the sacred Roman Empire, which Christ and his disciples obeyed, and
were tributaries to, to be the fee and propertie of a sillie arrogant Priest. This James there-
fore formerly by the diuine and learned Prelats denounced an heresiuarke, by the Councils E
and Decrees, and after the manner of our predecessors, being deposed from his Seat; and by
Christ reiecte, I renounce and disclaime. We haue before our eyes the examples of many
good men, whereby we thinke the same lawfull for vs to doe, which others haue done be-
fore vs. Otho the first, together with the people of Rome, and the whole tribe of Priests,
rafed Iohn the twentieth out of the Catalogue of Popes, for certaine impieties (which com-
pared to those of Iohn the two and twelue, are but verie May-games) constituting a
nother Pastor both ouer the world and that citie. And as it is related to vs in the Fastis and
Annales

A Annales, many Emperours and good Princes haue done the like: and therefore this James,
for the crime of true irreligion, being before by the Franciscans, and other Diuines, brand-
ded with heresie, a contemner of Christian pouertie, and author of Antichristian Empire,
by our prerogative, decree, sentence, and common consent of all the Princes and Prelats
of Germanie and Italie, the Priests likewise and people of Rome instigating vs hereun-
to, we declare and proscrib, as exaugurated, abiured, and condemned of heresie, and so an-
nihilat and frustrat the force of all his Acts. Let all Christians therefore from this time
forwards repute him in the number of the impious and wicked: all men depart from him,
let them flie his acceffe and conference, and like a contagion for feare of infection, let them
shunne and auoyd him. Affoord him no honour nor reuerence, and let them whom it may
B any wayes concerne vse all endeuour to apprehend him, that after the custome of our pre-
decessors he may be iustly punished. And whosoever does any thing contrarie to this De-
cree, be he proclaimed enimie to the Commonwealth. Wee forthwith, assisted by the Cler-
gie and people of Rome, will by common consent, and after the institution of our Elders,
conformable to the lawes of holie histories, constitute a Pastor ouer the citie, and the
whole world. This Ediēt was signed by the Emperour, as also by the Clergie and people of
Rome, and published in a most celebrouse assemblie of Bishops, Roman Lords, Gouvernours,
and Cardinals, in the Minorites Conuent. Giuen and published before the famous Temple
dedicated to Saint Peter and Paul, Christs Legats, the eighteenth day of Aprill, in the
citie of Rome, Anno 1328. And to this time, or much thereabout, ought to bee
C referred the answer of the same Emperour to Iohn the two and twentieth his Bull,
directed to all Princes and States, as well Ecclesiasticall as Secular, in which con-
trarie to that the other contended to proue both by the Canon law, Glosses, and
opinions of Doctors, he auerred, That the Empire no wayes depended on the
Pope, and how all the lawes neuer approued the Popes plenarie power both in
spirituall and temporall things: That an Emperour formally elected, before his
consecration at Rome might execute all his authoritie and prerogatives: and
whosoever thought otherwise were traitors and heretikes. Of which kind also that
information is, De nullitate processu Iohan. 22, whether Marsilius Patavinus, or
Ockam, be Authour thereof. Wherein Lodouike appeals from a Citation vn-
D dually made in Auignon, vnto a generall Councell, conuocated in some safe and
secure place with due forme, and according to the sacred Canons; and after a
lawfull Appeale hee auerres that no place remains for any Excommunication
or Interdict.

And thus it was enacted against Iohn the two and twentieth, or, according to
Platina, the three and twentieth. Furthermore, the Diuines and Ciuilians of these
times argued this question by way of Thesis, De potestate Imperiali, & Papali, ea-
rumq; distinctione. Of the Emperours and Popes power, and their severall distin-
ction. For, to omit what Vldarick, the Emperour Lewis his Chancellor, wrot to
Iohn in certaine letters directed to him in his Masters name, wherein, amongst o-
E ther things, he calls him *Bestiam illam de mari ascendentem*, That beast arising out of
the sea, of which mention is made in the Apocalyps; an Apologie was published in
Lodouikes behalfe, by the Diuines, whereby they stily affirme, *Quod nullus Papa po-
testatis plenitudinem in temporalia sibi arrogare potest*, That no Pope could arrogate to
himselfe any plenarie power in temporal things, much lesse in the Empire, and yet
much more lesse such an one as Iohn, a man most vnworthie of the Papall chaire:
as also, that the Pope swaruing from the Faith might haue a superiour on earth,
which is, the whole Church represented in a generall Councell, which out of
their authoritie may judge him, and to which for this cause it was lawfull to ap-
peale.

sword to be reuenged of them: but because that which he did out of a mere loue to peace, might not be ascribed to him for cowardise, or that by sparing the wicked he should but be iniurious to good men, hee meant to plucke vp this euill by the root: According to the prerogative granted to vs from aboue (saith he) we will pluck the Lambes skinne over the Wolfes eares, and to tell you in few words, without any collusion, the whole affaire, doe but giue care, and attend, for all in generall in this matter are interested. We are all vulgar Communities, without authoritie, without fauour at home or abroad, exposed to base sale: True Matestie and authoritie, the libertie of religion, the Empire of the Christian people, the lawes, and whatsoever is either diuine or humane, is come into the hands of a most cruell enemy, his repose lyes in sedition, and his trouble in peace; a most wicked man, of bloudie hands, of brutish avarice, most nocent and most proud; also in lusts effeminate, in ambition precipitant; with whom fidelitie, modestie, and pietie, are vices, and the vices vertues, all things honest and dishonest end in vnlawfull gaine: he possesseth the Christian Commonwealth, stirring tumult out of tumult, and warre out of warre. The head of all these factions is James de Baburco, but more truly, Cadurco, who calls himselfe Pope: the mightie treasure which he fraudulently amassed together from all the Christian nations, he employes against the Saints of God, and the subiects of the Christian Empire, like Abiathar the Priest (who followed Absolon against David) conuerting the Imperiall sword granted to vs from heauen, euen against our selues: contrarie to diuine precept he onely intends the temporall cares of this world, gapes after worldlie dominion. As he is a masked shepheard, so is he a mysticall Antichrist, who being covered with a dogs skinne, like a rauinous wolfe he deuoures the flocke of Christ: sels finnes, makes merchandise of hell, heauen, and celestially benefites: He entred into league and societie with the Saracens, who molested the Armenian Christians for five yeares together, they daily imploring his aid and succours, with terrible threats and menaces he enioyed the Duke of Prussia to take truce with the Lituanians, cruell enemies to Christian religion, betraying the countrey vnto the enemy, and opening vnto them a way whereby to inuade the Christians of the Marquisat of Brandenburg: For the Lituanians combining at Baburco, they foraged without feare ouer all the confines of Brandenburg, put the Christians to slaughter and sword, and most cruelly killing crying infants in their cradles, and in their parents armes. The Temples, Monasteries, and Colledges of Priests and Monkes, were pillled, burnt, and demolished; sacred virgines violently enforced, the sacred Host fastened on the end of a lance, the enemy insulting, and using this exprobration, Behold here the Christians God. And all these things came to passe through the impietie of John the two and twentieth. This two headed monster will needs bee both spirituall and temporall. Christ our Sauour, to whom all power was giuen in heauen and earth, yet he refused the Empire and kingdome of the earth, offered vnto him by the people. And it is most manifest, by the opinions of all the most learned in diuine Philosophie, the lawes ciuile, and lawes Pontificall, that both the dignities sacred and prophane stand not with the Bishop of Rome. We absolutely denie the sacred Roman Empire, which Christ and his disciples obeyed, and were tributaries to, to be the see and propertie of a sillie arrogant Priest. This James therefore formerly by the diuine and learned Prelats denounced an heresiacke, by the Councils Decrees, and after the manner of our predecessors, being deposed from his Seat, and by Christ reiected, I renounce and disclaime. We haue before our eyes the examples of many good men, whereby we thinke the same lawfull for vs to doe, which others haue done before vs. Otho the first, together with the people of Rome, and the whole tribe of Priests, raised John the twentieth out of the Catalogue of Popes, for certaine impieties (which compared to those of John the two and twelue, are but verie May-games) constituting another Pastor both ouer the world and that citie. And as it is related to vs in the Fasti and

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A Annales, many Emperours and good Princes haue done the like: and therefore this James, for the crime of true irreligion, being before by the Franciscans, and other Diuines, branded with heresie, a contemner of Christian pouertie, and author of Antichristian Empire, by our prerogative, decree, sentence, and common consent of all the Princes and Prelats of Germanie and Italie, the Priests likewise and people of Rome instigating vs hereunto, we declare and proscrib, as exaugurated, abiured, and condemned of heresie, and so annihilat and frustrat the force of all his Acts. Let all Christians therefore from this time forwards repute him in the number of the impious and wicked: all men depart from him, let them flie his accesse and conference, and like a contagion, for feare of infection, let them shunne and auoyd him. Affoord him no honour nor reuerence, and let them whom it may by any wayes concerne vse all endeauour to apprehend him, that after the custome of our predecessors he may be iustly punished. And whosoever does any thing contrarie to this Decree, be he proclamed enemy to the Commonwealt. Wee forthwith, assisted by the Clergie and people of Rome, will by common consent, and after the institution of our Elders, conformable to the lawes of holie histories, constitute a Pastor ouer the citie, and the whole world. This Ediēt was signed by the Emperour, as also by the Clergie and people of Rome, and published in a most celebrous assemblie of Bishops, Roman Lords, Gouvernours, and Cardinals, in the Minorites Conuent. Giuen and published before the famous Temple dedicated to Saint Peter and Paul, Christs Legats, the eighteenth day of Aprill, in the citie of Rome, Anno 1; 28. And to this time, or much thereabout, ought to bee referred the answer of the same Emperour to John the two and twentieth his Bull, directed to all Princes and States, as well Ecclesiasticall as Secular, in which contrarie to that the other contended to proue both by the Canon law, Glosses, and opinions of Doctors, he auerred, That the Empire no wayes depended on the Pope, and how all the lawes neuer approued the Popes plenarie power both in spirituall and temporall things: That an Emperour formally elected, before his consecration at Rome might execute all his authoritie and prerogatives: and whosoever thought otherwise were traitors and heretikes. Of which kind also that information is, *De nullitate processu Iohan. 22.*, whether *Marsilius Patavinus*, or *Ockam*, be Authour thereof. Wherein *Lodouike* appeals from a Citation vnduely made in Auignon, vnto a generall Councell, conuocated in some safe and secure place with due forme, and according to the sacred Canons; and after a lawfull Appeale hee auerres that no place remains for any Excommunication or Interdict.

And thus it was enacted against John the two and twentieth, or, according to *Platina*, the three and twentieth. Furthermore, the Diuines and Ciuilians of these times argued this question by way of Thesis, *De potestate Imperiali, & Papali, eorumque distinctione*. Of the Emperours and Popes power, and their severall distinction. For, to omit what *Vlderick*, the Emperour *Lewis* his Chancellor, wrote to John in certaine letters directed to him in his Masters name, wherein, amongst other things, he calls him *Bestiam illam de mari ascendentem*, That beast arising out of the sea, of which mention is made in the Apocalyps; an Apologie was published in *Lodouikes* behalfe, by the Diuines, whereby they stify affirme, *Quod nullus Papa potestatis plenitudinem in temporalia sibi arrogare potest*, That no Pope could arrogate to himselfe any plenarie power in temporall things, much lesse in the Empire, and yet much more lesse such an one as John, a man most vnworthie of the Papall chaire: as also, that the Pope swaruing from the Faith might haue a superiour on earth, which is, the whole Church represented in a generall Councell, which out of their authoritie may judge him, and to which for this cause it was lawfull to appeale.

R r iij

Apud Marquardum Erclerum rerum Germanic. Tom. 1. in Appendice. An. 1328.

Trithemius in Chronic. Hirsaugiens.

Apologia Ludovic. 4. contra Ioh. 22. publice proposita.

peale. And the same we read printed at this day. But beyond all others, out of A
doubt *William Ockam*, a Franciscan, an Englishman borne, being a verie wittie and
learned Doctor, assayles him verie stoutly: *Defend me Caesar* (saith he) *with thy*
sword against the Popes iniuries, and I will by word, writing, and irrefragable reasons
maintaine thee against him: the which indeed he performed while he liued; *hee*
constantly auerring, That the Pope was an heretike and schismaticke, whose censures were
nothing at all to be esteemed. From hence came those Dialogues of his, *Pro Ludonici*
defensione, Liber nonaginta trium dierum, pro Michaelae Casenmate, Generall of the
Franciscans, excommunicated for the same cause, *Errores Iohannis 22, Dialogus in-*
ter Clericum & militem, and other such like: In which he debates this poynt with B
so vnanswerable arguments, as no man need to call his opinion into doubt or
question. The principall heads were these, That the Pope, *ex iure diuino*, hath no
Primacie: That *Peter* neuer had, nor neuer sat at Rome, and therefore the Pope
cannot haue it: That the Pope may erre, yea and the whole Roman Church, and
therefore ought to be liable to a Councell. Concerning the controuersie be-
twixt the Pope and the Emperour, he discusseth eight severall questions, First,
Whether the Imperiall and Pontificall dignities might be joyntly discharged in
one man. Secondly, Whether *Caesar* onely receiued his authoritie from God, or
from the Pope of Rome also. Thirdly, Whether by any authoritie from Christ
the Pope and Church of Rome haue power to confirme *Caesar*, and other kings, in
the exercise of royall iurisdiction. Fourthly, Whether *Caesar* being elected, hath C
at the same instant absolute right to gouerne the Commonwealth. Fifthly, Whe-
ther other kings besides *Caesar* and the king of Romans, being consecrated by Bi-
shops, receiue any authoritie from them. Sixthly, Whether such kings are in any
sort subiect to those which consecrated them. Seuenthly, Whether if they should
use any other rite or solemnitie, or assume another Diademe, they lost in so doing
their royall title and prerogatiue. Eightly, Whether the seuen Electors conferre
as much right vpon the Emperour elected, as other Kings and Princes haue by
lawfull succession. All which questions he arguing on both sides, he determines
in the greatest part for the ciuile Magistrat, I meane for Kings and Princes; vtter-
ly ouerthrowing by the way, the Extrauagants of *Iohn* the two and twentieth, as D
false, hereticall, and by many condemned: Whofoeuer thinke otherwise, they may
be numbered amongst them of those times whereof the Apostle to *Timothie* ad-
monisheth vs, *The time will be when they shall not giue eare to sound doctrine, but accor-*
ding to their owne lusts they shall seeke out for teachers that may delight their eares,
which themselues shall stop against all truth, and open wide vnto fables: For this is the
state of the present time, that all men in a manner enquire not what was the doctrine of
Christ, of the Apostles, or of the Fathers, but onely they listen what the Pope wills and com-
maunds them. *Ascentius* in his Preface sayes, That he writ six other Treatises, which
he wittingly omitted, because they were somewhat too sharpe and bitter against E
the Pope of Rome.

2. ad Timoth. 6.
3. v. 3. & 4.

Editio Basilee.

Marsilius Patavinus, the Author of that golden Treatise, whose title was, *De-*
fensor Pacis, of the authoritie of the Emperour, and of the Pope, writes much out
of the same veine; where, out of the holie Scriptures, the Lawes, the Canons, and
both the sacred and ciuile historie, he affirms and auerres these propositions en-
suing: That Christ was the onely head and foundation of the Church, and not
Peter: That he constituted none of the Apostles, no not *Peter* himselfe, Vniuer-
sall Vicar, and head of the Church; and that by as good right any one else may
surpe to himselfe this title: That *Peter* was neuer Christs generall Vicar, neither
did

A did Christ appoynt the other Apostles to be subiect vnto *Peter*: How it was most
probable, that *Peter* was neuer at Rome, much lesse that there hee held his seat,
who, as the rest of the Apostles, had no peculiar seat: That the Pope labouring to
confirm his Primacie by succession, hath no right at all, and therefore it is not va-
lidious: That he hath no greater authoritie than other Bishops, no not in that
which appertaines to Indulgence, and remission of finnes, and that otherwise by
diuine right all men are equall with him; the Bishops of Magunce, Colen, and
Treuer, are Primats as well as he: That the plenarie power attributed to him, was
amanifest lye, an execrable title, and the verie originall of all euils, and the vse
thereof was to be interdicted the Popes by some good generall Councell. But
B concerning temporall things, Christ, whose Vicar he would be thought to be, ne-
uer exercised any temporall authoritie vpon earth; but contrariwise, both himselfe
and the Apostles submitted themselues to the ciuile Magistrat; and after his as-
cention into heauen, they both obeyed Princes, and enioyned their disciples to
this obedience: and therefore that no temporall iurisdiction did any wayes be-
long to the Pope ouer any man, much lesse ouer Princes, and least of all ouer the
Maiestie Imperiall; and if he vsurpe the same, they are bound by diuine lawes to
resist him therein, by word, by deed, by all meanes, and all endeouours, and not do-
ing so they should be vniust and iniurious to God; as on the contrarie they that
fight for him and these false prerogatiues, may be reputed to be the diuels champi-
C ons: That the Emperours confirmation belonged not to the Pope, much lesse
his election, nay and this manner of his coronation, by reason of many abuses
growing from the same, brings some danger to the Empire: But so on the contra-
rie the Emperour being a Christian Prince, by the consent of the Clergie and
people may nominat a Pope, and (the partie being absent) confirme him nomina-
ted: If he be accused, or objected against, he may reduce him into the true way,
and iudge him by a Councell. That *Peter* when he liued, as he was a man, might
fall, nay, and erre; neither was the Pope by any priuiledge exempted from error.
And whereas it was said to *Peter*, *Orani pro te*, this may be extended likewise to the
rest of the Apostles; & therefore he could be no surer of his faith & constancie than
D the rest of the Bishops: That only the Canon of the sacred Bible is the fountaine
of truth, in whose disesteeme wee must neither beleue the Pope nor the Church:
That we ought not to beleue the Popes and Cardinall onely, about the sence
and meaning of the Scriptures, or any principall poynt of faith, because verie of-
ten, by their wicked interpretations and opinions, they haue led miserable men to
hell: That the Christian Church is properly the generall bodie and number of
the faithfull, not the Pope, or the Cardinals, no not the Roman Church it selfe:
and the same is truly represented in a lawfull and general Councell of the Chur-
ches, which was to be called by the Emperour, with the consent of other Chri-
stian Princes, and in times past was so perpetually called. And surely my verie
E conscience vrgeth me to comprehend as briefly as I can, what hee speaks of these
things, because neuer any man more plentifully displayed by what degrees and
pretences the Popes haue attained to this height of tyrannie: As also I would re-
quest the Reader not to thinke it redious to read ouer the booke it selfe, especially
speaking of the Court of Rome: *Those* (saith he) *which haue visited the Roman* *Marsil. Patavi.*
Court, or so speake more significantly, a Staple of traffickes, more horrible than a denne of *part. 2. c. 24.*
sheepes; Or they, who haue not seene it, may vnderstand by the report of a multitude of
men worshie of credit, that it is at this day become the verie receptacle of all bad and
wicked practitioners, both spirituall and temporall: For what other thing is it than a
con-

concourse of Simoniacks? What other than an harsh rude bawling of Barretters, an Ass-lum for slanderers, and the trouble and vexation of honest men? There the innocents iustice is hazarded, or at least so long protracted, if they be not able to compasse it by money and bribes, that at last exhausted and toyl'd with innumerable disturbances, they are enforced to let fall their miserable and tedious suites: For there indeed humane lawes reecho and sound out, but diuine precepts are are silent, or seldome heard: There are counsels and consultations of inuading Christian Princes by armed and violent power, conquering and taking the same from them to whose custodie and iurisdiction they were lawfully committed: but for purchasing of soules there is neither care nor counsell taken. Whereunto we may annexe, That there no order, but perpetuall horror and confusion inhabites. And as for my selfe, that haue seene and bene present, me thinks I behold that fearefull statue which in the second of Daniel was represented to Nabuchadnezzar in a dreame, hauing an head of gold, armes and breast of siluer, bellie and thighes of brasse, yron legs, and the feet one part yron, and the rest of earth. And so applying it in euerie part. Brasen breasts and thighes (saith he) because of the shrill and large promises, and the vocall, though fallacious, absolution from sinnes and penalties, and the vniust and terrible maledictions and condemnations of such as but defend their owne libertie, or obserue due fidelitie to their Soueraignes, though, through Gods protection, all this rage and tumor is but vaine and innocuous. And no maruell it is, that the *Index Romanus* forbad all men the reading thereof.

John de Landun a Gantois, maintained the same propositions, who also was comprehended in the same sentence of condemnation, a man of rare learning in those tempestuous dayes, as may plainly be collected by his workes, printed both at Venice and Florence. Also *Leopald* of Bebung, Doctor of the lawes, and Bishop of Bamberg, who handled the same argument, namely, That the Emperour had absolute power of gouerning the Empire, presently after his election, and the Popes coronation added nothing to him, to whom he was neither vassall nor feudatarie. He also conuicted *Constantines* donation to be a mere fable. The title of the booke is, *De translatione Imperij*, printed at Paris anno 1540: but *Michael* of *Cefenna*, Generall of the Franciscans, spake much more broadly and confidently; for he said expressly, The Pope was Antichrist, the Roman Church Babylon, which was drunke with the blood of the Saints: And therefore *Antoninus* placeth him among the *Fratricelli*, or poore Friers of Lyons, who, as formerly we see, were the verie progene of the Waldenses. This man and his followers particularly auerred, That Pope *John* was an heretike, and all the Popes and Prelats that should come after him. And diuers (saith *Antoninus*) were burnt in sundrie parts of the world, that stood firme in this opinion. He also notes, That long time after the Marquisat of Ancona, & Florence it selfe was full of them, from whence being expelled, they dispersed themselues ouer the countries of Greece; as also that *Lewis* of Bauaria the Emperour was a supporter of these opinions: and amongst others he makes mention of one *John Castiglio*, and *Francis de Harcatara*, Franciscans, who were burnt. Hereupon our *Paulus Emilius* descends into these words: *Vnder king Charles the Faire there liued many admirable wits, and most learned men: This age flourish'd in learning: Some of them were verie holie men, and some contenting ambitionly to excell others, exceeding a meane, grew to be wicked and impious: Others there were, of whose manners and intentions a doubtfull coniecture may bee made: Good men grieued for the euils of the times, and silently lamented. And they who were called *Fratriculi*, condemned both by deed and writing, Ecclesiasticall wealth and opulencie, and preached, That riches, the purple robe,*

Antonin. parte
3. tit. 21. c. 3. §. 1.

Paulus Emilius
in *Carolo Pul-*
cino.

A and domination, were vnbecoming and vnproper for religion, &c.

But in the life of *Philip de Valois*, we learne both out of him and other French writers, That Pope *John*, what need soeuer he had of our helpe, made no such great account of vs, nor we of him, but that these amities brust forth many times into open warre and contention. Those of the kings Councill, and of the bodie of the Parliament, shewed him how diuersly the Pope and his adherents sought to infringe and cut off his prerogatiues: *The kings officers* complaine that all iurisdiction was transferred from the royall tribunal to sacred decisions: That many more temporall causes, and controuersies betweene temporall men, were heard and adiudged by the Bishops and other Priests than by the kings officers and Iudges. Whosoever in any thing stood not to the censure of the Prelats, he was expelled the Church, removed from communicating with the godlie; and it was come to that passe, as euen for debt, when the partie was altogether unable, he was interdicted water & fire. Wherefore the deputies of the Prelats and Clergie were commaunded to appeare in the moneth of December, at Bois de Vincennes, neere Paris: there Master *Peter de Cugnieres*, the kings Attourney, defended his Soueraignes cause, and producing those words of our Sauour in Saint *Mathew*, *Giue to Caesar that which is Caesars, and to God that which is Gods*, he argued the distinction betwixt the iurisdiction spirituall and temporall, verie worthie of obseruation: of which the one belonged to the ciuile Magistrat, the other to the Church, which could not interpose her selfe in matters temporall, without mingling heauen and earth together, and entangling the whole earth in an vtter confusion. His speech hee also confirmed by many apt and well applied places out of the Scriptures, and the sacred Canons; and insifting much vpon that text of the Prouerbes: *Exceed not the auncient bounds and limits which thy fathers layed; Because* (saith he) *if any customes were introduced contrarie to the same, they could be of no worth, nay rather they should be corruptions: and Prescription can take no place against the kings royall prerogatiue; neither can the king himselfe renounce these lawes and iuridictions, as may be proued by many chapters which are in the tenth Distinction. If therefore* (saith he) *the king is sworne at his coronation, no wayes to alienate the lawes of the kingdome, and to reuoke againe those alienated, so if they should be suppressed or vsurpt by the Church or any other, he is bound to renew and reuue them againe.* And with that he brought forth a scedule comprehending sixtie six particulars, wherein were expressed such aggrauations and oppressions, for which the Clergie was to make satisfaction. *Bertram* then Bishop of *Hutum* being to speake in behalfe of the Clergie, hee ript vp the memorie of *Charles* the Great, *Lewis* the Godlie, and *S. Lewis*, and other Princes, who in times past had endowed and immunified the Churches, aduancing highly their glorie, who had augmented Church liberties; and so by many examples exaggerating their reproach and infamie, who had preiudiced and impaired the same: and this cause being referred for a day of hearing, euen to the verie feastiual of *S. Thomas* of Canturburie, might fitly put the king in mind, that this *Thomas* as on that day shed his blood for the liberties and immunities of the Church: and yet wee formerly obserued, that the Diuines of Paris disputed how this *Thomas* was more probably (to be supposed) condemned, because he suffered death for his rebellion. But the king plainly made answer, *That he would haue a speciall care of all things to come. Bertram* vrgeth further, for the better explication of himselfe, when the king replied, *I would rather haue the liberties of the Church augmented than diminished, I meane, the true immunities and liberties, but not vsurpations.* And therefore he consulted with them about the preferuation of royall rights and iuridictions: in hatred

Epist. Luciferi
ad Papam.

Here seems in
the originall to
be some error
in computation
of the yeares.

hatred of which fact they endeouored to deprave the memorie of *Peter de Cognieres*. This is he who in a corner of our Ladies Church in Paris, is commonly called *Master Peter de Cogniet*. An Epistle of *Lucifer* to the Pope and Roman Church felicitate with these times: Some thinke it was written vnder *Philip* the Faire, but benefit in some exemplaries it is said to be dated in the yeare of his Palace ouerthrowne 1351, about the yeare from Christs birth 1318, it is referred to that yeare. *Lucifer* is in it brought in discourfing, How in times past Christs vicar preaching the word in pouertie of life, the world was so conuerted, that *Erebus* was turned into *Erebus*, Hell into Hermitage: but he had caried the matter so wisely, as to suborne in their places those that should with both their clookes lay hold of worldlie kingdomes, which Christ heretofore refused, being offered him; & that therefore they should not now teach as he and his Apostles did, *Reddite Cesar, quæ sunt Cesaris, &c. Subiecti estote Principibus*; but seising both on spirittuall and temporall things, they should assume vnto themselves both swords, endeouoring proudly to beare rule ouer Princes themselves. And hereupon came in all ringring proudly to beare rule ouer Princes themselves. And hereupon came in all excessse, pride, wantonnesse, wicked deuises, and simonie, which carried that sway (as he plentifully laid open) that what aunciently in times past had beene forespoken by the Prophets, was completely fulfilled: The Church of Rome is become the Synagogue of Sathan: The purpled harlot hath committed fornication with the kings of the earth: Of a mother she is become a stepmother, and of a Bride an adulteresse, forgetting her originall charitie, and chastitie; and principally ruinating the Christian Faith, which before she built vp and erected. Then he exhorts the Pope vehemently to perseuere in these offices, *Because* (saith he) *we are about to send forth Antichrist, for whom all these treasures are to be reserved, in the meane while we would haue you to be our Vicars, &c.* They that spake so broadly in generall of the Roman Church, what thought they, suppose you, of many her particular abuses.

Hereunto we may adde, That *John Mandeuil*, an English man, a writer verie neere to those times, said, Pope *John* sent to the Grecians, exhorting them to be vnited to him and the Roman Church, for the knowne and accustomed reasons of that plenarie power graunted vnto him ouer all the Church, in the person of *Saint Peter*: But they answered him laconically, *We vndoubtedly beleene thy Soveraigne power ouer those that are subiect to thee, but wee cannot endure thy ex-treame pride, nor are we able to satisfie thy greedie auarice. The diuell be with thee, for God is with vs.*

58. PROGRESSION.

Benedict the twelfth succeeded *John*. He holds the See while the yeare 1342, when as *Clement* the sixth came to the chaire after him. *Lewis* the Emperour dyes, and, after some opposition *Charles* sonne to the king of *Bohemia*, obtaines the *Diademe Imperiall*.

Benedict the twelfth succeeded *John*, the Cardinals hauing beene sixteene daies in the Conclauē, before they could agree vpon an election: at last they resolved either for enuie, or in despight one of another, to giue their voyces to this man, nominated *Iacobo de Furno*, the sonne of a Baker of *Bearne*, or, as some sayd, of *Toulouse*, of a Doctor of Diuinitie being made Cardinal, called the *White*, the basest and most contemptible of all the rest. And the *Bulletines*, or *scedules*

A ran in these words *I Name such an one, and if he may not be, I name The white: whereat*, himselfe being much amazed, *You haue done verie well*, said he, *for you haue chosen an asse*. For though he was a great Diuine, yet he was thought but an ignorant man for this place, because he was not learned in the Canon-Law, wherein consists all the depth of their Mysteries. It is worthie of memorie, that a certain Bishop of Rome, going to Auignion, it was told him in a vision, the same night that *John* dyed, *Papam queris, non est, You seeke the Pope, and he is dead*; then being shewed the Pope that should be: when he came to Auignion, and lookt for him amongst the Cardinals, and not knowing him he asked whether they were al present, aunsver was made one was wanting: which was the white Cardinal, to whom he presently went, and knowing him, by his vision formerly had, he spake to him in these words, *Father you are to be Pope*: Then he added, *He that shewed me your countenance, brought me into a most foule and vncleane stable full of dung, where I saw a verie white Marble chest, but nothing in it; your selfe no question is that Chest, which in your office and place you must seeke to fill with vertues, and wonders: And therefore, O Pastor & stabularie, O Shepheard, and horse-keeper together, you must now striue to purge the Court and See Apostolike, at this instant, a most vncleane stable of auaricious and Symoniacall dung, & take vnto your cure the holie Roman Church and the Citie*. And yet if we may belieue *Hieronimo Squarzacico*, in the life of *Petrarch* (who deeply protests, that he would write nothing rashly, nor nothing without ample and large testimonie) he also, though extremely old, brought in his obcenities, as well as the rest: *For while Petrarch*, saith he, *was in esteeme in the Popes Court, and was promised honours both by the Pope himselfe and other Princes, hee had a sister, about some two and twentie yeares old, which dwelt in Auignion, where she was borne, with his brother Gerard, being exceeding beautifull, and endewed with singular manners and customes; with whose beautie the Pope was desperately in loue, and many wayes he attempted to enioy her: For this end he thought to purchase Petrarchs good will, by rewards and preferments, promising that he would make him a Cardinall, so he might compasse his will of her. Frauncis Petrarch, who in all things had God before his eyes, from whom nothing is hid, and as he that had not learnt to flatter, faine or dissemble, being, as he had iust cause, wonderfully prouoked, and uttering that with his Tongue which was deeply printed both in his heart and countenance, he made answer, That so filthie a hat was not to be put vpon any ones head, but rather to be shunned & abhorred of all men, as prophane and shamefull, and were it not for the reuerence of his place, being Gods Vicar on earth, which detained him, he would be reuenged with his pen for so great an indignitie: as he was, saith *Philephus*, in a morall Sonet of his, that begins thus in Italian, Io non vo piu cantare come solea. The Pope notwithstanding, enamored beyond all patience, raptured likewise with his other brother Gerard, who being corrupted with a few bribes, yeelded his sister; when Frauncis vnderstanding of this hy-pocritous offence, and seeing the Church of God so violently transported to all vice and wickednesse, he fled from Auignion, and tooke his iourney towards *Italie*: and his brother broken with repentance, after he had married his sister, entered into a religious order, and became a *Carthusian*, in the Conuent of *Materne*, nere to *Marselles*, abandoning and forsaking all worldlie affaires. *Theodorick Engghelshuen*, in his Chronicle, sets downe a speech of his, wherein *Benedict* clearly manifests, what himselfe thought of his owne Court; for creating sixe Cardinals presently after his comming to the See, and demanded why he made no more, he replied, *I would willingly haue done so, if at the same instant, I could likewise haue created a new world, for that already made is not enough to satisfie those that are.**

Albert. Argeninens. in Chron. sed aduerse in Indice Hispanico p. 1. multa cradi.

Hieronimus Squarzacicus in vita Petrarce.

In the meane while the Emperor *Lewis* was the butt whereat he meant to shoot A all the arrowes of his wrath, who, though he were wel intreated by this mans pre- decessor, omitted no meanes wherby he might assuage the swelling humor of the Pontificall Court: And *Benedict* certainly gaue the better care vnto him, be- cause *Philip de Valois* importuned, that himselve might be constituted the Popes Vicar generall, both in Italie and ouer all Christendome besides; and that a tenth might be granted him of all tenthes for tenne yeares, as also that all the Churches might be deliuered into his hands, for the expedition and succour of Pa- treasurie might be deliuered into his hands, for the expedition and succour of Pa- lestina, to wit, that vspeakable treasure left by *John* the two and twentieth: so as all of them were herewith mightily vexed and perplexed. Apprehending there- fore due opportunitie, the Emperour *Lodonike* sent Robert Count Palatine of the Rhine, his brothers sonne, and *William* Duke of Iuliers, to Auignon, to congratu- laturat with *Benedict*, who were closely whispered in the eare, That if *Lewis*, vnder certaine articles which should be set downe in writing, would demand absolution and pardon, it should be granted him. When they were returned he sent other men of high note, with ample commission to performe the greatest part of that which he desired: amongst whom *Marquard de Randeck*, a Canon of Auspurg, afterwards Bishop of Bamburg, a man of speciall estimation, deliuered the embassage. And *Benedict* made a verie mild and courteous answer, *How he was verie glad that this branch of Almaigne would be reioyned againe vnto her stocks, this Prince, the most noble and renowned of all the world; much commending Germanie, and the Emperour Lodonike, whom he tearmed the worthiest Prince aliae: complaining that Italie was gouerned by tyrans, and the kingdome of Armenia ouerrun by Pagans, whose Princes, both in Pope Johns time and his, called out for the Christians succour, and the Holie land was almost lost for want of an Emperour: and therefore he sayd he was deseruedly to bestow vpon him absolution; and the same was expected (saith the Historiographer) the day following.* But the Cardinals who were partly created by *John*, and partly againe feared least their comings-in in France wold be intercepted, & then further moued by a great embassie sent from *Philip* king of France, and *Robert* king of Sicilie, who protested, That he could not without a great scandall receiue againe into the bosome of the Church so famous an Heresiarke, and that the Pope had need take heed lest he were reputed a fauourer of Heretikes, they suddenly resolued, that *Lodonikes* sub- mission was to be reiected, and so they withdrew the Pope from his absolution, though he constantly maintained, that *Lewis* was not in fault: and they obie- cting, how *Lewis* had done many things against the Church: He replied, nay rather we did against him, for hee would haue come with a staffe in his hand, falling downe at our predecessors feet, but he would neuer receiue him, and whatsoeuer he did, he did it by pro- uocation. In which words he manifestly condemned both his predecessor and his proceedings. The embassadours therefore returning into Germanie, made relati- on what was there to be hoped for: In brief, that the court of Rome was wonder- fully afrayd of peace and concord: how it was an vsuall prouerbe amongst them, That it made well for them the Germans were so foolish. And so in the yeare 1328. an Imperial Diet was summoned at the Bourg of Reynsey, on the bank of the Rhine, where all the Electors of the Empire were present, and many Princes, both lay and Ecclesiastical: where giuing vp an oath, and all solemne rites performed, they published a Decree, That the Empire depended onely on God, to whom the Em- perour is bound to yeeld an account: That being once chosen by the Electors, he is absolute Emperour: That with a good conscience he could not against the Im- periall Maieftie sollicitate the Pope by Legats, yeeld him an oath, or demaund leaue of

Albertus Ar-
gentin Chronic.

Auent. 17.
An. 1328.

A of him to gouerne the Empire, who had nothing to doe with the Empire, but was a keeper of sheepe, bound in this respect to looke well to his flocke: That so hee was taught out of the holie Scriptures, and they that thought otherwise, that the Emperour was the Popes vassall, and except he were by him approued hee could not be acknowledged Emperour, did but evidently abuse the Scriptures, conta- minating and wresting them with their corrupt interpretations, which they apply to their owne behoofes and interests, contrarie to the meaning of those Scrip- tures, no question, even by the verie instinct of Sathan, the Prince of this world, as may plainly be discerned by the mischiefes that deriue therefrom, ciuile wars, intestine seditions, deuastation of nations, taking of cities, deflagrations, slaugh- ters, and violations: wherefore (said they) we perpetually enact, That all power, and the Empire it selfe, proceeds onely from the benefit of election, and that by no meanes we need herein the Bishop of Romes sanctimonie, consecration, authoritie, or consent: and whoe- uer speaks, thinks, or practiseth to the contrarie, let him be condemned of high treason, let him be reputed an enemy to the Commonwealth, and proscribed, let him be punished with the losse of his head, and his goods confiscated to the Emperour. And so the whole as- semblie concluded in these words. Not long time after *Edward* king of England crossed ouer the seas into Germanie to see *Lodonike* (for the Emperreses sister was his wife) and they met both at Franckfort, whither many Nobles & Bishops, both of Italie, Germanie, France, and England, repaired: There, by the aduise and con- sent of both Princes, as also of the whole assemblie, this Decree was divulged: C That whosoever brought in any of Pope *John* the two and twentieth his Bulls (for to spare the liuing they laid vpon the dead) he should be condemned of high trea- son. The principall heads and points of this Act, may more fitly be referued to the section following. Nine dayes after the Princes of the Empire assembled againe together at Lenstaine, within the Diocesse of Magunce, binding themselues mutually by oath to defend this Decree, and denouncing him that did otherwise, a pernitious schellem, or knaue. This Decree is extant in *Alberticus de Rosata in Legem 3. Cod. de quadrienni prescriptione, & apud Hieronimum Balbum Episcopum Gurconsem*, in his booke de Coronatione ad *Carolus quintum, Imperatorem: William Ockam*, a most famous Diuine, and his whole societie assisting in all these promul- gations. And the Dominicans themselues vnderstanding that Pope *Benedict* out of his owne enclination was not opposit to *Lewis*, made choyce rather to joyne with him than to depart out of the cities. In some places also, to auoyd the blame of weaknesse and leuitie, being resolued to obey, they caused themselues to be enforst to celebrate sacred functions. And to this time Pope *Benedict* held the chaire, that is to say, vntill the yeare 1342, described for his time in these two short verses:

*Iste fuit verò Laicis mors, vipera Clero
Deuius à vero, turba repleta mero.*

This man the Laities death, the Clergies viper prou'd,
Himselfe did swaue from truth, the people strong wine lou'd.

Peter Roger, a Lymosine, of the Order of *S. Benedict*, succeeded him, called by the name of *Clement* the sixth. *Albertus* declares, That after his election, making a speech, he said, That first he was promoted to be a rich Abbot, then to bee a better Bishop, and lastly to the best Archbishopricke of all France (which was, of Roan) that he left

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Albertus Ar-
gentin Chronic.
Auent. 17.

An. 1342.

Albertus Ar-
gentin Chronic.

all these dignities deeply indebted; Then (said he) afterwards rose to be Cardinal, and now Pope, by diuine instinct, because the former places could not support him. Obserue how this man feared the weightie burden of his Pontificall office and function. It is specially noted in him, That contrarie to the custome of his predecessors, he was the first that fastened the armes of his familie to his Bulls, which was the five Roses. And at Paris, in a publike sermon, while he was Archbishop of Roan, the kings of France and of Bohemia being present, he grossely and foolishly preached against Lewis. Afterwards being Pope he ouerthrew all the Churches of Christendome by his exactions. He was addicted to women, was covetous of honour and dominion, obseruing no mediocritie in his promotions; so as he made himselfe and the Court of Rome infamous for simonie: And being demanded whether simple Clerks were not to be well examined & interrogated, or no, he made answer, *That the hills and mountaines* (which they were to passe) *had examined them sufficiently*; that was to say, had drawne their purses drie ynough. And amongst other things the English Historiographer obserues, that when his Cardinals told him that he had made the king of Englands Secretarie Bishop of Excester, a lay and ignorant man, hee replied, That at his entreatie (the king of England he meant) *he had made an Assse Bishop.*

Idem ibidem.
Thom. Walsing.
in Hypodeigm.
Neustria.
An. 1345.

Auent. 137.

Albertus Ar-
gent. in Chron.

Lewis, though he had sufficient testimonie of his ill affection towards him, yet defatigated as he was with ciuile warres, he sent vnto him an honourable Embassie, which was Henric Dolphine of Viennois, Lewis Count of Ottingen, and Floric Hagenhor his Secretarie of State, hauing commission to attend while any hope of peace remained: as also Philip king of France affected the same matter, by this meanes to abate Lewis his affection towards the English: But (saith the Author) the Cardinals, a peruerse kind of men, detracted day after day for the space of three yeares, in diuers conuocations deluding him, while at length they resolved, *That his impietie towards the Popes, the greatest gods upon earth, was no wayes to bee let passe vnpunished.* The summe therefore of his answer was this, That Lewis should first dispose of himselfe, as to giue full satisfaction to the Church, and then he might solicit the Pope for his absolution. The Pope caused his Moneticie in forme of a Placart, to be fastened on the gates of all the Churches in Auignon, wherein he was commanded to surcease his Imperiall administrations, and vnder paine of excommunication, within a certaine day to submit himselfe to the Church. The embassadours declared, That they had a large commission to giue the Pope contentment, so he would but set downe his demands in speciall articles: when he thus enioyned, *That he should vnfainedly confesse all his errors and heresies. Item, That he should resigne the Empire, and not so reassume the same before he be resies. Item, That he should conferre vpon him: to commit both himselfe, his sonnes, his goods, and his whole state, so the Popes will and disposition: with many other strange and vnusuall inuincions.* There was no man supposed that euer Lewis would haue accepted of these conditions, and yet he did not onely subscribe vnto them, vnder hand and seale, but a Protonotarie being present, who was sent from the Pope, for this purpose, he both sware their obseruance, and also neuer to reuoke them: so as the Pope and all the Cardinals were herewith astonished. The embassadours therefore taking an oath in his name, desired certaine articles of penance to be deliuered to them, supposing that no obstacle now remained behind. But then the Pope abusing maliciously his simple humilitie, digested other articles which concerned not his person, but the verie State and respects of his Empire, *As that he should reuoke all the Decrees enacted against Iohn the two and twentieth, Christs Vicar, cut off for*

mer Acts, recant all opprobries, and publikely by a perpetuall Ediēt establish, That the Empire was the fee and donation of the Pope, and that he neither could iustly be, or bee called Casar, before he confirmed him in the same: as also, that he should deliuer Ockam with his Collegues and associates into his hands. The which articles being communicated to the Princes Electors, and cities Imperiall, by copies sent all ouer, they met at Franckfort the yere 1344, in the moneth of September, to deliberate and consult of them: There with joynt consent, all solemne rites obserued, they decreed, *That these articles were most impious, and tending to the ouerthrow of the Empire: That the Emperour by his oath Imperiall vnderaken, could by no meanes assent thereunto: That embassadours should be sent to the Pope to complaine of these articles, and if he persisted in this seueritie, they would let slacke no meanes to preserue the honour, rights, and safetie of the Empire.* To conclude, they sent Princes and great States to the Pope, who vnderstanding their resolution, was the more incensed to *Lodouikes* destruction & ruine, and thereupon he began to plot with the king of Bohemia, with Charles his sonne, and the Bishop of Treues their vncler, to erect another Emperour opposit to Lewis, the which egge was hatcht some two yeares after. *Auentine* here notes, That the king demanding of the Parisian Diuines about this affaire, they made answer, *That Clements answers were not onely wicked and insolent, but contrarie to all Christian equitie and iustice.*

Clement therefore the yere 1346, in the administration of the Sacrament bitterly cursing Lewis, he denounced him both an heretike & schismaticke, admonishing the Princes by a certaine day to chuse another Emperour, *That the Church might not long be destitute of an Aduocat, otherwise the Apostolicall See would thinke vpon one.* He also deposed the Archbishop of Magunce from Virnberg, because hee had maintained the prerogatiues of the Empire, constituting Gerlac Nassau in his place. The Bishop of Strasbourg he absolued, after he had taken an oath no more to assist Lewis: He employed Bernard of Lutzenberg Elector of Treues, and by his solicitations, through money and promises, drew vnto himselfe many Princes. And thus by the negotiations of this new Elector of Magunce he called a Dyet at Reynfey vpon Rhine, wherein Charles of Lutzemberg, sonne to Iohn king of Bohemia, was annointed Emperour, the fourth of that name: And he being then in France to ayd king Philip against the English, the Pope absolued him of his oath made to Lewis, and encouraged him both with words and meanes to assume the Diademe Imperiall. Lewis on the other side assembled the States at Spire, complaining of so great and singular a treacherie, entreating and importuning the Princes both Ecclesiasticall and secular, to reuenge this iniurie done vnto him, who also vnderooke his protection, detesting both the Popes and Charles his attempts. Then Ockam and many others writ the more vehemently against Clement, as hereafter you shall see, and a more cruell warre than euer before arose in Germanie; wherein, notwithstanding the Popes fauour and assistance, Charles hauing alwayes the worst, when he came to Aquisgrane to bee crowned, the gates were shut against him, and when the Bishop of Liege would haue received him, the citizens expelled the Bishop himselfe, and rayed the siege layd to it. Yet being confirmed by the Pope, he determined to be crowned at Collen, especially the Bishop fauouring him: but the inhabitants refusing him, he was enforced to be consecrated at Bona, while at length Lewis, opposing his wisdom to Charles his youthfull heat, was taken out of the world in the yere 1347, leaving the place vacant. Some say he dyed of poyson, other some say of an Apoplexie: But certainly the most famous men of that age highly commend this Prince, who, to

the accumulation of all vertues becoming a noble and renowned Prince, was in A nothing defectiue, but in his mild and soft proceeding with the Popes: In the meane while *Clement* publishing a Bull in fauour of *Charles*, wherein he enioyed the Princes of Germanie to receiue him, as the faithfull child of the Church, extorting this fruit from all his labour and studie employed, *That from that time forward none was to be reputed Emperour whom the Pope, Christs Vicar, did not approue of; and to beleue otherwise was a most pernicious heresie.* And for the surer obligation of them to these poynts, he vrged them to an oath, which part of the Princes shrunke from, and some verie openly oppugned: For (said they) doth that seruant of seruants so swell and insult in pride and arrogancie, as that openly with a shamelesse countenance he contends to surmount the vices and insolencies of all the most cruell tyrans we haue euer read of? From words therefore they came to blowes: for when *Charles* heard of *Lewis* death, he came to Ratisbone, the Consuls themselves giuing him entrie into the citie; and when the people heard of the Popes pretences, they ran violently to armes, himselfe was scarcely exempted from their furie, so as of necessitie he must needs depart the citie. From thence going to Nuremberg, and being honourably entertained by the Senat, the people againe expelled him, and sent for *Lodouikes* sonne: All this proceeding from a detestation of those articles imposed by *Clement* vpon *Charles*; as also from the forme of a Commission granted to the Bishop of Bamberg, for the vrving of such to a reconciliation to the Church, who had followed *Lewis* partie: which ran in this manner, *They shall swear, hereafter to hold the Catholike Faith (but marke wherein it must consist) to be faithfull to the See Apostolike, to beleue nor fauour no heretike: That it is a condemned heresie, to thinke that the Emperour may depose the Pope, and create another: That the Emperour is to be esteemed no Emperour, except he be first approved by the See Apostolike: neither were they to cleaue or adhere to the progenie or children of the same Lewis, except they were reconciled to the Church: And lastly, That they should obey Charles king of Romans, approved and confirmed in the throne; otherwise they were not to be absolved from these censures and penalties.* *Charles* was aduised, not to publish this forme, if he meant to belouingly entertained of the people: But the Bishop fearing the Popes displeasure, durst not absolue any of the Interdict, vnlesse hee would performe this manner of abiuration; which many resisted, and namely at Basil, *Conradus Burneuld*, Burgomaster, who when *Charls* entred the citie, he protested before a publike Notarie in behalfe of the whole citie, *My Lord of Bamberg, vnderstand, that we will neither beleue nor confesse that our Soueraigne Lewis, Roman Emperour, was euer an heretike: and who soeuer the Princes Electors commend vnto vs, or the greater part of them, for king of Romans, or Emperour, for the same we will take him, though he neuer seeke to the Pope, neither will we performe any thing which may be in any sort repugnant to the royalties and iurisdictions of the Empire.* Yet the Bishop was counselled to remoue the Interdict, and *Charles* by stealth left Basil, comming by water to Strasbourg, where he met with the like, and yet more bitter distasts; as also presently after at Spire, and other cities, where much sedition & strife grew about this forme, which he was driuen to moderat and qualifie. At Wormes the Bishop was constrained to absolue the Interdict, without any oath taken, or conditions at all. *Charls* was receiued into Magunck, with this prouiso, That he should not establish *Gerlac*, constituted their Archbishop by the Pope, nor suffer any parent to be published in his behalfe: *In many places, this Gerlac, minding to depart, all his people garding before his lodging in armes, the hosts not being payed for the charges of his traine, and kitchin, hee was detained, and namely at Wormes, vpon the complaint of a publike*

A *publike executioner*: And hauing no other meanes, hee was enforced to payne his Patent, or collection Warrants, to pay his tolls. And all this, out of doubt, not properly out of any hatred to *Charles*, but to the Pope & Pontificall exactions. But the Princes yet attempt further; for assembling in the greatest part at Reinfey, vpon the Rhine, vnder the castle of Longstein, they consulted about the deposing of *Charles*, and chusing Emperour *Edward* king of England, *Erwin* his neere allie; to whom, by embassadours they solemnly offered the Empire: but after many thanks giuen, he excused himselfe by reason of the wife hee had in hand with the French men. Then they betooke themselves to *Henric* Marquesse of Misnia, *Lodouikes* sonne in law, but for a summe of money hee yielded his right to *Charles*. At last they resolved on *Guntber*, Count of Swartzburg, as renowned a gentleman for martiall prowesse as was in that age: who accepted of it on this condition, That in a solemne assembly of the Princes to be conuocated at Franckfort, the vacancie of the seat were confirmed by the greater part; which was effected in the yeare 1349: So much they grudged to receiue an Emperour from the Popes hands. But being sicke (as our Author *Albertus* sayes) one master *Fridanck*, a famous Physitian, ministred to him a posson, which *Guntber* commanded him, though greatly against his owne will, to assay and tast of in his owne preence; and presently after his assay *Guntber* himselfe tooke some: but the Physitian, who incontinently began to discolour in his countenance, within the space of three dayes died, and *Guntber* mightily swelling, grew to be weak and unable of bodie, so as it was thought this Physicians seruant had put in some posson. By reason of this bodily indisposition *Guntber* was the readier to come to accord, being also excited therunto by diuers of the Princes his friends, who looking into this discommoditie, meant to aduance their owne interests, both by benefits and affinities with *Charles*. It was therefore couenanted betwixt them, *That for the right of his election* accepting of 22000 markes of siluer, and two Imperiall townes in Turingia, he should renounce his title for terme of life. But within a moneth after *Guntber* died, & *Charles* remained peaceably installed; but this was by sinister meanes, and to the irrecoverable damage of the Empire: For in him, and by his basenesse, the processe was ended, to the Popes benefit, commenced anciently by *Gregorie* the 7, called *Hildebrand*, for confirmation of the authority of their Sees, against the liberties of the Empire, being wholly exhausted of treasure; and therefore to appease the townes & States, who were prouoked by his molestations, and to be acknowledged in them, *Charles* was constrained to acquit them of the greatest part of his taxes & subsidies in such sort as the Maiesty of the Empire was scarce able euer after to recouer it self againe.

By the same meanes the German Emperours lost all their authoritie in Italie, while *Lewis* the fourth was at variance and strife with the Popes, partly because Popes ordained Magistrats in the cities Imperiall, and out of the Vicariate which they arrogated to themselves in the Empires vacancie, they appointed the principall of the Guelphish faction to be their substitutes: and partly also in that the Emperour being employed in Germanie, to retaine still some authoritie and power, he constituted the more illustrious personages of his partie (who were termed Gibellines) his deputies & vicegerents in those cities that remained vnder his subiection. And thus it came to passe that many of these Vicars and Substitutes grew at last to be Lords and proprietaries of the places. Many cities likewise shaking off the yoke of subiection, redeemed their libertie. And so amidst these great agitations and disturbances, the more mightie and potent deuoured and swallowed vp their weaker neighbours. For thus we see that *Clement* by authoritie Apostolical,

call, made *Lucino Viconte*, and *Ioane* his brother, his Vicars in Milan, with absolute authoritie and power ouer all the places they held in their hands. In like manner he appointed *Mastino de Scalliger* to be his Vicar at Verona, *William Gonzaga* at Mantua and Rhegio, *Alberto Carrara*, at Padua, *Opizo d'Este* at Ferrara, Modena, and Argento. All which places, did undoubtedly formerly belong to the Empire. The same course *Benedict* the twelfth entred into, which, beeing preuented by death, he could not accomplish and finish. As also *Lewis*, out of his imperiall authoritie, placed *Iohn de Vico*, his substitute at Viterbo; *Galeot Malatesta* and his brethren at Rimini, Pesara, and Fano. *Antonio de Montefelatro* at Vrbino, *Gentile de Varano* at Camerino, *Guido di Polenta* at Rauenna, *Senabaldo Ordelaffi*, at Furli and Cesena, *Iohn Manfredi* at Faenza, and *Lewis Alidosio* at Imola: places no question pretended to be Papall. Now the Venetians amidst these tumults, apprehending opportunitie, found meanes to rise by the ruines of the Empire. As also, during these dissentions, one *Nicholas Laurentius* notarie or Chauncellour of the Capitoll at Rome, attempted to expell the Senators out of Rome, to inuade the Capitoll, to summon the people to recouerie of libertie, to whom such multitudes flocked, that all Italie was onely attentive on him and his proceedings, nay diuers forrainers visited him by Embassadours: he enlisted himselfe *Nicholaus Senerus*, and *Clemens* the Tribune of libertie, peace and justice, and the famous deliuerer of the Roman Common-wealth: And *Petrarch* speaking of his beginnings with great admiration, by and by reprehends him, because he flattered the worse sort of people, where is now become, saith he, thy redeeming spirit? where is that same consulting genius of good actions, with which thou wert supposed to haue daily conference? for it seemes such things could not be performed by a man, and it is verie wonderfull, how this man desisted from his commendable initiations. But distrust- ing the issue of his innouations, hee stole priuily out of Rome, and went into Germanie to *Charles* the fourth, to haue some treatie with him; who being of a base disposition, sent him bound to Auignon to the Pope, condemned to perpetuall imprisonment: where the Popes yet remained as it were in an hired and borrowed habitation. When *Robert* King of Sicilie dyed, he left *Ioane* his neece by the brothers side, his heire, to whom by Testament, he allotted *Andrew* his cousin for her husband: But *Ioane* being married a little while, grew into great detestation of him, and thereupon caused him to be slayne in the Citie of Auersa, and then she chose *Lewis* of Tarento, another cousin of hers, to be her husband. *Lewis* king of Hungarie, came to bee reuenged of *Andrew* his brothers death; but *Ioane*, not daring to attend *Lewis* presence, consulted of flight, and so she and her husband retired into Prouence, committing her selfe to the Popes protection; who through the intercession of *Guido* Cardinall of Porto her kinsman, made her peace vpon this condition, That he might be restored to the kingdome; That *Lewis* her pretended husband should lay downe the stile of king, and be contented vnder him, with that of Prince, and that the king of Hungarie after her death, should to succeed al her rights & titles. And that you may not suppose the Pope laboured herein in vayne, behold the reward of his arbitration: The Citie of Auignon, together with the Countie, a part of her fathers enheritance, was graunted to the Pope, but yet this vnder a certaine shew and color of sale, as if the sale of the Citie, had not counterailed the Tribute which *Ioan* was yet to pay out of her kingdome, since her obtaining the dignitie. *Blondus* speaks verie plainly out of *Petrarch*. The Pope did not all this meere gratis, for he enjoyed the citie and countie of Auignon, her fathers Patrimonie, and the payment of money was changed into the payment of a Fee, or Recognition, which

Blondus Decad.
2. l. 19.

Machiavel.
l. 1. Hist. Florent.

Pandolf. Colle-
nicius l. 5.
Blondus Decad.
2. l. 10.
Mat. Villani
6 Ann. l. 1. Jac.
Card. Capicenis
in Epistola.

which *Ioane*, formerly crowned, had promised for her kingdome. *Mathew Villanus* writes indeed, that it cost him three hundred thousand florins, whereof the discharge of the sayd pension and arrerages was a part. He at would but know what valuation the Court of Rome made of this purchase, let them read the Epistle of *James* Cardinall of Pauiia, about this matter; when a motion was made of restoring it againe to the house of Anjou, we must provide by all meanes, saith he, that the Roman See, loose not her patrimonie beyond the Alpes. It is a refuge to distressed Popes, an hard bit in the mouthes of the Italians, to curbe them from too licentiouslly disturbing the Church: If we cannot be quiet here, in threating onely to transerre our selues to that Citie of ours, we worke our owne peace.

Boniface, as formerly you haue heard, had ordayned the Iubilie to be celebrated euerie hundreth yere, promising many great indulgences, and *Clement* knowing what profit it turned him to, would needs haue one also in his time: wherefore in the first yere of his Pontificat (let the Reader obserue his zeale) he brought it to euerie fiftie yere, so as himselfe being absent, it might be celebrated at Rome, and this was done the better to concile the Romans to him, who should be greatly enriched hereby. And because it concernd him so sterely, he sent thither foure Cardinals, his Legats, with plenarie power if need required, vpon this occasion, to reforme the state of the Citie of Rome. His drift was indeed vnder this pretext to haue put downe the Senators; but though the Romans mouthes watred at the gaine and lucre of a Iubilie, yet could hee obtrayne no further of them, but that in the election of Senators, contrarie to the auintie custome, there should be this addition, A Papa declarabuntur, they shall be declared by the Pope. In the Records of many famous Cities, there is yet at this day, a Bull extant, which he publisht vpon the proclamation of the Iubilie: wherein these clauses are expressly set downe, whosoeuer by way of pilgrimage determines to come into this citie (he means Rome) the same day that he goes out of his Inne, on wards on his journey, he may chuse a Confessor or Confessors, both on the way and in any other place whatsoever, to which Confessours by our authoritie we giue full power to absolue all Papall intercesses, as if we were there in proper person. Item, we graunt, that if being trulie confessed, as if we were there in proper person. Item, we graunt, that if being trulie confessed, as if we were there in proper person. Item, we graunt, that if being trulie confessed, as if we were there in proper person. Item, we graunt, that if being trulie confessed, as if we were there in proper person.

Legitur hec Bulla in Tractatu de materijs Indulgentiabus Ioan. Pbesio Professoris Friburgensis anno 1472.

at libertie out of Purgatorie, they immediatly conuey it into the glorie of Paradise. But the Parisian faculties of Diuinitie, condemne the Pope of intollerable error, and temeritie. There are that referre such an other, as you haue heard to *Clement* the fift. Questionlesse all Authors exclame of wonderfull Symonie in his time; and vnusuall reseruations of Benefices, throughout the whole Church; some of which he reuoked, onely to auoyd publike scandall. But, gentle Reader, while thou seest him here thus commaunding ouer Angels, why doest thou not listen to the Apostles prediction in the second to the Thessalonians 2, where he speaks of the man of sinne, bearing himselfe as God, equall to God, and extolling himselfe aboute all that is called God; in so manie ages after succeeding, to whom may it fitlyer be applied than to him?

Henricus Reb-
dorff in Au-
naliu.

OPPOSITION.

The oppositions declared throughout this whole Progress against the Papall Tyrannie, may seeme sufficient, without adding any other: because we seee him to haue bene euer mightily oppugned, by all the famous men of those ages; as also

also by most commendable and vertuous Princes: yet for the Readers better satisfaction, we will not thinke it amisse to annexe some thing else. The imperiall Decree publisht in the year 1338, against the acts of *John* the two and twentieth, as you heard, was approued by *Edward* king of England, who also was present at the digesting it: For the flankering and seconding of which, the Emperour *Lewis* dimulged another Ediēt, whose principall heads it will not be altogether impertinent here to insert. *Lewis* the fourth Emperour, and by Gods grace *Cesar Augustus*, to all Christians health: *S. Peter* and *S. Paule*, the first Embassadours from the eternall *Alaistie*, declared and foretold long time before, seriously informing vs, That after their times there should arise false Prophets, audacious and subtle, and that Priests should become lying messengers; plainly deciphering their workes unto us: In the Temple of God, said they, that is the Church, they shall sit as gods, and be exalted above all that is reuerenced or worshipped by any Nation, as God. That those things are most true, which the true Prophets of God, and the interpreters of his secrets, did denuntiate, by manifest experience it is confirmed: and except we be dull and senselesse, we cannot but perceiue and euen feele the same. We cannot denie but that men now are too superstitious to oppose the abuses of the times; though in hypocriticall fraudes & delusions, wherewith the ignorant vulgar are many times taken and ensnared, they are most wittie, and craftie; brazen-faced to uphold customes and rights receiued, and herein abusing the simple credulitie of sillie fooles, whereof the number is infinit. But it is my part to detect and resell such impostures and digressions, so the end they may not affront Christian integrity, and plainly mock & deride diuine veritie. Men gather not grapes from thorns, and the Prophet of God receiues no bribes or rewards. Christ commanded his messengers, that whosoever amongst them, sought to be highest should be lowest: And the Kings of the earth beare domination and rule ouer people, but you are the seruants of my flocke, that is to say, Shepheards you are & not Lords. Notwithstanding all these things are most true and euident, yet Pharisees, and pernicious Antichrists, Iustaine, That an Emperour chosen by voyce and custome imperiall, and by the suffrages of Princes, cannot be Emperour, except the high Priest, who is Lord ouer all, and possessor of both powers, allow and confirme him. And here he refuted this proposition, as being flatly opposit both to the sacred Scriptures, to the auncient Laws and Canons, and to the customes of all ages: further adding, For these reasons, well, rightly, and wisely I appeal, from the enemy of the Christian Common-wealth, to a future generall Councell of all Christendome to be held, whereof he is but a member and no head: for as *S. Ierome* sayes, The church of the whole world is greater than that of the Citie &c.

Clement perseuering in this his rage and furie, *William Ockham* incessantly defended *Lewis* right, especially because (through his plot and deuise) *Charles* came to be nominated Emperour: and in a booke which he publisht vpon this subject, He taxed *Clement*, with the note of an heretike, calling him verie Antichrist, an hater of Christian pouertie, an enemy of the Common-wealth, a mortall foe to the Germans; a most Christian Nation, and a follower of *Clement* the first, and *John* the two and twentieth, false Popes, and most deuouring Wolues: *Charles* also, he accuseth of perurie, treason, parricide, and of impietie towards his grandfather, and nere kinsman, in breaking the oath, wherein he stood bound to *Lodouick*, and perfidiously infringing the Lawes of *Constans*, *Frankfort*, and *Longsteine*, promulged by the Dyets Ediēt: and terming him a vile seruant to the Priests of *Auignion*, of whom, he bought the Diadem imperiall. *Leopald* also, Bishop of *Bamberg*, and *Ockhams* Collegues doe no lesse, in a Treatise entituled, *Vindex pacis Christiane*, wherein they affirme, That the Pope except he had rather take vpon him Antichrists pride, than emulate Christs and his

Auent. l. 7.

A *Apostles* pouertie, was but a seruant to the meaneſt Christian, much more to soueraigne and supreme power: so farre from reason it was, that to the singular preiudice of the Christian Common-wealth he should domineere and rule, doe whatsoeuer he thinkes good, and requiring not onely to be called, but to be beleeued a god. Indeed *Cowrade* of *Magdeberg* laboured hard in the answer of these men, but seven yeares after *Ockams* death, who dying anno 1347, and was honourably buried at *Frankfort*, in the *Franciscans* Colledge, together with other two of his companions, *Bona gratia* de *Bergamo*, and *Michael* de *Cesena*. Some few yeares also before *Vlric Hengherohr*, *Lodouikes* Chancellor, and Secretarie to the Empire, deceased, who fearing the *Auignion* Antichristians reuenge (so he termed them) he gaue order in his last Will and Testament, to be buried without the Church, least they should haue persecuted him in his verie bones.

But no man shewes vs more plainly than *Florentine Petrarch*, what opinion all the renowned men, of those troublesome seasons, held of the Pope and of the Court of *Rome*, who was Archdeacon of *Parma*, the verie light of that age, and greater had beene if he could haue foothed and flattered the Popes, of whom he might haue obtained any thing. And so much the rather, because he writ for the most part as one exempted from the heat and spleene of those present contentions and partialities. I omit to set downe how liuely in his Poems he decipheres the Roman Court, many times calling her the *Babylonian Harlot*, the Schole of all errour, the verie Forge of deceit, and the Temple of heresie. But here it may be sayd, That Poets haue euer beene permitted to speake broadly: Let mee request the Reader therefore but onely to read his Latine Epistles, full of grauitie, zeale, and learning; wherein he sincerely explains his opinion. In the eighth of those Epistles which are called *Sine titulo*, where he describes the Court of *Rome* vnder the nomination of the Occidentall *Babylon*: Know (saith he) in brieſe, that neither mine nor *Ciceroes* penne himselfe, if he were aliue, would suffice to decypher it: Whatsoeuer we read of the *Egyptian*, or *Assyrian* *Babylon*, whatsoeuer of the foure *Labyrinths* of the mouth of *Auerne*, of the groues infernall, or of the marish of *Sodome*, being paralleled with this hell, they are all but fables and bables. Here is tower-topping and blaspheming *Nemrod*: Here is *Symiramis* and her quiner: Here inexorable *Minos*, and *Radamant*: Here is all deuouring *Cerberus*, *Pasiphae* prostituted to a Bull, and here is the mixed kind, and prodigious progenie of *Minotaurus*: Here are the execrable delineations of variable and wicked *Venus*: To conclude, whatsoeuer confused, hideous, or horrible forme was euer poetically imagined and fained, may here be really scene and discerned. Surely thou hast heretofore bene happie for thy vertues, but now thou art much more happie in thy absence and remotion. Take you this to be the same citie that you saw it sometimes heretofore to be? Fie no, it is sure another, farre vnlike to the same. Questionlesse that then was verie bad, and those times most defiled and polluted, but this moderne *Rome* is not a citie, it is an habitation for spirits and diuels; and to speake in a word, the sinke of all sinne and licentiousnesse, and that same hell and gulph of the liuing, described by the mouth of *Dauid*, so long time before it was founded or knowne. Ah how often doe I call to mind that same fatherly voyce, and healthfull admonition, when vpon my departure thou saydſt vnto me, Whither goest thou? what dost thou intend? what headlong ambition makes thee so vmmindfull of thine owne safetie? Questionlesse hee that hee writ to, whom he calls *Father*, must needs be a man of some eminent note in those times. In his ninth Epistle to the same partie he subscribes himselfe an exile from *Ierusalem*, amongst and vpon the riuers of *Babylon*; alluding to the hundred thirtieth and seuenth Psalmes, where the Psalmist deplores the state of the Church, and his own

Petrarch. E. p. 3.

Epist. 9.

condition, in the Babylonian captiuitie. And in his tenth Epistle he layes open A his reason: You maruell (saith he) at the subscriptions of my letters, and not without cause, in that you haue onely read of two Babylons, one in times past amongst the Assyrians, where Symiramis liued with so great renowne, and another amongst the Egyptians, which flourisheth still in this our age: But cease to admire (saith he) for this part of the earth hath also her Babylon (Anignion) for where, I pray you, may the citie of confusion be better seated, than in the quarters of the West? By whom it was built is verie uncertaine, but by whom it is inhabited is manifestly knowne, by people certainly, who in all right may giue her this name: And, if you please, belecue me; Here dwells puissant Nemrod on earth, the strong and mightie Hunter, conspiring against the Lord, and with his ayrie towers aspiring vnto heauen: Here also abides a more furious Cambyse than he of B the East, nay than the Turke himselfe. Doe but consult with Catholike Authors, but especially with Saint Augustine, and you shall find, what this name of Babylon meanes, which hauing read, you will then say it belongs no lesse to Rodanus, than to the riuers of Euphrates and Nilus. You may also peradventure greatly wonder at the fine Labyrinthes, when amongst other writers you find no mention made but of foure; this fift being the worst and most inextricable, whether it then were not, or as yet was not knowne. Whosoeuer would truly view and peruse it, let him come hither, here wants no horror of imprisonment, no error of palpable darkenesse, no fatall Vrnnes, stuffing together the lots and destinies of mankind: and to conclude, no Imperious Minos, no tearing Minotaures, nor lasciuious portraitors of dammed Venus, are rare and scarce. All hope of saluation C lies in gold, the cruell king with gold is pacified, the prodigious monster by gold is subdued; for gold the web of saluation is woven, onely for gold the hard thresholds of this gate are shorne; for gold barres and stones are broken, with gold the grizlie Porters monid is stopt, for gold heauen lies open: and what needs many words? Christ himselfe for gold is sold. And in the eleuenth Epistle protesting what danger hung ouer his head for speaking truth, Euen as (saith he) without the kingdome of vertue veritie was alwaies feeble and weake, being destitute of any aid or helpe, what must needs happen, doe you suppose, where vertue lies cleane extinguished, and deeply buried? There veritie, no question, is a most capitall crime, and onely of it selfe sufficient to acquire many mens hatred, where one mans loue shall be sought with many obsequies & flatteries, &c. Where no faith, D no charitie, no pietie remaines, but rage, enuie, excelsse, and auarice, raigne with all their artes and falsifiers: where euerie bad man is exalted, the greatest thiefe extolled to heauen, and the iust poore man flatly oppressed: where simplicitie is called madnesse, and mulce sapience: where God is contemned, and money adored, lawes troden vnder foot, and good men laugh at, so as now there are almost no more left for them to laugh at. I would willingly exempt one from this deluge of impietie, and I confesse he would well deserue it, but then me thinkes it would be ridiculous to cut off so solid and generall a rule for one nowmes exception. And therefore here no Noah, nor no Deucalion, sit all float vpon the water: and suppose that Pyrrha made no more happie navigation and escape than the selfe for a mightie flood of obscene sensualities did ouerflow the citie, a wonderfull rage and tide-gate of feminine delights, together with a foule and vncleane shipwracke of chastitie, without any exception at all of virginie and modestie. This little, of a great deale more, Truth dares relate. Then he concludes, To this Epistle I haue neither set to my hand nor my seale, neither time nor place, you know where I remaine, and can vnderstand mee well enough by my words. Then in his twelfth complaining in his heart to God for the miseries of the time, in the thirteenth he does particularize the same: That renowned Court of Christ (saith he) that famous Propugnacle of diuine worship in times past (our sinnes being the occasion thereof) being now destitute of heauenlic aid and potetion,

Epist. 11.

Epist. 12. 13.

A is become a denne of vncleane theues: And the originall of all these euills proceeds from one onely fountaine, though many other lesser beads and springs rise out of the same, from whence a raging floudgate of all manner of miseries breakes in, wherein we cannot but perish and be ouerwhelmed in the surges of extreamest mischiefs: and if the mercie of heauen prevent not humane transgression and enormitie, the Church doublelesse is like to suffer a most lamentable and fearefull shipwracke. How different are liues and manners, and how discrepant the minds of some that build, and others that ruine and plucke down. The Almighty God provide speedily for the safetie of his holie house. Certainly I plaine-ly discern a farre off, yet dare no wayes meddle nor disturbe, and therefore if I could would not see at all, the cruell and infamous treacheries, by which that same Ecclesiasticall Diony- B sius seeks to molest and deface our Syracuse. In regard of the Church, comparing the Pope to that monstrous tyran of Sicil. I see with what a Myter, though counterfeit, Symiramis adorne her head, by what artes she inchaunts the eyes of the beholders, and being polluted with incestuous imbracements, treads vnder foot men of constant disposition and manners; alluding to the Harlot in the Apocalyps. I perceine by what artes and stratagems our Pericles defends himselfe, that he may not be urged to render the account he is not able iustly to giue up; as also by Alcibiades, that runnes violently headlong into all wicked deuises and practises. Wherefore he confounds and turnes all things topsie turvie, and for what cause may you suppose? Why questionlesse, that like a Iugler or Mountibanke, with an haire or small shread, not scene, or a counterfeit wound, hee may C the more artificially delude, his owne fraud and deceit lying covered and hid vnder the gloomie shadow of a tumultuous Commonwealthe. And surely for the scope and end of his determinations, he useth stratagems that are neither new nor strange: for the Fowler lonnes the woods, the Fisherman troubled waters, and the theefe darkenesse: and for vs, what could I wish to happen vnto vs more base or abiect, than alwayes to remaine, like to our selues, before a vigilant adulterer, blowing and puffing ouer the emper, being ignorant, I must needs confesse, whether his impudence or our patience is more seruite and deiected. Then in the 14. What hath a vertuous man to doe with bad places, or what commerce haft D Epist. 14. shou with Babylon? We read, that the more magnanimous and valiant Romans vsed to shun and auoid Baia in Campania, though a verie healthfull and pleasant place, but where little honestie, many pleasures and delights offered themselves, aliother respects laid aside; so bent and intente they were on the studie and prosecution of vertue. If this be so, who would not flie Rhodanus? Who, I pray you, will not shun Babylon, the dolefull habitation of all vices, toyle, and miseries? Whereof, me thinks, you should haue some experience: I speake of things scene with mine eyes, not heard of with mine eares, &c. Pietie there is none, nor charitie, nor faith, no reuerence nor feare of God, nothing iust, nothing equall, nothing vpright, nor so much as ciuile and humane. Loue, modestie, seuerelnesse, and true honestie, are from thence exiled: Of veritie I may well be silent, for what place can trush haue there where all parts are replenished with lyes, the ayre, the house, the turrets, the villages adiacent, the Courts, the streets, the porches, the lobbies, inward chambers, the rafters, the crevices of walls, the windings and passages of the edifice, the secretest parts of the E Temples, the seats of the Iudges, and the Popes throne, and in briefe, mens mouthes, becke, gestures, words, countenances, and hearts? Then he delineats their hypocricke, to life it selfe, propounding many examples and instances thereof: But my singular louing Father (converting now my stile to thee) I pray, beseech, entreat, and euen conure thee no other wise than by thy selfe, to whom if thou best decre, or still re- taine the accustomed vigilance and care ouer thy soule, that it neuer hereafter enter into thy heart to goe thither, from whence neuer any returned by example bettered, but innumerable multitudes depraued and corrupted. In his fiftenth Epistle he concludes,

Epist. 15.

cludes, That God was no lesse angrie with them than with Ægypt and Pharaoh, and that he would lay upon them, the plagues of his indignation, wrath, displeasure, tribulations, and the emission of euill Angels: finally, That Daniels imprecation could not more aptly be applied to any than to them: Let them be like dust before the face of the wind, and the Angell of the Lord dringing them: Let their wayes be darke and slipperie, and the Angell of the Lord persecuting them: vnlesse therefore God take him from thence, who can escape? In the sixteenth, he heartily congratulates with a friend, his departure from the Popes Court, If there be any presagements true, then Gods reuenge must needs be nere at hand; God giue, and retribute plentifully to the proud doers, for it is his owne iustice and reuenge, &c. I cannot but call to mind, what, many

Epist. 16.

years past, I sayd to a friend of ours, which of all that wicked number, might well be reputed the best; to whom you were tyed in consanguinitie, and I onely in familiaritie: That the fatall day of this mans ruine drew neare, wherein, the patience both of God and men, being wearie of supporting his pride and insolencie, he should perish and fall: when he with a smile, mixt & tempred with choler, wisht vnto me rather Tiresius blindnesse than his gift of prophesie; answering me with that saying of the Gospel, Symon, I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith may not faile: and I freely replied, That I spake not of the defect of faith, but of their ruine that were the ouerthrowers of the same; whereby faith would rather be augmented: and then turning towards me with a serious and knit brow, Be silent, said he, and though this be true, let not vs be the Authours thereof. At length he concluded, All things will they, will they, retourne againe to their proper place and center: and no question, the end of lying and perpetuated delusion, is at hand, which, if I may but see, I shall thinke I haue liued long enough. And euen so all the godlie in those times, with sobbes and sighs, groaned after the Churches restoration, and Babelons ruine. In his seuenteenth Epistle, the same friend, notwithstanding his owne admonition to the contrarie, would needs enter into the like discourie, concurring then with him in the same judgement, that the infernall riuers there had their course, and whatsoeuer wickednesse had euer beene in the world, it ran and fell thereinto, as into the center and gulfes of such inuindicties: wherefore, that he might not perish therein, If, saith he, thou worshippst

Epist. 17.

Christ, which you alwaies most religiously haue done, let the beholding of his enemies impietie lend an hand to thy zeale, and be as a spur to thy faith: For thou obseruest a people not only aduerse and contrarie to Christ, but, which is far worse, seruing vnder his verie colours and yet are rebellious vnto him, standing for Sathan, being filled and swolne with Christs blond, and saying, Our lips are our owne, who is our Lord? An hard hearted, and wicked people, proud, beggarlie, thiristie, of a puffed vp countenance, sharpe teeth, hooked talentes, slipperie feet, stomic breist, hearts of brasse, leaden willes, and melifluent tongues: A people with whom, not onely that of the Euangelist and Prophet finally concurs, This people honourest me with their tongues, and their hearts are farre off from me; but retaining also that propertie of Iudas Iscariot, who, when he betrayed his Lord, kissed him, and sayd, Aue Rabbi, God saue thee Master: and cladding him in purple, and crowning him with thornes, they buffet, and spit vpon him, with most bitter scornes and derisions, and with bended knees worship and salute him, Aue, King of the Iewes: whom as a King they neither reuerenced with diuine or human honors, but contrariwise, out of a carnall and corrupt iudgement denounce him a blasphemour and guiltie of death, worthie of all contumely and punishment. For I pray you, what other thing is performed amongst these enemies of Christ, and the Pharisees of these our daies? The same Christ whose name both daie and night they exalt with high praises, whom they clad in gold and purple, whom they lade with gemmes, salute and adore; the same I

say

A say, they buy, sel, and make merchandise of vpon earth; the same as if his eies were blinded and that he could not discern, they crowne with the thorns of their wicked wealth, & defile him with the spit the of their vncleane mouthes: & as far as in them lies, being poore, naked, mocked and scourged, they hale him often along to mount Caluarie, and with their blasphemous censure, fasten againe to the Crosse. Doubtlesse, saith he, in the same Epistle, if Iudas should bring into this Court the 30 pieces of siluer, the price of bloud; he would be admitted, & poore Christ would be driuen out of doores. That thus it is, no Christian can be ignorant, there is no man but laments, and yet no man doth reuenge. And thus while one lookes vpon another, impunitie of euill, as you see, doth gather strength; and that euill which in the beginning was medicable, is now with time growne rotted and putrified. In deed, I confesse (and so much we haue receiued from our progenitors) that this filthie vlcere, before our times, began to swell and enflame, but distemperature hath augmented the maladie, so as this pestilence is now altogether mortiferous. Hereunto he adds the testimonie of a great man in that age, who with sighs was wont to say, Two of our Clements in a few yeares, haue more spoiled and defaced the Church, than seven of your Gregories were able to restore in many ages: neither do I my selfe, or any man else, as I thinke, doubt thereof. Then in the eighteenth, describing the French Babylon (for so he called Auignion, whether the Roman Court was transferred) The hope, saith he, of the life to come sounds in thy eares but as a mere fable, and all the relations of hell thou takest to be yale dreames, the resurrection of the flesh, the end of the world, and Christs coming to iudgement are accounted but old wiuets tales. As farre as in a few lines was possible, I haue expressed vnto you the state of that sacred citie, which you cannot so well read at this day, in these letters, as you may plainly discern it in mens fauours and countenances, whose liues, no stile nor wit is able liuely enough to explaine and relate. Thou art, saith he, addressing his speech to her, that famous, or rather infamous harlot, which committest fornication with the Kings of the earth; the selfesame strumpet thou art, which the sacred Euangelist saw in the spirit, she, the selfesame, I say thou art, and no other, hauing thy seat vpon many waters: the people, Nations, and Tongues are the waters, on which, being an harlot, thou sittest: obserue thy habit; a woman, girt about with silke and purple, dawbed with gold, pretious stones and pearles, hauing a golden cup in thine hand, full of the abominations and vncleane nesse of thine owne fornications. Dost thou know thy selfe Babylon? except peraduenture thou maist mistake in this, because it was written on her forehead Great Babylon, and thou art but little Babylon; little in deed in respect of the circuit of walls, but in vices, in the compasse of minds, in infinit concupiscences, and the verie accumulation of all euils, not onely great, but most great, nay and immense: and certainly what followes, onely fits thee and no other; Babylon the mother of fornications, and of the earths abominations, a wicked mother, of worse progenie, seeing whatsoeuer is adulterous, or abominable vpon earth, came forth from thee; and euer when thou bringest forth, thy warme swelles, is big, and replenished with such impieties. And if thou dissemblest, heare the rest: And I saw, saith he, a woman drunke with the bloud of the Sainets, and with the bloud of the Martyrs of Iesus: why art thou silent? either shew some other drunke with this bloud, or if thou canst not, denie not thy selfe to be this drunken strumpet. For the Euangelists and Apostles vision, must needs be true, who admiring with such extraordinarie wonder, when he but beheld thee in spirit, into what an admiration may we iustly be driuen, that see and discern thee with open eyes? Of all the fornications which the Nations and Kings of the earth haue drunke, and of all the abominations, what other end dost thou expect, but the same prophesied by Iohn, Great Babylon is fallen, is fallen, and made an habitation for Demels? it is well knowne what

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fol.

followes: For thou art now truly become such an one, and how much better is a per-
 A nicious and most wicked man, than a diuell? A verie habitation, may a kingdome of di-
 uells thou art growne, who with their diuellsish arts and stratagems, though cloked in a
 humane shape, raigne in thee. But thou my deere friend, with the same Apostle heare ano-
 ther voyce speaking from heauen, Come out of her my people, and be not partakers of her
 iniquities, that so you may receiue none of her stripes: for her sinnes are mounted vp in-
 to heauen, and God remembreth her iniquities. Afterwards he exclaimes against the
 disordinat lusts euen of the Elders in the Roman Church. *Deuastations, whoredoms,*
rapes, incests, and adulteries, which now (saith he) are the sports and May-games of Pon-
tificall fire & lust, banishing the husbands of rauished wiues, not only from their fathers
seats, but from their countries confines: and which of all conuulsiues is the most grieuous
 B *and insupportable, they constrain the husbands to receiue againe their violated wiues, be-*
ing great with strange seed, and after their deliuerie to restore them againe to be further
abused by other mens lusts. And he propounds many fearefull examples of these
 things. Now (saith he) under these mens conduct, doe but suppose whether Christ can
 be fauourable to this people, or prosper the Commonwealsh. In the nineteenth Epistle he
 congratulates with his friend, because he saw him departed safe out of the Roman
 Court. Such a man (saith he) was a faithfull, but an unprouident persuader of me to
 make choyce to live and dye in Babylon: but why, I pray you, or to what end? That I may
 see good men suppressed, and euill erected? Eagles to creeze, and Asses to stie? to see Foxes
 in chariots, and Crows on turret tops, and Domes on dung-hils, Wolves at libertie, and
 C *Lambes in bonds? and in brieft, Christ an exile, Antichrist a Lord, and Belzebub a Iudge?*
I am reuoked to these spectacles, but I will not heare: I can neither humor them, nor they
me. O cruell and wicked sect of men, louing nothing, nor any bodie, but themselves, and
that most peruersly and wickedly. Who shall releue the oppressed world? who will redeeme
the afflicted citie? who will reforme manners corrupted? who shall call together the dis-
persed sheepe? who will correct erroneous shepherds? who shall reduce and bring them
backe againe vnto their proper seats? will there be no meane of the licentiousnesse of sin?
Shall the holie Ghost thunder out in vaine by the Prophet? These things thou didst, and yet
 D *I held my peace, thou wicked wretch supposing that I was like vnto thee: but I will con-*
uince thee, and set my face and countenance against thee, &c.

These poynts Petrarch roundly touched to his familiar friends: from whence
 we may collect, that many were of the same opinion, being terrified with the hor-
 rour of those monsters; and some there wanted not, who were euen overcome
 with zeale, as *Albertus Argentinenfis* in his Chronicle, anno 1351, *Acertaine pre-*
 An. 1351. *aching Carmelite making a Sermon vpon the Popes Masse, so reprehended both him and*
 Albertus Ar- *the Cardinals, of their enormous vices, that all who were present were wonderfully a-*
 gent in Chronic. *stonished: and for this he was disgraced.* He also addes, *A closed letter was fastened on*
a Cardinals doore, directed to the Pope and Cardinals: which being opened, they found
there written, That Lewiathan, the Prince of darkenesse, saluted the Pope his Vicar, and
the Cardinals his seruants, by whose endeuour he hoped to overcome Christ, labouring to
 E *exalt the poore and humble against the Commonwealsh of this world: and so bringing in*
the Prophets, he sets them forth with all vices. Afterwards, And your mother Pride,
and your sister Auarice and Luxurie, salute you, &c. who reioyced, that by their assistance
they were verie well. With many other things. And it was subscribed, Given in the in-
fernal Centre, before a multitude of diuels. And the Pope being mightily stirred vp
with this Pasquill, laboured what he could to find out the Author: but presently vpon it he
fell into a dangerous infirmite, wherof not withstanding he recovered; but the writer of
this letter could neuer come to be knowne. Albert, it seemes, had reference to that Epi-
 ste

A ste of *Lucifers*, a little before mentioned; but that seemes to haue bene written
 at Paris, and that with the consent of the better and more learned sort, because it
 was printed together with that Tractat of *William* of Paris, *De Beneficiorum Colla-*
 tione. And many writings of this nature came forth at the same time. Not long
 before which, in the yeare 1345, *Haibalus* a Franciscan preached publicly many
 An. 1345. times at Auignon, and plainly said, That he was commaunded from God to de-
 declare the Roman Church to be the Babylonian Harlot, the Pope and his Cardi-
 nalls to be true Antichrist, and that *Benedict* and *John*, his predecessors, were dam-
 ned; with many other things pertaining to this purpose. And being brought be-
 fore the Pope, he constantly auerred, That this was expressly commaunded him
 B by God in a vision, and that out of office and duetie he was bound to preach it.
 And here the Author doth not cleerely set downe what was decreed of him.

For matters of doctrine, though we haue spoken more copiously hereof in a-
 nother place, yet by the way let vs here note, That the article of Free justification
 through faith in Christ, the principall Base and foundation of Christian religion,
 began in these times to rise as it were out of darkenesse: For *Thomas Brandwar-*
dine, who was vulgarly called *The profound Doctor*, taught the same in his publike
 Lectures, not onely in England, but also in the Vniuersitie of Paris. And there
 is yet extant a booke written by himsele of this subiect, at the intreatie and per-
 suasion of many godlie men, diuided into three parts: Wherein he complaines,
 C That the same had happened to him, which sometimes fell out with *Elias*, when
 the eight hundred and fiftie Prophets of *Baal* rose vp against him, in this cause:
How many, O Lord (saith he) contend with Pelagius at this day, for Free will, against free
grace, and against Paul the spirituall champion of grace? How many at this day reiect
free grace, and onely declare free will to be sufficient vnto saluation? Or if they make any
use of grace, they speake of it but for forme sake onely. And so he extends himsele at
 large in the explication of this doctrine, agreeing herein with *Augustine*, *Ierome*,
Fulgentius, *Prosperus*, *Bernardus*, and many other auncient writers: *In such a conflict*
 (saith he) *not being lightly afraid, I was long time perplexed, but with my whole heart I*
 D *had refuge to diuine ayd, and so being presently comforted with the spirit of fortitude, I*
grew to haue great hope: for it was not my cause, nor my warre, but the cause of the God
and Lord of science, of armies, and of powers: but vnder him I maintaine his right.
whose countenances or high lookes need I therefore to feare, or whose rage and furie, be-
ing garded and enuironed with the safe protection of so mightie a Patron? Whosoer
therefore belongs to the Lord, let him toyne with me, or rather let vs both be ioyned to the
Lord, let vs stand stoutly to it, for who can be against vs? For I know the man with whom
 E *the Lord is, will be able to sustaine the charge of a thousand enemies, and twelue thousand*
he shall profligate. These things he properly deliuered against the scholers of those
 times: he preaching also vnto his disciples, That the dayes would come, and they
 were not now farre off, when their false doctrine should be plainly detected, and
 themselves contemned amongst all the godlie. But I would not willingly range
 beyond the bounds of our historic. *Raphael Volterrannus*, and *John Picus Mirandola*,
 who had perused his bookes, make mention of him, with singular prayse and
 commendation: also *Gregorius Ariminenfis*, of the Order Heremeticall, a man of
 great fame among scholers, who flourished at this time in Paris, in his *Commen-*
 taries vpon the sentences, calls all them that thought otherwise *Semie-pelagians*,
Thomas Scotus, and others. There backed him in this his opinion, *John Buridanus*,
 and *Andreas de Castello*, men at that instant of great renoume. This was the first
 poynt wherein the Church was likely to haue recouered her former state. And
 yet

yet *Conradus Hager* of *Wirtzberg*, proceeded somewhat further, and taught, That *A* the Masse was in no sort a sacrifice, neither profitable for the liuing, or for the dead, and therefore not at all to be celebrated: That money bequeathed by men on their death-bed for Masses, could not be receiued without sacriledge. And many in that diocesse for the space of foure and twentie yeares, he had confirmed in that doctrine: Wherefore being cast into prison by the Bishop, hee freely confessed these things, not denying himselfe also to be the author and meanes that many abhorred and left the Masse.

59. PROGRESSION.

Clement dying at Auignon, Stephen Albertus, a Lymosine, was chosen, by the name of Innocent the sixth. Charles is crowned Emperour at Rome, where he makes no stay, but returns into Germanie.

*C*lement dying at Auignon, *Stephen Albert*, a Lymosine, succeeded him, being nominated *Innocent the sixth*. He presently commaunded euerie Bishop to be resident in his proper diocesse: but in stead of retiring himselfe to his owne, hee dispatched a Legat into *Italie*, *Giles de Carilla*, a Spaniard, with all ample commision to confirme vpon him absolute authoritie and power. *Iohn de Vrsini*, and *Peter Colonna*, were both by the Popes and peoples consent ordained Senators at Rome, till the sixt yeare of his Pontificacie, when *Francisco Baroncelli* inuading the Tribunall with open violence, entiled himselfe, *Scribe to the Senat*, by the grace of God *second Tribune of the citie, and Roman Consul*: vnderstanding herein *Nicholaus Laurentius*, formerly mentioned, who was the first. When *Innocent* had notice of this, he loosed *Nicholas* out of prison, and gaue him authoritie to suppress *Baroncelli*, which by the assistance of the Nobilitie, and the greatest part of the people, he easily effected: But afterwards exceeding the termes of his commission, he was enforced priuily to slinke away, and being discovered in his flight, hee was flaine. Such was the state of the citie of Rome, and of the chaire committed, as *D* they say, vnto *Peter*, being abandoned by her Bishops. The Emperour *Charles* on the other side laboured nothing else but to set on his owne head the Imperial Diademe: to this end therefore he going into *Italie*, he was presented with an yron crowne at Milan, and then he went forward to Rome, where two Cardinals were enioyned by *Innocent* to impose it on him; but expressly vpon this condition, for the adding of somewhat to his predecessors attempts, *That he should conuocate no assemblies at Rome, nor enact any ordinance in any thing that concerned the Romans, without the Popes aduice and counsell. Item, That he should neither reside at Rome, nor in Italie.* And indeed he presently departed; for taking his journey through *Tuscany* and *Lombardie*, he returned into *Germanie*. And hereupon grew that grieuous complaint of *Petrarches*, to *Nerico de Furli*, his familiar friend: *I cannot by any means (saith he) conceale thus much, that I know the Emperours destinies, and that they might raigne more happily in the West, in the South, or any where else, than in the North, all things are there so cold and frozen: there is no noble vigor, no vitall heat of royall Empire. Fortune, if the Fates denie vs Romanlike Casars, yet send vs at least some Theodosios out of Spaine, or Severos out of Africke. Ah, what would then the great Architect of this Monarchie say, when he should see his successor contend in humilitie with a simple Priest, calling to mind that superbius Prince in times past of the Gauls, who comming*

Blondus Decad.
2. l. 110.
Albertus Ar-
gent. in Chronic.

A ming *submissiue* into the campe, as *Florus* sayes, layed downe his quier and arrowes at *Casars feet*, saying, *Take these, thou being most valiant hast vanquished a valiant man. Many obseruations of this kind offer themselves to be considered, &c. By things past I coniecture of things to come; I am not therefore so much moued, that the Legats horse rushed against Casar, as that I discerne the minds and courages of men to be daunted and crushed: and I know that all eminencie and dignitie is impatient of a companion. He adds further, If auncient examples doe not suffice to testifie thus much, I am affraid this late occurrent will furnish vs with too true an one: For as it is reported, the Roman Priest hath forbidden the Roman Emperour to reside at Rome: And the Pope doth not onely enioyne the Emperour to be content with the mere Diadem and Title, but further *B* he rules and commaunds him: and permitting him to be entiled Emperour, yet he will in no wise suffer him to sway and gouerne. And writing to *Charles* himselfe, I know not, saith he, what you haue promised and vowed by oath to the Pope, that he should by the same as by a strong wall and unpasseable mountaine, prohibit you acceſse to the citie; what manner of pride is this, the Roman Prince, being the Patron of libertie, to be deprived of libertie himselfe? that he should not be his owne, whose all things else are? Then in his Booke *De vita solitaria*, he cannot almost moderat himselfe, *This our Casar*, saith he, euen snatching, as it were, the Dyadem, presently departed into *Germanie*, contenting himselfe with the lurking holes of his own Countrie, and with the title of the Empire, whose remotest members he embraceth, and takes no care of the head; *C* loosing that absolutely, which we hoped he would haue recovered, not daring to preferre his owne: but flying away though no bodie pursues, he reiects the sweet embracements of his spouse, and the beautifull aspect of faire *Italie*, as if there were any thing fairer than it vnder heauen. I confesse, that rash and subtil faith reprehends him, in that, wherein she presumes to blow and thunder against the highest; and he excuseth himselfe by saying, he tooke an oath to the Church that he would continue at Rome no longer than one day. Oh infamous day, Oh reproachfull oath, O God obserue this oath, this Religion, this pietie, the Roman Pope hath so forsaken Rome, as he will not yet haue it frequented by another! And of this he capitulates with the Roman Emperour. I know not what I should here say, and though I know, yet it is wisdom to be silent. One thing there is which *D* though I would conceale, the matter it selfe would utter: surely, he that drives out of the Citie the naturall inhabitant, would bring in the Boore and swaine if he could: and whether he doth this well and iustly let it be duely considered. In the meane while, *Cardinall Carilla*, the Legat, reduced vnder due subiection *Romania*, reaping there his golden haruest, whose whole crop lay at *Furli*, and was afterwards conueyed to *Auignon*: I call it an haruest, because these are the verie Authours words, *He had at Furli a Treasorie, which might rather be called a barne of gold and siluer, for the Muleters laded it vpon their Asses, neither more nor lesse than if it had bene graine, carrying it daily to Furli.* This was the cause that *William Grifan* a Lymosine, who was called *Vrban* the fift, about the yere 1362, being successour to *Innocent* *E* the 6, to whom, *Cardinall Adrian*, Abbot of the Cistercian order, had not done so painefull and industrious seruice; he resolued once againe, to send the same *Carilla* into *Italie*, who made such a way for him, as he determined in the yere 1366 to see Rome againe: whether *Charles* the Emperour with the Empreſse came to salute him, and then againe to remoue all suspition, three moneths after hee departed out of *Italie*. One onely thing *Charles* performed in this journey, for hee caused the Pope to seeke for *Peter* and *Pauls* heads amongst the old ruines and rubbish, which, saith our Authour, being by Gods fauour and surpraunce found, hee put them in an eminent place in *Saint Iohn Laterans Church* adorned*

Petrarch. apud
Blondus Decad.
in 2. l. 110.

Petrarcha de
vita solitaria.
l. 2. scilicet 4. c. 20.

An. 1362.

An. 1366.

adorned with much silver, gold, and many gemmes. Let the Reader but marke A well this imposture, what probability or likelihood there is, That after the reuolution of a thousand and three hundred yeares, they could be discerned or distinguished from other skulls. The Pope during all this was not idle, for besides *Carrillias* erecting of cittadels in all the strong places of Romania, *Urban* particularly bent his whole studie to build palaces at Oruietto, and Montefiascone, for the Cardinalls Transalpines thither to retire in time of immoderat heat; least, complaining of distemperature of ayre, they might make this an occasion to depart farre from the citie, whither he meant to haue reduced them, but that in his returne into France he died at Marfelles. These things occurred in the yeare 1371, when *Peter Beaufort*, a Lymosine, and nephew to *Clement* the sixt, was created B Pope, by the name of *Gregorie* the eleuenth. At which time Rome was gouerned by a Senator, who by the Popes order was to be changed euerie sixt moneth: and the gard of the citie was committed to certaine Banderets, which is to say, to diuers captaines of seuerall wardes, or quarters, so teamed of certaine Banners or Colours, which euerie one had. And this order tooke place since vnder *Urban* the fist, certaine noble strangers being preferred to the dignitie Senatoriall, as *Rubeus Tiscus*, a Florentine, a Guelph, out of Prato, and *Bolfena*, and *Boniface*, and *Richard* out of Pistoria: which I deliuer to this end, because the Banderets to the yeare 1400 possessed the greatest part of the Roman State. Italie moreouer was euerie where tumultuous with factions, but especially the Florentines made some signe C of affecting libertie, whither many cities from all other parts sent their ayd, and not being able to maintaine themselues, they forraged all ouer the territories of the Church. The Popes could not digest the Emperour neither at Rome nor in Italie: and therefore *Gregorie* determed to reduced againe at length his See to Rome. *Blondus* relates, That a Bishop being admonished by him to repayre into his owne diocesse, he made this answer, *And you, holie Father, why goe you not to your owne Church?* Others say he did this being perswaded in reuelations, by *S. Briget*, and *Katherine* of Sienna. But when he saw this was displeasing to the French Cardinalls, and also to his neere kinsmen, he caused a number of Tryremes to be priuily built vpon the Rhodan, and so with such as he made priuie to his resolution, D he was in them first conueyed to Genoa, from thence to Coruette, and so in the yeare 1376, in the moneth of Ianuarie, he came to Rome by land. Thus after seuentie yeares continuance, his seat at Auignon came to an end. But *Gregorie* not long after dying, there began the most grieuous schisme that euer was in the Roman Church. And at his first accesse *Gregorie* was entertained by the Romans with great applause, they supposing, that together with him wealth and riches would enter into their citie. But when *Gregorie* seemed to terrifie the whole world with his thundrings and excommunications, that he sent forth neere at hand, & among the rest excommunicating the Florentines, by the meanes of *Bernabo Visconti*, they drew thither one *John Hawkent*, and English captaine, a man of great fame for his martiall prowesse, with his forces, and nothing respecting the Popes interdict, but contemning his censures, they enforced the Priests to celebrate sacred offices: and the Genowayes themselues permitted the vse of all holie functions to those Florentines which were fled into their citie, though they were generally interdicted wheresoeuer they liued; they therefore called likewise vpon themselues the Popes interdict. And *Bernabo*, whom he held for a friend afarre off, comming neerer hand, draue *Gregorie* into some suspition and ialousie, least, vnlookt for, hee might procure him one disturbance vpon another. Now therefore he began to E repent

repent himselfe of his returne, and being at poynt of death in the yeare 1378, he A aduised the Cardinalls, that they should no more giue any credit to reuelations, seeing he, being deceiued by the persuations of *S. Briget*, and *Katherine* of Sienna, returned into Italie with such disastrous and ominous successe. Amongst other Doctours, *Gerson* notes this in his treatise *De examine doctrinarum*. *Machiauel* is the Author that writes, how this *Gregorie*, while he liued in Auignon, gouerned Italie by Legats, who through their wonderfull auarice and pride ouerthrew many cities: one of which had his seat at Bologna, who abusing to his owne purposes the famine and dearth of an hard yeare, attempted to make himselfe Lord of all Tuscan, and namely of Florence, by reducing them to such an extreme miserie and famine. From whence sprung the B originall of that warre about mentioned: All which his designs notwithstanding fell to the ground. For other matters, these good Popes were euer hammering of some deepe mysterie; for *Innocent* the sixt instituted a feastiull day in memoriall of the lance and nailes wherewith our Lord was pierced: and by the same Theologie, I pray you, why may not *Caiphas* and *Pilate* be put into the Legend of Saints? And Pope *Urban* the fist consecrated that Sunday which is called *Letare Rosa*, which hymne was first sent to *Ioan* queene of Sicilia, that famous harlot, who killed her husband. Then after him all his successors continued the custome euerie Lent to gratifie one Prince or other with this donatiue, *Aurea illa Rosa*, With that golden Rose, which they consecrated in a Masse with wonderfull pompe, diuers prayers, annoynted ouer with Balsamum, scattered with powdered Muske, sprinkled with holie water, and lastly, fumed with Frankencense: in signe, say they, both of triumphant and militant Ierusalem, in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holie Ghost. For Antichrist (*Christs Ape*) must needs haue his Sacraments apart, which *Ierome* foresaw would come to passe. At the same time also came forth those Sigillaries, certaine Formularies in the Roman Church, called *Agnus Dei*, which are vsually hallowed of the Popes in the fist yeare of their Papacie, and are also renewed in the seuenth yeare; the prayers by which they are consecrated being altogether execrable and accursed: *By their veneration and honour blot out the sinnes of vs thy seruants, let the spots of our offences be cleansed, pardons obtained, graces conserued, and at length let them deserue to enioy eternall life together with thy Saints and cleet.* Of Christ the true Lambe of God what D could be spoken more deuoutly, or diuinely. Wee read that *Urban* the fist sent three of these *Agnus Deies* to the Emperour of Greece, with these verses vnderwritten, which described both their forme and efficacie, as they would haue it.

*Balsamus & munda cera cum Chrismatis vnda
Conficiunt Agnum, quod munus do tibi magnum
Fons velut natum, per mystica sanctificatum,
Fulgura de sursum depellit, omne malignum
Peccatum frangit, vt Christi sanguis, & angit
Pregnans seruat, simul & partus liberatur
Dona defert dignis, virtutem destruet ignis
Portatus munda, defluatibus eripit vnda.*

Where the Reader heareth blasphemie, which can come forth from no other place but the deepe pit of hell, That this little Idoll thus framed and enchanted by the Pope, doth breake and wipe away sinne like the blond of Christ, the immaculat Lambe of God. If it be so, what need haue we any more of the Lambe himselfe? and

An. 1378.

Machiauel. l. 3.
de Historia Florentino.

Gerson. in Tractat. de examine doctrinarum.

Ceremoniale Romanum l. 1.
p. 32. 33. 37. 38.
39. impress. Venetij.
An. 1516.

and yet the booke of Pontificall ceremonies dedicated to Pope Leo the tenth, affir-
mes thus much, the which I request the Reader to peruse, that so he may see
how full of abominations and blasphemies they are.

OPPOSITION.

Neither wanted there in these times such as diuersly opposed themselves to
the Popes: Vnder Innocent the sixth (saith Froissart) there was at Auignion a certaine
Franciscan Frier, endued with singular wit and learning, called Iohannes à Rupe-
scissa, whom the Pope kept in prison in the castle of Baignoux, for wonderfull things
which he affirmed should come to passe, especially vpon Ecclesiasticall Prelats and Gover-
nours; that is to say, by reason of the wonderfull excesse and ambition they were giuen to.
The like also to happen to the kingdome of France, and the mightiest Princes of Christen-
dome, because they so miserably oppressed the poore people. This Iohn offered to proue all
his assertions out of the Apocalyps, and the auncient bookes of the holie Prophets, which
were reuealed to him by the grace of the holie Ghost: so as he affirmed many things very
hardly to be beleued. Diuers euents were obserued to happen at the same time, by him
foretold. Neither spake he any thing as a Prophet, but out of the auncient Scriptures and
through the grace of the holie spirit, which had imparted vnto him the knowledge of ex-
plaining all the old Prophecies, by setting downe to all Christians both the yeare and time
wherein they were to be fulfilled. And many bookes he wrot, grounded vpon deepe and
great learning: in one of which, written in the yeare of our Lord 1346, he comprehended
such admirable poynts, as no man could hardly beleue them, but the effects of many of
them are now evidently seene come to passe. In another place, after he had deplored the
state & condition of the Church vnder the schisme of Urban the 6, and Clement the
7, to which the Christian Princes had no eye nor care, he makes mention of
the same Frier Iohn in these words: In my youth (saith he) Pope Innocent raigning in
Auignion, he detained in prison a certaine Franciscan, being a marvellous learned man,
whose name was Frier Iohn à Rupe-scissa: this Frier (as the Pope sayd, and as I haue heard
it reported in many places priuately, but not publicly) had and did propound many notable
authorities, and collections, especially of some aduerse and ominous euents, which came to
passe both in his owne time, and afterwards also in the kingdome of France. He plainly
foretold Iohn the French kings captiuitie, and expounded many things consonant and a-
greeable to reason; which was, That the Church had yet much to suffer, for the enormous
excesse and exorbitancies which he discerned in those which held in their hands the staffe
of Ecclesiasticall policie and gouernement. And at the verie same time when I saw him
still kept in prison and durance, an example thereof was related to me in the Popes palace,
which he had recited to the Cardinall of Ostia, who was commonly called of Arras, and to
the Cardinall of Auxerre, who went to see, and confute him in his words and speeches. In
conclusion, That the same happened to the Church which in times past fell out
to a goodlie faire bird, who being hatched hopelesse of feathers, and therefore
could not flie, her life was wonderfully in danger: but other birds pitying her,
would haue couered her with their feathers (Kings, I meane, and Princes, confer-
ring vpon the Church many goodly inheritances and patrimonies of their owne,
had enriched and honoured her aboue measure:) but when this bird saw her selfe
so fledged and growne, as if she wanted nothing, she began to beare her head high
and wax proud, fluttering and striking at the others with her beke and clawes;
(that was, I say, when the Church vnder tooke warres and enmities with the Em-
perours) and then the birds redemanded their feathers againe (euen as, no doubt,
Prin-

Froissart. vol. 1.
c. 211.
Froissart. vol. 3.
c. 24.

A Princes will one day withdraw their gifts and benefits, so as at length the Church
should be constrained to craue pardon: which it she did not, but returned to her
former pride, the Emperour and Christian Princes would at last take away all.)
And here Froissart himselfe demaunds, why read you not (saith he) the life of S. Syl-
vester Pope of Rome, &c. how and vpon what conditions the Emperour Constantine gave
goods to the Church? Out of question S. Sylvester iessed not all ouer the world, being gar-
ded with two or three hundred horse, but contained himselfe humbly at Rome, leading a
sober and moderat life onely amongst his Ecclesiasticall associats. Then the Frier admo-
nished them, that this change would not be long a comming: And this in such a
manner, as the Cardinalls were greatly amazed, and wondered at him. Faine they would
notwithstanding haue taken away his life, if they could but haue inuented and found out
any colourable cause of death: but sure there was none at all to be found, and therefore they
suffered him to liue as long as he could, but they durst not let him out of prison, because he
propounded such profound arguments, and searched out so deepe and mysticall Scriptures,
as he would peradventure haue led the world into some error. In the meane while questi-
onlesse many things came to passe (as many affirme that obserued his speeches more pre-
cisely than I did) which he foretold and writ of during his imprisonment. And what-
soeuer he vttered, he would alwayes confirme it out of the Apocalyps: and the true proofes
wherewith he was armed for his defence, preserved him many times from being burnt.
Some Cardinalls also there were, who stroke with commiseration and pittie, were not so ri-
gorous and seuer towards him, as they might haue beene. And surely that Apologicall
fimitude of his of the bird, by him recited, was most expressly taken out of the
Apocalyps, cap. 17. where it is said, The Kings gave vp their strength and power to the
Beast: At length, They shall hate this Strumpet: this Beast leane her desolate, naked, and
forsaken, her flesh they shall eat, and consume her with fire. This Franciscan writ a pro-
pheticall treatise in prison, the title wherof was, Vade mecum in tribulationem; Pauperum.
wherein hee auerted, That Antichrist raigned in the Papacie, and hee presaged
the Churches reformation. Some there are, who say he was burnt at last.
Vnder Urban the fift liued one master Nicholas Orem, a Doctor of Diuinitie,
who in the yeare 1363, on Christmas eue, before Urban the fift and his Cardinalls
made a sermon, which we may yet read whole and entire, but wee will here onely
deduce some principall branches and clauses of the same: his text was, *intra est*
salus mea, ut veniat, & iustitia mea ut reueletur, Esay the 56: where after hee had
shewed that the text had reference to Christs comming in the flesh, hee proce-
ded to his comming in judgement, when he would punish the corruption of the
Christian Church; whereunto he expressly applied the place of Ezechiel cap. 16.
In die qua natus es, vidi te conculcari in sanguine tuo, vnderstanding martyredome in
this, & multiplicata es & grandis effecta, & mandasti sanguinem tuum ex te, when
persecution came to be somewhat mitigated, *Et dedi coronam decoris in capite tuo,*
&c. which he applies to the more happie times of the Church vnder Christian
Emperours. Then at length, *Et habens fiduciam in pulchritudine tua, fornicata es in*
nomine meo, Thou hast communicated thy selfe by all meanes, by simonie, by abu-
ses, by sacileddges, forgetting the dayes of thy youth, thy first and former state.
where (saith he) it seemes rather an historie, than a prophesie of the Churches prosperitie.
Presently after follows the punishment: And behold, saith the Lord, I will yeeld thee in-
to the hands of them that hate thee, and they shall destroy thy brothelrie, thy stones shall be
demolished; that is to say, the place where thou didst exercise thy unlawfull courses: they
shall strip thee of thy garments, and take away the vessels of thy glorie, and so they shall
leau thee naked, full of reproach and infamie. Behold (saith hee) you may easily discern
what

Apoc. 17. 13. 16.

Petrus Brem-
bratenf. in
Chron. quod in-
scribitur B. b. l. i. a
Pauperum.

An. 1363.

what shall become of the Church. And the Chapter of the prophesie addes, saying, Thy sister A Samaria (which was the Israelitish Church) committed not halfe thy sinnes: thou hast subdued her in thy wickednesse, wherefore beare thine owne confusion. By the same means he applies to this argument the 23 chapter of the same prophesie, 2. Hosea, 3. of Nabum, and many other places of Esay, Ieremie, and the rest of the Prophets. And thus he concludes, Because the Prelats did not sticke for price, entreaties, and depraued actions, to defame the venerable chasitie of the Primitiue Church, that therefore God would one day reueale his primitiue iudgements vpon this Church. It remained to expound whether the time were neere at hand or no, because his text was, Iuxta est, &c. And although (saith he) it belongs not to vs to iudge of times, yet peradventure by some infallible signes, which I will demonstrat, some things to this purpose may iustly B be coniectured: As first of all I collect out of the Apostle to the Thessal. 2. cap. 2. where he sayes, Except a departure and falling away first come, the man of sinne, the sonne of perdition shall not be reuealed (Antichrist he meanes) which Ierome in the last question, ad inquisitiones Ianuarij, allegorically expounds of the desolation of the Roman Empire, betweene which and the persecution of the Church by the presence of Antichrist, he makes no interposition. Now what the present state of that Empire is, especially compared with the originall Maiesie thereof, let any man iudge. The second signe was, That the Church should be of worse manners and customes than euer the Synagogue was. Our Sauiour (saith he) reprehended the Pharises of auarice, because they permitted doles to be sold in the Temple of God; and because with their lips they onely honoured God, and what C they sayd and professed they performed not, but were hypocrites. Doe but therefore examine whether it be not worse to sell benefices and Sacraments, than to permit doles to be sold in the Temple? Here be some men that doe not onely, nor honour God with their lips, and not onely performe no good operations, but they doe not so much as preach or persuade the same: Dumb dogs, not able to barked; shamelesse dogs, being neuer replenished. The shepheards themselves haue no vnderstanding, euerie man enclines to his owne wayes, euerie one to his auarice, from the highest to the lowest. When he comes to his text againe. So are there also many, whose malice and insolencie, like fire is spread and kindled so farre, as the cloke of hypocrisie can no longer couer it: but they are become immodest, and brauen faced; to whose Church, by way of reproach, it is sayd, Thou hast put on an harlots brow, thou wilt not blush, nor be ashamed. The third signe is taken from the proportion of two great inequalities, because one hungers and starues, when another is drunke and full gorged, contrarie to all iust harmonic and symmetric, &c. Some Priests are greater than the Princes of the world, and others more abiect than the base vulgar. In an humane bodie, if nourishment desuse it selfe superfluously to one member, and the rest pine and weare away for want of the same, that bodie cannot long liue. And to this purpose hee doth produce some other places of the Prophets. The fourth signe is, the pride and insolencie of Prelats, &c. For by a natural right & proportion, it is proper for Priests to hold and enjoy so much as wherewith to liue more liberally than the popular sort, and that the Prelat should be maintained better than the parishioner: but yet for all this, they are not permitted any superfluous equipage, or pomps and magnificence in their families, which can hardly be tolerated without pride; nor be sustained with integritie of iustice. Such pompe and solemnity in the Church of God especially, as is now vsed in these dayes, not only stirs up but few to true reuerence and deuotion, but rather the contrarie, many to indignation and offence; and diuers it inuities to the aboue named abuses, who would thinke themselves to haue sacrificed vnto God, if they could but rob and pillage some fat chopling Priests, especially of those that haue neither nobilitie of birth, nor any science to make shew of, but rather meere lying, seruite, and fraudulent men, to whom the Lord speaks in the fourth

A fourth of Amos, You sat Oxen of Samaria, that offer contumelies to the needie, and euen breake the hearts of the poore, Behold the day shall come &c. The fift signe was, The tyrannie of rulers and gouernours, which being a thing violent, could not long be permanent: Wise. 6. The perpetrie of a tyrant, is to seeke not the good of his subiects, but of his owne: Such are those shepheards, that feed not the Lords flocke, but themselves, to whom it is sayd in Ezechiel 24, Mich. 3, You hate good and loue euill, You violently flea the skin ouer their eares, and teare the flesh from their bones: and so they haue eaten the flesh of my people, and slead the skins from off their backs: The same saith Ezechiel cap. 34, I will cause them to cease from feeding any more my flocke, for I will deliuer them from their mouthes, and they shall be no longer their bait and food. The sixt signe B was, The promotion of men unworthie, and contempt of the better sort: According to Aristotle, these things are the speciallest cause of the dissolution of any politicall gouernement: and oftentimes in a secular welfare it happens, that the dishonour of men famous and meritorious, and the exaltation of the base and inferior sort, breeds great mutine and sedition: For both in this respect, and because of some of the promised reasons, wee doe not onely read in Bookes, but further haue seene with our eyes, diuers kingdomes to haue bene almost ruined and defaced, &c. But this hath alwayes bene the incredulitie of humane obstinacie; that though they doe not onely heare, but also see it with their eyes, yet will they not beleue others perished through such and such vices, except they feele it by experience in the destruction of themselves. The 7 signe was, The tribulation & affliction of temporal policie, with the commotion and rebellions of people, which is already C come to passe in diuers parts. And because, as Seneca saith, euils skorn to come vnaccompanied or alone, it is to be feared, that after this, the Ecclesiasticall policie also, will not onely suffer and be replenished with these perturbations outwardly, but also inwardly, within the verie bowels of the Church, which is presigured in the 3 of Ieremie, Desolation in the 7 shall suddenly come in vpon desolation, my Tabernacles are wasted and ruined. In the 7 of Ezechiel, Tumult vpon tumult, terrour vpon terrour: and the Law shall faile in the Priest, and counsell in the Elders. The eighth signe was, The refusall of correction, and amendment: when that comes to passe, in the principall Prelats of the Church, which was written by Ieremie, cap. 7, They would not attend norarken, but made their hearts of Adamant, lest they should heare the words, which the Lord in the spirit vttered vnto D them, by the mouthes of his Prophets: As also by Esayas, Lying children, children that would not heare the Law, who say, stop your eares to the words of truth; speake vnto vs things pleasing and acceptable. And this shall then be fulfilled, when the Prelats do maligne learned men and reuealers of truth, euen as it is written of them in the 5 of Amos, They hated him who reprehended them at the gates, and abhorred him that spake truly; and therefore to the Church of Hierusalem, the Lord speaks in the 4 of Osee, Because thou hast reiected knowledge, I will reiect thee, so as thou shalt not este thy Priesthood to me, for thou hast forgotten the Law of thy God, therefore I will change the glorie of thy sonnes into reproach and ignominie, and euen as the people are so shall the Priest be. And so obseruing well the forementioned signes, you may easily iudge whether the present times be seuer, and whether those doe not now take place, which the Lord deliuereth in the Text, Iuxta est iusticia mea, vt reueletur. He could not in more plaine and expresse notes, haue described the Congregation, that was to entertaine Antichrist. It then remayned onely for him, to aunswer certayne objections, which he omits not. There are a sort of men, saith he, too confident, and affirming, that the Prelats are the Church, which the Lord will alwayes keepe and preserve, not leaving the same, euen as he promised them in the persons of his Apostles, he saying in the 28 of Matth. I remaine with you, euen vnto the end of the world. But this

this is to be vnderstood in respect of faith, which shall remaine for euer, continuing al-
 wayes in some few, though charitie and zeale wax cold, amidst all worldlie disturbances,
 the which the same our Saviour oftentimes presaged and foretold. And because none may
 suppose themselves secure from tribulation, by being of the Church, the Lord reffels this
 opinion, when he sayth in Ierem. 7. Trust not to the words of lying and vntruth, saying,
 The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, &c. which shall no wayes profit you. There
 is another opinion of those that prorogue and protract Gods iudgements, for they grant,
 That the Church indeed shall be disquieted and molested, but not so quickly, because many
 reasons haue bene heretofore touched, and other signes were made manifest; seeing not
 long since the Prelats were reprehended by the Doctors, Gregorie and Bernard, for recei-
 uing of bribes, for their pompe, for promoting the vnworthie, and for sundrie other
 vices which then raigned in the Church, nay more than now; and yet by Gods grace it still
 remained in prosperous estate. God most fitly preuent's all these debatements, in an exam-
 ple in Ezech. cap. 12. saying, Sonne of man, behold the house of Israel, who sayd, The vi-
 sion that this man saw, he hath prophesied of long time agoe: Thou shalt therefore tell
 them, saith the Lord, My word shall no longer be protracted, but I will performe it in your
 dayes. And in Elay 3. we haue seene things come to passe in our dayes, which before se-
 med incredible: and the like hath otherwise happened. Others say, Come what come will,
 we will conforme our selues to this age, we will temporize like those which said in Wis-
 dome 2. Let vs enioy those good things that are, and replenish our selues: Such are very
 preiudiciall, especially to good men in the Church of God. And if Ecclesiasticall Prelats
 were so base as to retaine these bad cogitations, they could not be too deeply plunged in hel,
 &c. for herein they incurre the temporall danger, which they most feare, the Lord spea-
 king thus vnto them in the first of the Prouerbs, Thou haue neglected all my aduertise-
 ments and counsels, and therefore I will returne to your destruction, when tribulation and
 anguish shall euen violently rush in vpon you. Some distrust altogether, and it seemes that
 no due remedie in this case can be applied: but euen as other things and former kingdoms
 haue had their periods, according to that of Mathew, they haue a time in the irrevocable
 reuolution of ages: and so this gouernement of the Church must likewise haue an end, the
 gouernours iust deserts and obstinacies requiring the same; as it is in the eighth of Iere-
 mie, There is none that repents, euerie one returnes to his owne course, like an horse that
 violently presseth into the battell. If an Ethiopie can change his skinne, or a Leopard his
 spots, then you may doe good, hauing learned nothing but euill: and in the seuenteenth
 chapter of Iuda, which implies the Church, The sinne of Iuda is writen with an yron
 penne, with the point of a Diamant; as if he should say, it is indelible. But all these things
 pretend not impossibilitie, but onely difficultie, because the peruerse are hardly corrected
 or reformed: For in the third of Ionas it is sayd, who knowes whether he may be conuer-
 ted, and acknowledge God. It is therefore said in the 26 of Ieremie, Doe not withdraw
 the word, for it may be they will heare, and euerie one may be conuerted from his euill
 way. At last he concludes with a serious exhortation to repentance, conuersion,
 and amendment of life. This is that Nicholauus Oremus, who by Charles the fifth his
 persuasion, our king, and furnished the Wif, turned the whole Bible into the
 French Tongue. Many copies of the same are to be found at this day in the libra-
 rarie of the noble families of this land, but especially there is one in the kings li-
 brarie, wherein Charles testifies by his owne hand writing, That this Bible was
 translated by his commaundement.

And here we may fitly set downe, That Charles the Sage was the Author of a
 booke written by Alanus Charterius, his Secretarie, whose title was, *Somnium Vi-*
ridary, The Gardens Dreame, printed at Paris aboue an hundred yeares since, a-
 gainst

- A gainst the Papall tyrannie, both spirituall and temporall. That booke stily main-
 taines, and so consequently our king Charles, That the Roman Church, from *Con-*
stantines dayes, had obtained prioritie through a silent and voluntarie consent of
 the Churches, not that it had any authoritie properly ouer them; as also because
 there did reside in that place many famous men, who out of their charitie were
 verie carefull to admonish brotherly the other faithfull, and these men againe em-
 braced their admonitions, as the rules and precepts of learned men: which se-
 med wonderfull beneficiall and profitable. They also were subiect to their cen-
 sures, to preferue the vnitie of the faithfull: and this their voluntarie obedience
 was in stead of a formall election, though no wayes, by any diuine or humane
 B lawes, they were no more tyed to the commaunds and institutions of the Roman
 Church or the Pope, than the Pope himselfe was to him or his Churches. And
 the reason hereof certainly was, because they had not yet ouer them any supreme
 Christian Prince to comprehend and keepe them within order and vnitie: the
 which is most plaine and perspicuous, because we cannot gather out of any place
 of the holie Scriptures, That by the commaundement of Christ, of any one of
 the Apostles, or of any primitiue Councell, that the Churches or Bishops in
 generall were subiect to the Church or Bishop of Rome, no not in those things
 that appertaine to rites Ecclesiasticall: Which, in no apparence, Christ and his
 Apostles would haue omitted, if it had concerned the saluation of the faithfull,
 C much lesse in that which concernes *iura coactiua*, lawes of constraint, not onely o-
 uer Clerkes, but ouer secular Princes themselues: the which the Popes take vp-
 on them, against the expresse precepts and iniunctions of Christ and his Apostles.
 And therefore the Church and Bishops of Rome obtained prioritie out of the
 commendable ends aboue mentioned, from *Constantine* the first Christian Empe-
 rour, which afterwards they perswaded the world, but most fallly, that they held
ex iure diuino, by law diuine; further extending the same ouer all Kings and Prin-
 ces, as also, that they are to gouerne during a vacancie in the seat Imperial. Which
 the later Popes haue presumed to ratifie by many Decretalls, by which, out of a
 plenarie power, they pretend to create or depose kings, and they not obeying
 D their Decree in this poynt, are subiect to interdict and excommunication. All
 which propositions are sharply refuted in that booke, the Pope being reduced to
 these tearmes, That both he and the Church of Rome had no further authoritie
 ouer other Churches, than what by the same Churches was voluntarily confer-
 red vpon them. Hereunto let vs annex, That *Edward* the third, king of England,
 after he had oftentimes complained in vaine to the Popes, of the exactions where-
 with the Churches of England were continually pressed, hee at length determi-
 ned to free England from that iurisdiction which the Pope vsurped in England:
 Wherefore in the yeare 1374 he ordained, That the Bishops afterwards should
 be created by himselfe, and so other inferiour Ministers by the Bishops; and there-
 E upon not long after it came to passe, that the Pope lost the tenthes, which before
 time he vsed, without checke or controll, to impose vpon the Clergie. As also it
 was prohibited vnder grieuous paines, That for the obtaining of any benefice in
 England, no man should repaire to the Pope wheresoeuer he were, and the *Peter*
 pence which were yearely payed to Rome, were quite put downe. The which
 when *Gregorie* the eleuenth vnderstood, he was mightily vexed, and exclaimed,
 That this was nothing else but to diuide the Christian Church, so annihilat Religion, and
 to cut off all lawes both diuine and humane: wherefore he first dealt with *Edward* to re-
 uoke this law: but after this Popes death, schisme arising in the Church (saith *Polidore*)
 there

An. 1374.

Polidore l. 19.

there was no other of his successors that minded this matter, till *Martine* the first wrote letters of great vehemencie and perswasion to king *Henrie* the sixth; but both the one and the other received a like answer, which was, That the Decree of a Councell, or Parliament (that is of England) could not be abrogated without the authoritie of another Councell, or Parliament, which he would presently cause to be summoned: the which notwithstanding was neuer performed.

At this verie time *S. Bridget* and *Katherine* of *Sienna* were celebrated for Saints, both supposed to haue received diuine reuelations from aboue, and therefore they were canonized; both of them notwithstanding conceiuing verie well what manner of monster the Pope was. And *Bridget*, being borne in Scotland, and married in *Suethen*, came to see *Vrbane* the fifth, who was then at *Montefiascone*, neere Rome, supposing by her journey to haue gained great Indulgences. And yet in her reuelations she calls the Pope a murderer of soules, the disperser and deuourer of *Christ's* sheepe, more abominable than the *Iewes*, more despightfull than *Iudas*, more vniust than *Pylat*, worse than *Lucifer*, and that his seat should sinke like a weightie stone, (the *Apocalyps* sayes, like a mill-stone) and that his assistants should burne in a sulphurous and inextinguishable fire. Afterwards she reprehends the Bishops, and other Priests, that through their default the doctrine of *Christ* is cleane neglected, and almost abolished, the diuine wisedome and knowledge was by the Clergie conuerted into wicked and vaine sciences; That they were leapers, and dumbe men, turning all Gods commaundements into one onely saying, *Da pecuniam*, giue money: To conclude, she affirms that she saw the blessed *Virgine* speaking thus to her sonne, Rome is a fertile and plentiful field; when *Christ* made answer, So indeed it is, but of Cockle and Darnell. But yet she said, she was admonished in a vision to go to Rome rather to remoue, than confirme the opinion she formerly conceived of it. *Katherine* also gaue the like censure of the state of the Roman Church, nay, and if we may beleue *Antoninus*, she presaged, That euen then the Churches confusion was at hand, and that presently a reformation would ensue. When she heard of the *Perugians* rebellion against the Pope, Begin not your lamentation (saith she) so soone, for you shall haue weeping too much: for this you now see is but milke and honie in respect of those miseries to ensue. Thus doe the *Laitie*, and presently you shall see the Clergie will doe worse, for they shall giue a generall scandall to the whole Church of God, which like an hereticall pestilence shall disturbe and dissipate the same. It shall not properly be an heresie, but as it were an heresie and a certaine diuision of the Church and all *Christendome*. This (saith *Raimond*, who writ her Legend) wee see accomplished in the schisme that followed vpon *Gregories* death: For when the schisme began, *Raymond* told her, That what she had prophesied was now come to passe; and she replied, Euen as then I told you, that the present molestations were but milke and honie; so I say vnto you, That this you now see and behold, is but childrens sport in comparison of future miseries, especially in adiacent and bordering *Proninces*. Which we haue seene come to passe (saith he) ouer all *Italie* and *Sicilia*: whereunto wee may worthily annex *France*, which neuer felt a more sharpe and terrible warre than at this instant. Then *Raymond* againe prosecutes: Being curious (saith hee) to demand of her what would follow after this wonderfull agitation and reuolt (because it manifestly appeared that she entertained celestially reuelations; (she replied, God shall purge his Church from all these tribulations and miseries, by a meanes altogether imperceptible and unknowne vnto men: and after this shall occurre such a wonderfull reformation of Gods Church, and a renouation of sacred and holie Pastors, that through the cogitation thereof onely my spirit euen reioyceth in the Lord. And as otherwhiles I haue many times

times told you, the spouse that now is deformed and rent, shall then bee adorned with goodlie and precious iewels, and all the faithfull shall exult for being honoured with such holie Pastors. *Antoninus* addes further, what this sacred virgine foretold of schismes and tribulations, we haue seene them cleerely and evidently come to passe: but for that shee denounced touching good Pastors, and the Churches reformation, that hath not yet bene effected. And yet he wrote in the yeare 1450, after the schisme extinguished, and the dissolution of the Councells of *Constance* and *Basil*; the which, as it seemes, he thought had not sufficiently provided for the reformation of the Church, conformable to the virgines predictions; neither can it any wayes be perceived in the Church of *Rome*, or in the Popes, whether you consider doctrine, or manners: so as this prophesie may verie well be applied to that reformation that began not long after, which purged both the errors of doctrine, and the abuses of discipline, through the diligence and zeale of those goodlie ministers which God stirred vp in the age following, by a meanes (as she said) imperceptible of men, the which was then a preparing before his death.

In *Bohemia* mention is made of one *Miltizius*, a famous Preacher of *Prage*, whom *Jacobus Miltiensis* termes renowned and venerable. This man declared, how against his will he was enioyned by the holie Ghost to search out of the holie Scriptures the coming of *Antichrist*, whom he found to be now already come: the same spirit conducting him, he was constrained to go to *Rome*, where he preached publicly, and afterwards before the *Inquisitor* he confirmed; That the great *Antichrist*, of whom the Scriptures doe prophesie, was already come. The same man said, That in the Church Idols should be erected, which would destroy *Jerusalem*, and make desolat the Temple; but that they were couered with hypocrisie: That many knew the truth, and yet through iniustice suppressed it, and therefore in this silence they renounced *Christ*, and durst not auouch his truth before men. He also inueyed particularly against many abuses, as we may see in *Jacobus Miltiensis* his treatise, *de Aduentu Antichristi*, which he wrote about the yeare 1410. Wee find also a Bull of *Gregorie* the eleuenth directed to *Iohn* Archbishop of *Prage*; wherein he is commanded to excommunicat and persecute *Miltizius* and his auditors, who were taught and instructed by him, That the Pope and his companions were *Antichrists*. That there was no truth amongst them vnderprated. So as it is manifest, that the Church in *Bohemia* came to haue some reformation, and so much the rather, because the *Waldenses*, as we formerly saw, fixed here their habitations long time before.

In these verie dayes, about the yeare 1460, one *Iohn Wickliffe*, a man of singular vnderstanding, began to lift vp his head, or he was trayned vp: at *Oxford* in all learning and science, being both a famous *Diuine* and *Philosophy*, who was for those parts highly honoured and esteemed of all the Faculties; and Degrees in that *Vniuersitie*. This man questioned and charged the *Roman Church* on euerie side verie stoutly for not satisfying himselfe in shewing the Pope to be an *Heretic*, the *Antichrist* deciphered in the Scriptures, the abhominations of desolation, in abstract, brought in by *Sathans* guile, and their *Christians* impostume: and that he convinced him to be the same both by the Scriptures, the course of all histories, diuine prevalent reasons, and his owne proper actions; but further he assaileth the inward poyns of his doctrine; taxing it with vanitie, superstition, and idolatry, reprehending the seruice of the creator conuerted to the creature, to mortall men, to Saints, to reliques, to images; That the Sacrifice of the *Redemption* Passion was turned into the foolish spectacle and

mummerie of a Masse; the benefit of the death and passion of Christ the sonne of God, into dispensations, absolutions, pilgrimages, and indulgences, the benefits or rather inchantments, not of a pure, but most impure man: The people were fallen away from the incomparable merits of Christ our Sauour, to their owne workes; from the firme tuition and defence of Christs crosse, to the shaken reed of their owne demerits: To conclude, from God the generall creator, to a ridiculous host which must bee worshipped as God, though it were knead and made with mens hands. And for the furtherance of this so high a worke of Gods, he translated the whole Bible into the vulgar Tongue: all those heads of doctrine he deliuered to the learned in Latine, and to the ignorant in the vulgar Tongue. In publique lectures at Oxford, he was a Doctor, in ordinarie Sermons of the Church a Pastour, putting on a brasen forehead against the shamelesse strumpet, and a breast of Diamant against the power and violence of the whole Clergie, thundring the like euen into the eares of Edward the third then raigning in England, and he drew vnto himselfe the attention of all the great men in the Land, which then flourished either in letters or armes: obtaining so far by his diuine labour and zeale, that truth from his mouth was harkened vnto, by many embraced and receiued, and happily preached for many yeares: so as that light of the Gospell reuiued by his operations and endeauours, no puff or whirle-wind could extinguish, but rather it kindled vnto vs another fire all Europe ouer. I forbear to speake of the learning & incomparable soliditie of his writings, all which being duely wayed, especially in so tenebrous an age, amidst so fearefull flashings and lightnings, wherewith the greatest Princes of the world stooped and trembled; I thinke no man can justly make any doubt but that his spirit receiued illumination, courage and confidence from aboue, that God wrought in and by him, and in the weaknesse of a wretched and abject man, in respect of the world; he intended the ruine of Sathans Empire, of that same plenarie power, so much boasted of, and so long time affected by the Popes: In so much as Luther seemes to haue spoken most worthily, *The bodies of the Saints rise againe when there is a resurrection of the Gospell of Iesus our Sauour, so as these pettie desperat Bishops are able to preuaile nothing at all against them, with their Herods and Pylats.*

All the Clergie out of doubt he wonderfully amazed and astonish: For *Thomas Waldensis*, in his Epistle to *Martine* the first, spares not to tell, how he wondered and admired at his irrefragible assertions, at the perspicuous authorities, and inuincible reasons which he produced. And the Chronologers of those times seeme greatly to complaine, that both king Edward and all his chiefe Counsellors gaue attentue care to him: as also, that the king was woon by him to enact by Parliament, That the Bishops from thenceforth should be confirmed by their Metropolitanis, as in times past, and not be tied vpon this occasion to goe personally to Rome. But *Waldensis* mentions some particular men that in England entertained his doctrine; certaine Diuines and Masters of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, *Robert Rigg* Chauncellour of the same Vniuersitie, together with the two Professors and many others, whom he feuerally nominates. In the Court, the king himselfe and the Prince of Wales his son, were his auditors, *John Duke of Lancaster, Lewis Clifford, William Nemill, John Klenbow, Richard Strury, Thomas Latimer, John Montacute*, who defaced Images throughout all his iurisdiction, *John of Salisbury*, who being at poynt of death, rejected the Papistall Sacrament, with diuers others of the chiefe Nobilitie. Besides, *John of Northampton*, the Major of London, and sundrie other notable Citizens and Burgeses, who many times disturbed the Bishops

Thom. Waldens. in Epist ad Martine.
Thom. Walsingham in Rich. 2. Gulielm. Cantuariensis in Chron. Anno 1: 71 & 1: 72. alius fructus temporum

A shops assemblies and conuenticles, which were called for the suppressing of *Wickliff*. But so on the other side, he wanted not many potent and mightie aduersaries among the Bishops, Prelats, Monkes, but especially the Mendicants, who after *Edwards* death, obtained of *Richard* the second, that *Wickliff* should be expelled England: he therefore repairing into Bohemia, brought a great light to the doctrine of the Waldenses; when *Iohn Hus*, being yet but a young man, had diuers conferences with him about diuine matters. But at length being recalled home againe from exile, about the yeare 1387, the last of December, he meekely in his Countrey yielded vp his soule to God, and was buried in the Church of Lutterworth within the Countie of Leicester: not without a singular miracle shewed herein, notwithstanding the implacable rage and furie of his aduersaries: although in the yeare 1428, by Pope *Martine* the fifts order, he was by the Prelats in England disinterred and burnt. But God in his good time will re-demand the bodies of his Saints of all the elements, to whom, he will then most graciously communicate his hapinesse and glorie, Amen.

Here we may also adioyne the principall heads of *Wickliffs* doctrine, as they are set downe by *William Wydsford* his aduersarie, who inuents many of them out of his owne braine, the more to stir vp enuie against him: but in a word, wee may boldly affirme that they are no other in substance then such as are receiued into the confessions of our Churches, as may euidently bee scene in many treatises which are extant, both in Latine and English. Touching the Pope, besides the points by vs premised, he taught, That in the Apostles time there were two only orders of Clerks, those were *Priests and Deacons*, for other degrees they proceeded from the pride of the Papacie: That the Pope who counterfeitedly professed himselfe to be the seruant of Gods seruants, in the worke Euangelicall, was of no place or degree, but Sathans speciall Attorney and procurator, that he might perpetually proiect and practise treason against Christ; also, that he was pointed at throughout all the Scriptures for Antichrist, not his person simple, but the chaire and Papall dignitie, from whence, by meanes of the creeping in of all excefse and sensualitie, confusion hath inuaded the Church; how it was a most palpable heresie to beleue that euerie militant Church in Europe depended on his See and authoritie, That no man could ground out of the Scriptures, how such a Vicar entred into the Church, and therefore must needs haue come in otherwise by worldly courses and Sathans subtilities, That Christ had neuer any meaning to constitute a *Cesarian Pope*, one that should be both Pope and Emperour at an instant. And therefore it belonged to Princes seriously to ioyne both their hearts and hands, for the prohibiting of such a Sathan to beare rule in the church. His principall Disciples in England grew verie famous, both by edition of books and for Martyredome, as *Walter Bret, Iohn Aston, Iohn Astwaly, Nicholas Herford, Iohn Purner, Richards Wits, Iohn Oldcastle, Peter Clarke, William Taylor, William With*, whose workes and labours *Bale* cites out of the auncient monuments, the seed whereof, brought forth afterwards the fruits into England which we both haue and daily see. *Thomas Walsingham* specially notes, that when the Archbishop of Capterburie had sent *Wickliffs* condemnation to *Robert Rigg*, Chauncellour of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, to be diuulged, he appointed them to preach that day whom he knew to be the most zealous followers of *Wickliff*, in contempt (saith he) of the Archiepiscopall precept: and among others, he ordayne one *Philip Rippinston*, a Chanon of Leycester, to preach on *Corpus Christi* day, who concluded his Sermon with these words, *For speculatiue doctrine* (saith he) *such*

An. 1387.

An. 1428.

Thomas Walsingham in Richard 2.

L. 1. c. 12.

the hands of *Francis Pregnan*, his brothers sonne. And this is that humilitie which *Theodorick* commended in him before his Popedome. When he saw the Cardinals fall away from him, he remained astonished, and would have returned to humilitie, yet gathering courage to himselfe, he thought he should not want some ambitious, to take the Cardinals hat at his hand: wherefore in one day he created twentie six, three Romans, the rest Neapolitans, his countrey men. The chiefe strife was for the possession of Rome, and already he ruled there: but the *Vrsines*, that held for *Clement*, and the Frenchman captaine of the castle *S. Angelo*, who shot off thence vpon his people, made the citie dangerous vnto him: therefore with the forces of his confederats he besieged him, and constraineth him through famine to yeeld. He woon vnto him also the fauour of the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and of *Lewis* king of Hungarie, by giuing them hope of great matters, and by their helpe got vnto himselfe the obedience of Lombardie and Sicilie. Hence therefore taking courage, he seriously bendeth his thoughts on the promoting of his nephew, and fendeth for *Charles Durus* out of Hungarie, against his promise by oath (That he would neuer attempt any thing against the daughters of king *Lewis*) and crowneth him king of Sicilie, on this condition, That hee should giue the dukedome of Capua and of Melfe in the realme of Naples, and many noble earldomes in Sicilie, to his nephew, though he were a man effeminate and vnpromisable. And because this *Charles* had no money, he sold to the Roman citizens the proprietie and rights of many churches of Rome, to the summe of eightie thousand Florins, & more, also gold & silver Chalices, crosses, and other precious ornaments of the said Churches and Monasteries, he tooke away in great number and value, and he coynd many silver Images of Saints into money, for to pay wages to the armie of *Charles*: And here againe let the Reader weigh that deuotion which our Author had attributed vnto him before his Popedome.

His other conditions were found to be no better. *Charles*, led by his naturall pride, marcheth to Naples, and through the treason prepared by *Vrban*, is receiued by his partakers into the citie, for he had bound vnto him the best families by his Cardinals hats. But *Queene Ioan* was retired into the new castle, and *Otho* Duke of Brunswick with his armie besieged the citie. He then counterfeited the seale of *Queene Ioan*, and forged a letter as from her to *Otho*, whereby she intreated him to come vnto her with six onely of his dearest and most faithfull friends, for to resolue together in so great extremitie, what was best for them to be done. *Otho* suspecting nothing, taketh his journey thitherwards by night, accompanied with the Marquesse of Montserrat his cousen, *Balthasar* Duke of Brunswick his brother, sonne in law of the Earle of Fundi, and three captains, in whom he greatly trusted: but they fall into a deepe pit prepared for them, with their horses, in which was hid in ambush fiftie men, who kil the Marquesse and the three captains, take the Duke *Otho* and his brother *Balthasar*, and caried them prisoners to *Charles*, who commaunded *Balthasars* eyes to be put out in the publike market place, where the innocent young king *Conradine* by the commaundements of *Charles* the first, had bene beheaded: and he keepeth *Otho* full three yeares vnder custodie. *Queene Ioan*, when she heard that her husband was taken, hoped that in yeelding the castle, which besides was in distresse for want of victual, she might at least redeeme her life; but he sent her presently prisoner into a certaine castle of Abruzzo, in the chappell whereof, as she was kneeling at prayer before the Altar, by his commaund she is strangled by some Hungarian souldiers. All this was done by the counsell of *Vrban*, whose Legat *latere* was euer by him, the Cardinall of Sangro, who thought he offered to God good

A good sacrifice, when hee destroyed them that had been faithfull to *Queene Ioan*, as well of the Clergie as Laytie, eyther depriviung them of their goods, or depouing them of their Ecclesiasticall dignities, without any respect of age, condition, or merit: in somuch that in one day at their cost, he created thirtie and two Archbishops and Bishops, and many Abbots, all Neapolitans and followers of *Charles* his part. He addeth, that they vsed the enchauntments of a certaine vagabond, well knowne to the Author, who named himselfe a Knight, and a little after was burned, by commaundement of *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, whom he would haue deceiued.

Neither was *Clement* in the meane time idle, *A man* (saith the Author) of a large conscience and of great experience, verie needie, whom *Gregorie* the eleuenth, by reason he could not otherwise maintaine his prodigalitie, had appointed Legat in the *Marca de Ancona* and in *Lumbardie*, more perhaps, that he might by that meanes haue wherewith to lue, from the inhabitants of those regions, vnder presence of his Legation, than for any quiet or safesie that hee might procure vnto them. Of which he bringeth vs some examples. Neuerthelesse he is couetous, or rather a greedie griper, by reason of his prodigalitie: For *Otho*, Duke of Brunswick, hauing taken Verceil and fortie Castles in those parts from *Vicount Barnabo*, then commauder of Milan, who had deliuered them to *Gregorie*, *Clement*, being at that time Legat, sold them all to *Barnabo* for readie money, who exercised against them all sorts of cruelty, and exacted from them the money he had disbursed to *Clement*; And being come to the Popedome, he retayned still the same humour, granting in fee for a very small yeerly reuenue without any difficultie, the Lands and demesnes of Cathedrall Churches and Monasteries, for to bind great men vnto him; and giuing (saith the Author) large things of another mans leather, that he might recouer money at any price whatsoever. And when he saw that *Vrban* had at his pleasure created a King of Apulia, he resolued to giue him a competitor; this was *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, whom he crowned and sent into Italie, with an armie of sixtie thousand men: so that *Vrban* determined to leaue Rome, and to goe into the kingdome of Naples, whom *Charles* commaundeth to tier not D faire from Auersa, and did vnto him the office of a groom or yeoman of his stirrop. And the same Author, being an eye-witnesse of this meeting, noteth, that many Countrey people came and kissed the sayd *Vrbans* feet, but before they had so, they had thrice kissed the ground or earth. But *Charles*, vnder colour of shewing him the Castle of Auersa, kept him prisoner, suspecting some euill of *Vrbans* journey into Apulia, and so much the rather, for that hee had not fulfilled his promise in putting *Pregnans* his Nephew in possession of the Duchie of Capua and of Melfe. But soone after, at the entreaties of the Cardinals, and vnder certaine conditions, he set him at libertie and bringeth him to Naples. That *Pregnans* was a man giuen to all vices, and of whom notwithstanding he was so exceeding fond, that when his peccant loosenesse was told him, he was woont to answer, *He is young*; and yet was he then fortie yeares old: It happened among other things, that he violated and ranshed by force a certaine professed Nunne and recluse of the order of *S. Clare* of the Monastrie of *S. Saviour* at Naples, and descended from a Noble house; tier hee kept certaine dayes with him: The people is moued with that wicked fact, whereupon the guikie person suddenly saureth himselfe in a Church, vnder the protection of his vncke; the king according to Law hauing conuicted him, condemneth him to die; the Pope contesteth against it, that he is a superiour Lord; in whose presence the king cannot punish

a nobleman of his kingdome. Thereupon he fortifieth the gates of his palace, A and gathereth his partakers about him; so that this so infamous a crime remaineth unpunished, because it so pleased the Pope; yea, which is worse, that peace might be made betwene the Pope and the king, it is agreed vpon, by the Cardinals procurement, That *Pregnan* should marie the daughter of the Lord chiefe Iustice of the realme, the kings kinswoman; and that the king, for so long time as the duke of Anjou should remaine in the countrey, should pay vnto *Pregnan* euerie yeare, in stead of the reuenues of those dukedomes, seuentie thousand Florins. Of his owne accord he gaue him also the castle of Lucera, with the appurtenances, being between Naples and Salerne, whither he with the Pope his vncle retired himselfe, a place verie pleasant, and safe for their persons, being lodged in the castle, but the towne was not so, which was appointed for the Cardinals and courtiers, who in a state so troubled betwene two Princes in warre together, had many great armes, and yet could not make him resolute to depart thence. Wherefore at the instance of Cardinall *Reatine* it was treated amongst them, out of the opinion of many Doctors, *If a Pope were too negligent, or unfit to gouerne, and leaned so much to his owne wit, that he brought thereby the whole Church into danger, or were so unbridled, that without the aduice of the Cardinalls he would doe things after his owne fantasie and pleasure, whether it were not lawfull to substitute, by the election of the Cardinalls, a Curator, or some fit Curators, by whose counsell and aduice the Pope should be held to dispatch all the affaires of the Church:* which was concluded to be lawfull. But *Urban* being aduertised hereof by the Cardinall of Manupello, when the Cardinalls of dutie came to visit him, he kept six of them, whom he most feared, prisoners, whose goods, without any order of law, he presently confiscated, and by that meanes terrified all the rest: yea a few dayes after he gaue their hats to certaine vaworthie persons of Naples, who knowing their owne vnworthinesse, were ashamed to wear them in publicke. His crueltie was such, that he cast them into a dungeon, commonly called the old Cisterne, and without any respect of age, infirmities, or qualitie, put them to the racks, and all manner of torments, his nephew *Pregnan* being present, and urging the tormentors: so that here *Theodorick* moueth al to compassion: neither yet, whatsoeuer these do resist, and protest, could he euer be mollified, nor towards the Cardinall *Sagra*, a man broken with old age, and before his legat in the realme, who, to please him, had exercised so many cruelties, and now acknowledged that he was justly punished by himselfe. But when *Pregnan* was so proud and audacious as to seise vpon the castle of Sciatra, three leagues distant from Lucera, and was presently besieged by the kings seruants, and forced to yeeld, *Charles* resolved to besiege *Urban* himselfe within Lucera, who feeling himselfe extremely pressed, led by a German called *Lars* of Swene, fled through by wayes of the mountaine, and so saued himselfe at Salerne, where he is receiued of certaine gallies of Genua prepared for him; and caused the captiue Cardinalls through these incommodities to accompanie him euer by his side, guarded with halberdiers, and when the Bishop of Aquila, broken with tortures, was not able to follow him, he commaunded his hangman to kill him, and left his bodie in the fields without buriall. Then directing his course into Sicilie, which was under his obedience, he arrived at Palermo, where hauing made provision of things necessary, he put to sea againe, and came to Genua, where he continually kept with him those Cardinalls in bonds, all except one Cardinall *Adam*, a poore Monk, whom he gaue to *Richard* king of England on condition that he should ouerlaw a certaine Clerke of his chamber watching over his actions. At Genua he recei-

Idem l. 40.

L. 1. c. 43.

Idem l. 1. c. 45.

Idem l. 1. c. 45.
50. 51. 52. 53.
54. 55. 56.

A ueth great gifts from *John* Duke of Milan, Perhaps (saith the Author) that he should absolue him from the fault he had committed, for that whilst *Urban* remained at Naples, the Duke had taken his vncle Lord *Barnabo*, the daughter of whose cousen german hee married by dispensation from the Pope, and strangled her in a castle neere Milan: and a while after he impositions *Barnabo* himselfe. In the end, being readie to depart from Genua, to rid himselfe from the cumber of those six Cardinalls, hee made them all in one night be beheaded, others say, cast into the sea, and others, burnt in his stable. *Collenucius* saith distinctly, That foure were sowed vp in a sacke and cast into the water, and three beheaded; whose heads dried in an ouen, were layd and carried vpon his sumptuous moiles; and so by his reckoning there should haue bene seuen: but out of *Theodorick* his Secretarie this at least is cleere, That they were neuer seene more. And yet this is he whom before his Popedome he describeth vnto vs to be zealous of iustice. In the last yeere of his Popedome, being minded full of the great gaine that the Iubilie had brought to *Clement* the sixt in the yeere 1350, against all reason he abreuied the same, namely to euerie thirtie three yeeres, yet so, as that it should begin at Christmas in the yeare of our Lord 1388, and should continue a yeare inclusiuely: but, being preuented by death, he saw it not, and so left that fruitfull field to be reaped by his successor *Boniface*. For being departed from Genua to goe to Perouse, by the fall of his mule vnder him he was bruised in many parts of his bodie: and neuerthelesse hauing still an intention to returne into Sicilie, he is carried to Rome, where after some few dayes he died, some say of poison. It is here worth the noting, That when *Elizabeth* Queene of Hungarie had caused the head of *Charles* Duras, king of Naples, to be cut off, as he was drinking in a banquet at Buda, whereunto she had inuited him (notwithstanding hee had yeilded vnto her all the rights of the kingdome) and had sent to *Urban* to gratifie him, the sword, yet bloudie, wherewith his head was smitten off: The historie telleth vs, that *Urban* receiued it with so great a pleasure, that hee could not satisfie himselfe with beholding it. And thus much for *Urban*, him of the two, which by *Platina*, *Onuphrius*, and others, is put in the Catalogue of Popes, as the more lawfull. For full encrease of his good deeds, he caused a booke to be written by one *John de Therano*, his Chamberlaine, the beginning wherof is, *Give vnto Cesar the things that are Casars, and to God the things that are Gods:* wherein he affirmeth, That these words of Christ haue place onely for a time, namely vntill his ascension; but that from the time of his ascension they should be of no moment: seeing that hee himselfe saith, *Ioh. 12. When I shall be taken up from the earth, I will draw all men vnto me;* that is, all kings and kingdoms vnder the Empire of the Pope, whom he therefore concludeth to be King of kings, and Lord of lords: not fearing in so weightie a matter to abuse the sacred word of God, worse than the verie Pasquils. As for *Clement*, hee was the first author (as *Gaguin* witnesseth) of expectatiue graces and Annates: yet because he is held for an Antipope, whose acts therefore were the lesse firme, the honour of them is attributed to *Boniface*, successor of *Urban*, by whose care, in his obedience, they were receiued. But *Nicholas de Clemangis*, Archdeacon of Baieux, who liued in the time of this schisme, in his booke *de Corrupto Ecclesia statu*, of the corrupt state of the Church, describeth *Clement* vnto vs in few words: *After* (saith he) *that by the insupportable burden of our sinnes, the furious euill of schisme hath crept into the Church, to omit the mischiefes done through the error of such as follow the false Pope, a man wholly defiled with all impuritie: was there euer man more miserable than our Clement while he liued? who so made himselfe a seruant of seruants to the Princes of France, that the threatnings and contumelies daily cast vpon*

Collenuc. l. 5.

An. 1350.
Theodor. a Ny-
em. l. 1. c. 88.
c. 69.

An. 1388.

Collenuc. l. 5.

or.

Theodor. a Ny-
em. l. 1. c. 28.

command. Now in this Iubilie he sold Indulgences to the most giuer, as hee had done in the former, and though the pestilence grew hot at Rome, yet hee would not depart thence, *Yea for feare lest he should lose in the meane time the temporall dominion of the citie, he remained there also in the Sommer times, neither gaue hee any almes to sicke pilgrims in that dangerous season, although he then abounded in all things, for he was accustomed to catch away, and not to communicat any thing of his prey to the needie.*

Now betweene the two Iubilies died the Antipope Clement, at Auignon, who in his obedience was in nothing lesse diligent than Urban and Boniface: To him succeeded Peter de Luna, a Spaniard, Benedi^t the thirteenth: He being vrged by the king of France (who by the aduise of the Vniuersitie of Paris had receiued him onely on condition, That hee should inuencour the vnion of the Church) sent his Nuntioes to Boniface and his Cardinals, to request him, That they might meet together in some place safe to both parties, for to take counsell for the concord of the Church. *This hee propounded indeed discretely and diligently, though (as it thought) fraudulently.* And thus also did the Cardinals of Boniface seeme to take it. But Boniface answered not verie gently, affirming, *That he was Pope, and the sayd Peter an Antipope, and the like words, making little or nothing to the cause.* Whereat the Nuntioes being angrie, sayd in his presence, *That their Lord was not a Simoniack, noting Boniface to be one.* At which words being greatly moued, he commaunded them to depart the citie, and when they answered, *That they had safeconduict from himselfe and from the people of Rome, and had some time yet left unexpired, which they would enioy; he was so immoderately chased with anger, that his disease of the stone beginning to torment him, he went to bed, and the third day after dyed.* Yet neuertheless (saith Krantzzius) *that hee might obtaine by the mediation of the mother of God, the vnion of the Church, hee published by his Bulls the feast of the Visitation of Marie, instituted by his predecessor.* Let the Reader judge with what faith, in so wicked an intention. Neither is it here to be omitted, That Francis Pregnan the nephew of Urban the sixt, for whose advancement he so much laboured, and gaue himselfe many blowes with a sword, and by them that ranne in at his crying out he was hindered of finishing his purpose. But the judgement of God, which pursued him, staid not long, for whiles he was going to Venice with his mother, his sonne, his daughter, and eightene seruants, men and maids, his ship was cast away neere Brundisium: And so (saith the Author) *all the posteritie of Urban the sixt was extinguished, the waves of the sea requiring vengeance, to wit, for the Cardinals whom he so wretchedly had cast into the sea. And thus are we come to the yeare 1404, when Boniface died; for this schisme is longer than can be at once declared.*

O P P O S I T I O N .

The onely historie of these Antipopes, described by such as were neere about them, and inward with them, the judgement also which they gaue the one against the other, the one no better nor more lawfully being created or raigning than the other, might suffice, without seeking any other Opposition: for what can we haue of greater prooffe than this, That such as were in most eminent place amongst them, being maliciously bent one against another, haue related how rudely they vexed and annoyed each other? Yet is it worthie our paines, to see what was the opinion

Krantzius Sax-
on. l. 10. c. 13.

A opinion of the better sort of them, which may easily be gathered out of their writings and by the Acts of those times, I know, saith Froissard, *that in time to come men will wonder by what meanes the Church could fall into such troubles, and to sticke in them so long; But this was a wound inflicted by God, for to admonish the Clergie in what great excesse and superstitie they liued. But no man tooke heed thereof, being blinded all with pride and arrogancie, whereby each man would be equal one to another: wherefore all things became worse, and if our faith had not bene strengthened by the hand and grace of the holze Ghost, who inlighteneth the hearts of them that goe astray, and confirmeth them in vnitie, without all doubt it had fainted and fallen.* Therefore, if we beleuee Froissard, it is but ill grounded on Popes. He addeth, *For the Princes of the earth, from whom in the beginning came the wealth of the Church, giue themselves wholly to playes and seafts, whilest I write this Chroaicle in the yeare 1390, whereat a verie great number of the common people exceedingly wondered, that so great Princes, especially the Kings of Fraunce and Germanie, thought not upon any remedie or counsaile.* So then after his opinion, remedie is rather to be expected from the Princes, than from the Popes, who are themselues the disease of the Church, and the principall peccant humour in the bodie thereof. And there he sheweth at large, that euerie Prince rooke part with the one or the other of them, according as stood best for the wise gouerning of their affaires. But he commeth to this, that the pride of the Church is such, that it must of necessitie be chastised and purged; and to this purpose he bringeth that storie of Frier Iohn de Rupeffissa. The Vniuersitie of Paris had approued Clement; That of Oxford and Prague on the contrarie, Urban the sixt. In this they all agreed, as by their writings on both sides published doth appeare; That the Pope and Cardinals exercise a tyrannie ouer the Church of Christ; That the Emperour hath the right of the patronage ouer the Pope and Church of Rome; That the Pope with his Cardinals may erre, and verie often haue erred; That the election of the Pope belongeth not to the Cardinals by diuine right, but to the people, as also to the Emperour the confirmation of the same; And that before Gregorie there were no Cardinals. Moreover there was published in Germanie an Epistle, from the part and authoritie of the Emperour Wenceslaus, though he were but weake, wherein he grauely exhorted the Church to free themselves from the seruitude of the Pope, *By those Princes (saith he) of Priests, the Church is profaned, the Priesthood defiled, all order confounded, and whatsoeuer is of religion is corrupted; what is of the Law of life, of manners, of faith, of discipline, is destroyed and confounded: insomuch that although the blessed soune of God hath suffered many & grieuous things by men of the Sinagogue, yet now he suffereth much more grieuous things of princes of Priests.* There is also recited there a vision of a certaine holie man, concerning the state of the Church: Seeing her appalled as a Queene, he thought she had bene the blessed Virgin Marie, but she expresly told him, *I am not her whom thou deemeest, but the figure of her for whom thou so often sighest and prayest, namely of the Church, whose dolour is wonderfull, and corruption descending from the head throughout all the limmes euen to the feet: and that thou maist sorrow with me, behold argument of sorrow; and taking off her head her most glorious Crowne, she bowed her head vnto him. And he saw the upper part of her head cut into foure parts in forme of a Crosse, and wormes breaking forth of her braime and fores running with corrupt matter; and she sayd vnto him, Behold, by these which thou seeest in my head, thou maist iudge of my corruption and grieue in the other members: and hearing this she was shed from his eyes.* Neither is it to be omitted, that in this Epistle honourable mention is made of Marsilius of Padua, and Iohn de Sarradino, who

Froissard. vol.
3. c. 24.Epistol. Vniuersi-
sit. Paris Oxoni-
ens. Pragense, de
tollendo schif-
mate edita per
Huttenum.
An. 1520.Epistol. Wences-
laus. Imperat.
de eodem.

who (as we haue aboue scene) had defended the Emperour Lewis of Bauiere against the wicked enterprises of Popes.

Johannes Petrus Ferraricus in Practica vtriusq; iuris in forma libelli actiuus confessorie, s; verbo plenam, &c.

Idem in forma libelli de substitutione.

Index Expurgat. Hispan. fol. 135. & Antuerpian. p. 116. An. 1404.

Theodor. 2 Niem. l. 2. c. 32.

With the same mind wrot *John Peter* of Ferrara, a famous Lawyer of Paui; That it is a thing ridiculous to be spoken, and abominable to be heard, that the Pope hath superioritie ouer the the Emperour; That he cannot by any right haue temporall dominion, or possesse Prouinces & cities, & that he doth so is of meere violence; That the temporall sword must bee taken from him, that otherwise Christendome will neuer be quiet; That it is by the foolishnesse of Princes, that they are made the slaues of the Clergie; That the Pope in absolving men from their oath, maketh them perjurers; And that Clergie-men carrie their consciences in their coules, which being layed aside, their conscience is no more to bee found. And in another place he crieth out, *That there may arise a good Emperour against them, which in time past through deusion drew the world after them, and now by reason of their conuoussnesse and rapine, haue destroyed and brought to nothing the state of the Empire and of all the Laitie*; Not without cause, seeing that *John Andreas* surnamed *Speculator*, that great interpretour of the Canon law, was wont to say, *That Rome hauing bene first founded by theeues, hath returned to her first estate*. But the fathers of the Councel of Trent in their Indexes in Spaine and Antuerpe, commaund these places to be rased out. At the same time was set forth the Dialogue of *Peter* and *Paule*, the title whereof was, *The golden Mirrour*, in the yeare 1404. In the Preface is this, *All the Courts of Rome, from the sole of the foot to the crowne of the head, is manifestly blinded with errors, and the same hath with the poison of their errors made drunke almost all the parts of the world, as if the Pope could limit the infinit power of the creator*. Then he diuideth his matter into three points; *First*, saith he, *I will discover the most grieuous errors of the Court of Rome*; *Secondly*, *I will confute the writings and sayings thereof as erroneous, and lesse Catholike*; *Thirde*, *I will declare out of most true grounds, that the Court of Rome is wholly erroneous and sick in the state of damnation, &c.* And he handleth each of these in order. At last after many complaints, despairing that it would suffer reformation, and much lesse, that from it selfe any were to be expected; *The onely soueraine of God*, saith *Paul*, *vouchsafe to reforme his Church himselfe*. And to shew that it was not his opinion alone, he plainly saith in his Preface, *All men truly doe inwardly murmur, but none crie out*. And the Doctors themselues that sat nere *Boniface* the ninth, seeing this so manifest corruption, partly could not dissemble it, and partly were diuided in opinions concerning the remedie thereof. *Theodorick a Niem* saith, *Many also skilfull in the Law, by reason of the continuation of Symonie in the Church of Rome, in the time of the sayd Boniface, would publicquely argue and hold, That the Pope could not commit Symonie, yea in benefices and goods Ecclesiasticall, by interuention of gaine or couenant of money*. What will they not say, as that harlot in the Apocalyps, *I sit as Queene, neither can be a widow, I cannot erre*; And what readier way is there vnto all mischiefe? The Authour addeth, *which seemed vnto me verie vnjust, seeing that at least it is vnciuile and against good manners, if that which ought to be giuen gratis to persons worthie, be gaunted for vile gaine of money to the unworthie; and that the Pope, who is ouer all and from whom others ought to take example of life, should be so defiled with such a crime, not being able to punish another for that wherein himselfe offendeth; for it is a shame for the Doctor that the fault should rebuke himselfe. For this cause euen among the common sort, the Popes authoritie is abased, blamed, and defamed; namely in this, saith he, that dispensations, which should be done with great deliberation of his brethren, he did them in his Chamber after the man-*

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D

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ner of Merchants; being himselfe Bullator, sriptor, & forsan numerator, the maker of the Bulls, the writer, and teller of money; But he also addeth, *In his life time some Doctors in Diuinitie, and others learned in the sciences, grieuing that Symonie was so commonly and openly committed in the Court, and that many Iurists and others obstinately affirmed, that it might be so done, arguing to the contrarie, determined conclusions which they reduced into volumes, yet with great feare; That the Pope, in selling Ecclesiasticall benefices by bargaine made, was a Simoniack; that is, the successour of Simon Magnus not of Simon Peter, because he is not established for to sell them, but to bestow them freely on persons worthie*. But in all Nations there arose vp some that passed further: *Vincent* at Venice, about the yeare 1400, a great Preacher and famous for holinesse, who freely condemned all the Roman Hierarchie, affirming *That religious persons that ought to be the way of life vnto soules, are throughout the world become vnto them the way of perdition; That Priests fish for honours, but not for maners; That the bishops (none excepted) haue no care of the soules of their Diocesses; That they sell the Sacraments for money; yea he passeth so farre as to proceesse; That they sell the Sacraments for money; yea he passeth so farre as to pronounce the Pope to be Antichrist himselfe*. In a certaine Epistle also printed at Paris, entituled *The Epistle of S. Vincent*, he saith, *That Antichrist is already in the world, whom he expected not to come from the Iewes, or from auintient Babylon, but already befield him raigning at Rome*. In Bohemia, *Mathius Parisiensis* wrote a great volume *de Antichriste*, where he proueth that he is come by this, *That fables and humane inuentions beare sway in the Church; That images are worshipped, Saints are adored in Christs stead; euerie Citie and each person choseth out some one of them for to worship as their Sauour, whom by consequence they place in Christs seat; That our Lord himselfe had sortold, Loe here is Christ, loe there; That the Monkes themselues haue left him, and haue sought vnto themselues other sauours, in whom they boast, as Frauncis, Dominick and others; The word of God being neglected, they bring in their Monkish rules; That such like hypocrites raigning in the Church, are those Locusts of which the Apocalyps speaketh; Neither is it to be doubted but that Antichrist is come, who hath seduced all the Vniuersities and all the Colledges of learned men, so that they now teach nothing sound, neither can they any more giue light to Christians by their doctrine; But God hitherto as seed raised vp godly Doctors, who inflamed with the spirit and zeale of Elias, both refuted the errors of Antichrist, and discover him to the world. And he inferreth in his Booke, the opinions of many famous men, nere to those times, concerning this matter; amongst whom he extolleth the Diuines of Paris, who perceiuing the rares of the begging Friars to grow, brought to light againe and published the booke of *William de S. Amour*, *Of the perils of the last times*, which before time *Alexander* the fourth had laboured to abolish. These Doctors (saith he, in his Preface) *saith full in Christ, &c. whose multitude was then the health of the world, acknowledging partly that most wicked Antichrist and his members and his labire; and partly prophesying for the time to come, haue openly and nakedly reuealed these things, for the holie Church and her gouernours to take heed of*.*

In England, *John Pursey* Disciple of *Wickliff*, wrote many bookes in defence of his doctrine, but among others a Commentarie vpon the Apocalyps, the Title whereof was *Antichristum annos*; There he openly saith, *Seuen yeares are passed, since generally the Pope of Rome was published to be that great Antichrist, by the Preachers of the Gospel, namely from the yeare 1382. And behold now God worketh in our infirmities his owne glorie; I neuer had written such like things against*

An. 1400. Prophetie edite Parlysis in 8. ex varijs authoribus collecta & ibi Epist. S. Vincentij.

gainst Antichrist and his, if they had not imprisoned me, for to make me hold my peace. A
 And then it was God infused his spirit into him so much the more, that beeing deliuered, he might speake so much the more boldly, although by force of torments he had bene constrained by the Archbishop of Canterburie to abiure. This booke was since set forth in Germanie, in the yeare 1528, where he applieth that famous prophesie in the Apocalyps, from point to point, to the Church of Rome; and out of the 10 and 11 chapters it is manifest that he wrot the same, lying fettered with yrons in prison. Lastly, the Waldenses in this time euery where for the testimonie of the truth submitted themselues to the fire: for in Saxonic and Pomerania in the yeare 1490, there were taken of them foure hundred and more, and examined, who testified, That this had bene the profession of their ancestors, and that their Doctours were come vnto them out of Bohemia, namely from those first who many ages before, as we haue shewed, setled themselues in those parts. And it is cleere by the Acts of the Courts wherein they were judged, that they were of good manners, graue, modest, abhorred lying, periurie, and other vices, which the aduersaries themselues, to their great commendations, doe testifie; as also doth the writer of the English historie, in the yeare 1401, speaking of the persecution of the Lollards, imputeth to them the same doctrines as to the Waldenses; howsoeuer others maliciously disguise the same: and by that name were especially called the disciples of Wickliffe, who had drawne many after them from the yeare 1389. Moreover, their Priests (saith he) *more Pontificum, after the manner of Bishops, created new Priests, affirming that euery Priest had as much power of binding and loosning, and to administer other Ecclesiasticall things, as the Pope himselfe giueth, or can giue.*

An. 1490.

Walsingham in Hypodeigmatē Neustre, & in Henrico 2. Idem in Richard. 2.

An. 1401.

61. PROGRESSION.

Of Benedict the thirteenth, and Innocent the seventh, and of the faith they promised before they entred the Popedome, & how they afterward performed the same. Of the contentions betweene the Pope and the Romans The solemne oath taken by Gregorie the twelfth, to procure the union of the Church, and how he performed the same: And of the sundrie shifts of the said Gregorie, to auoid the meeting of Benedict, touching the union. The Cardinals call a Councell at Pisa, and with the helpe of Princes depose Benedict and Gregorie from the Popedome. The preposterous and prodigious entrance of Iohn the 23 into the Popedome, and his most infamous departure.

TO Boniface in his obedience succeedeth Cosmarus Cardinal de S. Cruce, named Innocent the seventh; but before they proceeded to election, the Cardinals tooke a solemne oath, That who soeuer were chosen Pope, for the better effecting of the union of the Church, should renounce the Popedome, whensoever he were requested thereto, on condition that Peter de Luna, called Benedict the thirteenth, created in Auignon, did yeeld to performe the like oath. Thus haue we here two riuals, Benedict the thirteenth, and Innocent the seventh. Benedict when he was Legat in Spaine, before the Kings, Princes, Prelats, Clergie, and people, blamed openly Clement, to the king of France and Vniuersitie of Paris, protesting in his sermons, and publike acts, That if he came to succeed him, he would leaue nothing vndone pertaining to the same: which was the cause that many Princes vpon

Theodor. à Ny. l. 2. c. 33.

A on this hope promoted his dignitie with the Cardinals; who neuerthelesse being admonished to fulfill his promise, he flatly refused to doe it: so that by the kings commaund certaine noblemen of France are driuen to besiege him in his palace of Auignon, kept him prisoner the space of three yeares, and openly renounced his obedience; whiles the Princes of Germanie, by counsel taken among them, labour greatly the same with Boniface, no more resolu'd to leaue the Popedome than the other: Which the Frenchmen perceiuing, set Benedict at libertie, and againe acknowledged him. Innocent the seventh on the other part, successor of Boniface, who before his Popedome was wont to say, That it was the fault onely of the Popes, that this schisme so pernicious to all Christendome, was not extinguished: but after he was aduanced to that dignitie, cannot endure to heare the least word spoken of that matter; yea being requested by the Romans to take away this schisme, and to quench the seditions, especially considering the king of France promised to put to his helping hand, and Benedict at his instance repugned not the same, he sent the Romans to Lewis his nephew, lodged in the hospitall of the holie Ghost, *tanquam ad certum carnificem* (saith Platina) as to a certaine hangman, who cut the throats of eleuen of them, and cast them out at window, saying, That by this and none other meanes the schisme and seditions were to bee taken away. Thus they performed the faith they promised afore their Popedome.

B Boniface, as we haue seene, had spoyled the Romans of their libertie, with the hope of profit by the Iubilee, who not long after made them feele his cruell tyrannie. Innocent being come to the Popedome, tooke the same course. The chieffest and most honourable of the people, being willing to returne to their auncient libertie, entreat Innocent to restore vnto them the state of the Commonwealth, and namely to put into their hands againe the Capitoll, Ponte Miluio, and the castle S. Angelo: and in this they were borne out by the Colonne. On the contrarie the *Vrsini*, their aduersaries, disputed, That it were better the citie should be gouerned by the Pope; and thereupon arose sedition, combats, and slaughters, in the middest of the citie, and whatsoeuer violences are wont to be done in ciuile dissensions. The Colonne bring in Ladislaus king of Hungarie and Naples, into the citie: The Pope on the other part one Muscardo, a great captaine of the Church, and both of them with great forces. But when he saw himselfe to be the weaker, he fell to capitulation, and released Campania to Ladislaus for certaine yeates, to the people and the Colonne the Capitoll, and the gouernement of the citie, on condition, That the Officers should be approved and allowed by him: and vpon this Ladislaus departed the citie. And scarcely is he returned into his kingdome, but the Pope continueth his former crueltie by his nephew, so that the fire encreased so much in the citie, that Innocent goeth to Viterbe, whence notwithstanding a while after he is called backe by the people, who were wearie of so many and so great disorders, stirred vp by the factions euer and anon, and feared least by the sight of Innocent, Ladislaus would take occasion to invade the citie; and hauing there strengthened his affaires, he sent forth his thundering Bulls against Ladislaus. But as concerning the union, Benedict being solicited by the Frenchmen, dealeth with Innocent to grant a safe conduct to some of his, to treat with him about the vnion. Innocent suspecting that he went about some guile, refuseth to doe it: Wherevpon Benedict excusing himselfe, often saith, That there is no want in him; and in his Epistles published, casting all the fault on Innocent, who could hardly saue himselfe from blame. Theodorick noteth, though verie fauourable to him, That hee made

Platina in Innocent. 7.

Theodor. l. 2. c. 34. 35. 39. 41.

L. 2. c. 38.

made question of it at Viterbium, whether he were held to make the said vnion, calling then into doubt (saith he) that which, when his election was in hand in the Conclauē, was sayd to be altogether expedient; whereby no little suspicion against Innocent arose among them of the Court, murmuring and saying one to the other, That indeed he would not make the vnion. And he could hardly appease them, but that when he was fallen into a palsie, they said it came by the iudgement of God vpon him. Neither proceeded hee any further in this businesse, being preuented by death in the ycare 1406.

L. 2. c. 41.

An. 1406.

Theodor. l. 2. c. 42.

Angelus Corrarus, a Venetian, succeedeth him, being Cardinall of S. Marke, named *Gregorie* the twelfth: *Theodorick* calleth him euerie where *Errorium*, as being created by error; *Inke, paper, and time* (saith he) would be wanting to him that should from point to point describe the frauds, practises, deceits, guiles, hypocrisies, and subtilities, by which he was elected by the Colledge of Cardinals, by which he with *Peter de Luna* deferred to make an vnion in the whole Church, and excused themselves from doing it, mocking and deceiuing all Christians, and also the collusions, crafts, and clokings, treating one with another by some third persons: But this is cleere, that they haue their consciences seared with a hot yron, making a shew to be simple, but are indeed filled with the craft of the diuell. Which he saith he hath treated of more particularly in his booke intituled *Nemus vnionis*, The Forest of vnion. Notwithstanding (saith he) many Kings and Princes doe yet cleaue vnto them, damnably fostering them in their obstinacie, schisme, and heresie, and uphold them in error by making them their Idolls; &c. As if there were no God in heauen, or as if all the saluation of soules and bodies depended on these two Elders of Babylon; *Errorius* and *Peter*, from whom hath proceeded, and doth proceed, into all the earth, greater iniquitie than hath euer come before our times, from any other contending for the Popedome. And (proh dolor) these things are so notorious and manifest, that by no tergiversation they can be hid; for the Catholike faith is thereby obscured, all religion suffereth shipwracke, Christians are confounded in discords, warres, and other calamities doe grow, the feare of God, and shame of men, and vertues, are departed farre from the rulers, and from inferiours of all estates; &c. Many Archbishops which gouerned the people, forsaking for the most part the loue of religion and honestie, conforme themselves to Lay men in their habit, manners, and follies. And here speaketh a Popes Secretarie, who hath set forth a whole booke of this historie, referring the rest to his *Nemus* abovesaid. But we will abridge these things in few words, least wee should be ouer tedious to the Reader.

Theodor. 2. Ny. em. l. 3. c. 1. & 2.

This *Gregorie* then when his election was in hand, did himselfe first propound the solemne oath of the vnion: neither would he receiue the Crowne before that in a most frequent assemble he had ratified the same; and which is more, he had made a sermon concerning this matter, on this text, *Prepare ye the way of the Lord*, exhorting the Cardinals to take paines in so necessarie workes, so that hee was commonly thought to be the man by whom saluation should be wrought in Israel. The summe of the oath, made first in the Conclauē, and after confirmed in the chappell before God, the Virgine *Marie*, the holie Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, and taken vpon the holie Gospell, was this, That he that should be chosen Pope, should, being requested thereto, leaue the Popedome, provided that the Antipope did the same likewise: That he and the Cardinals should presently after the election admonish all Princes to set to their hands to this necessarie worke: That in the meane time they would create no Cardinals, and would faithfully procure by all meanes, that within one ycare this schisme should be ended. These things were so done, that none of them could bee absouled from that. And we finish by the proceedings,

A dings, whether these men were touched with any feeling of God, who called God for witness of their oath in so solemne a forme and manner. *Gregorie* writeth to *Benedict* in this sence, and *Benedict* the like to him againe; and they seeme in these letters to deal in good earnest. But the Author noteth, That whereas it had beene decreed, that they should send these letters by some notable person, *Gregorie* sent them, *per quendam conuersum Ordinis Predicatorum*, By a certaine Frier conuertite of the Order of Preachers: and the letters also that he wrot to the Princes, he sent *per Lollardos seu begardos*, By certaine petie Friers whom he loued: When in the meane time this notable hypocrite euer protested, That hee would goe to the place assigned, though he should iourney on foot with a staffe; neither would hee grant any beneficiall graces, especially expectatiue, that he might make all men beleue that his mind was onely bent vpon the vnion. It had beene agreed vpon, That *Gregorie* should send his Legats into all parts, within three moneths, and namely to *Benedict*; but he stayeth of purpose till the last day but one, of the three moneths, and then made his nephew *Anthony* chiefe of the embassage, and committed the businesse vnto him. There then is concluded with *Benedict*, That both the Popes should meet at the feast of S. *Michael* next, or of all Saints at the furthest, in the citie of *Sauona*, which place, by reason of the commoditie of the sea, seemed fittest. This was approued with great applause of all the Princes: and the Genowayes, to take away all scruple from *Gregorie*; by their embassadors offer vnto him their citie, and all they had: but then so much the more doth *Gregorie* alledge his wilie shifts and excuses, first, That the place was for him vsafe, *Genua* and *Sauona* being in the power of the French, and in the obedience of *Benedict*: which place neuertheless, when the matter was debated with his nephew, was chosen, and which without doubt he had accepted of, that he might reserve this excuse to his vnle: and yet hereupon those cities yielded for his securitie whatsoever could any way be demaunded. Secondly, He entred into complot with *Ladislaus* king of Hungarie, that he might defend him against the pretended vnion, who had about him a certaine Franciscan Frier, guiltie of many wickednesses, *Damianum meridianum*, A diuell of the mid-day, working the worke of darkenesse, who departed not from the presence of *Errorius*, *Ladislaus* was interested in the like cause, who would defend the kingdome of Sicilie against *Lewis* of Aniou his competitor, no lesse than *Gregorie* would the Popedome against *Benedict*. Thirdly, To uphold his Popedome hereafter, he aduanceth to great dignities his nephewes *Paul* and *Marke*, and other his kinsmen, to whom hee committed the gouernement of the Prouinces and principall castles of the Church: so that hee thought not at all of giuing ouer his Pontificall robes, as he had promised. Fourthly, He openly professeth, That he cannot, neither ought to be at *Sauona* on the day assigned, because what diligence soeuer he made, he could not haue till then the gallies of *Venice*. And when it was answered him, That the gallies of *Genua* were then readie for him, which they had before offered him, he replied, That hee was a Venetian, and that hee worthily had the Genowayes in suspicion, for the ancient hatred that was between the Genowayes and Venetians: And moreover, to passe by land to *Sauona* hee could not, for want of commodities necessarie; and so intricately denied to passe thither by land or by sea. Wherefore he appointed foure and twentie of the best learned Lawyers of his Court, to giue their aduice vpon this question, whether by the treatie of the present instrument celebrated at *Marseilles*, hee ought to goe to the place of *Sauona*. And when all of them testified by their writing, That hee was bound to goe; hee was not ashamed to say, this Father of discords, That he suspected them, as fauouring more

more his Cardinals than him. Fifthly, He couenanteth secretly with *Ladislaus*. That he should send an armie to the *Colonna* against the people of Rome, who should enter in by night, with intention that they should besiege him selfe in the castle of S. Angelo (into which by complot he retireth;) and his Cardinals, who knew nothing of the matter, went to Viterbium: this fained siege seruing him for an excuse to exempt him lawfully from performing his promised appearance. And let the Reader here judge with what conscience he brought in (for to shift off the vnion) so great a confusion into the citie. But when the souldiers were dispersed after prey, and spared not the Nunnes themselues, the *Vrsini* through despaire take armes, gather the people together, and set vpon the ambuscado laid for them by the *Colonna*: in which onset they tooke them, and led them ashamed about the castle, wherein was enclosed that good *Gregorie*, whose detestable conspiracie thereby vanished to nothing. Sixtly, He faineth that this victorie of the *Vrsini* was his, and sendeth congratulatory letters thereof to the Cardinals to Viterbium, and in recompence of his valour giueth to *Paul* of *Vrsini* the earledome of *Marni*, for a number of yeres; and made them belecue by sending away his cariage before to Viterbium, that he indeed minded to goe to *Sauona*: But he himselfe followed a farre off, and arriued neere vnto them about the moneth of August; and when they vrged him to it, he maketh knowne vnto them, that he would do something for his nephewes before he left his charge: and lastly pleaded, That paueritie was the cause he could not vndertake so great a journey. And then to take away from him all excuse, all the Bishops and Abbots of *Italie* are rated, and commaunded vnder most grieuous paines, by a certaine day, and that verie short, to send euerie man his summes of money (he was taxed at) to the chamber. And other exquisite meanes of extorting moneys are inuented, for to satisfie him: whereby in a short time great aboundance of money extorted from many, was continually brought in a byssum camerae, into the botto melesse gulfe of the chamber. And as for his nephewes *Marke*, *Paul*, and *Francis*, to them are giuen with meere and mixt empire, power of the sword, & all kind of temporal iurisdiction, to the first *Faenza*, to the second *Furli*; and to the third *Vobera*, notable cities with their counties; also *Corneto*, and certaine townes and castles in the countrey of *Rauenna*, for a supplie, by the like right, to be possessed by them and theirs for euer. The tenor of this grant is worthe to be noted, for *Gregorie* bringeth in the Cardinals beseeching him, That hee would vouchsafe to reward his nephewes, for the great paines and sweat they had employed for the vnion of the Church: who at their most humble and most instant request consenteth to passe ouer vnto them this donation, by which they are made, if not heires, yet at least Legataries of S. Peter. Seuenthly, When hee could no longer with honestie abide at Viterbium, at last in the moneth of September hee commeth to *Sienna*, and there he delayeth them till Ianuarie, driuing out the time in receiuing of embassadors which came vnto him from all parts: but when hee knew that these delayes were vndoubtedly suspected, he faineth, that he was presently readie to renounce the Popedome, without traouelling any further: only for to maintaine his dignitie, that he might keepe the Patriarchship of *Constantinople*, which he had before, the Bishopricks of *Couron*, & of *Modon*, vnder the Venetians, & some Priories, which before he held in commendam, and the Archbishoprick of *Yorke* in *England*, which he sayd was vacant, although it was not vacant. And to all these things the Cardinals gaue their assent, and thereupon are made their letters and proceffe. Eightly, *Benedict* and his at the feast of S. *Michael* arriue at *Sauona*, for our Frenchmen spurred them forwards. Then he began to say, That hee had no other

L. 3. c. 18. 19.

Ibid. c. 20.

cap. 21.

other desire; but that he saw it to be no place of safetie for his Court, which hee would not rashly expose vnto danger: That he was resolu'd to passe into *Lombardie*, and there to stay with the Marquesse of *Monteferrato*, vntill the whole businesse of the vnion were passed and concluded with *Benedict*. Therefore to draw the time in length he sendeth to the Marquesse, who waiteth him back; That he should be welcome, and also for the setting forward of the vnion promiseth he will leaue nothing vndone. But the warres were so hot in *Lombardie*, that there was no likelihood he would take his journey that way. His euill intention also appeared in this, That when the Bishop of *Tudert* and *Anthonie de Butrio*, famous Lawyers, whom he had sent to *Benedict* and to the king of *France*, had met him at *Sienna*, and hoped for their good seruices to be at least gratefully receiued of him, as hauing happily laboured for this pretended vnion, he cast a frowning look vpon them, and refused to pay the money which they had borrowed for the charges of the journey: whereat this *Anthonie de Butrio* went home, and ouerwhelmed with sorrows, within a while after died. In the meane time he wholly gaue himselfe to the scraping together of moneys on all sides by his deputies whom he had left at *Rome*, not sparing the demaines of Churches and Monasteries, neither chalices, crosses, candlesticks, and other iewels of gold and siluer, which were euerie where sold for the payment of his tributes. Ninthly, The Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, Cardinall of *Santiquatro*, a Prelat of great reputation, arriued at *Sauona*, where he had bene honourably receiued of *Benedict*, and seeing *Gregorie* the twelfth absent, he went to *Sienna* with intention to persuade him; he exhortheth him morning and euening, and can nothing preuaile. Alfo the Cardinall *de Quinquecelis*, an Hungarian, though decrepit with age, went thither likewise in vaine: yea falling grieuouly sicke, word was brought him, That the Pope and his nephewes gaped after his mouables, and cast lots as it were on his horses money, and iewels: Truly (saith he) hee shall neither haue me nor my goods; and without delay having made readie his coach, commaunded to be carried in it (though it were the depth of winter) so farre as to *Venice*. Yet because among so many delayes he must needs pretend some colour of reason to the world, by faire promises he winneth vnto him certaine begging Friers, who preach vnto the people, That with a good conscience the vnion cannot bee made: and by their ministerie publisheth eightene articles against the same, That if he should giue ouer his Popedome, to the end that the vnion might thereupon follow, he should in so doing sinne mortally, and should damne his soule for euer to bee tormented in the paines of hell, by reason of the dangers of soules, and great hurt of bodies that might ensue thereupon. Abusing with such lyes the simple people. That if *Gregorie* and his Cardinals and Courtiers, had gone, or should goe to *Sauona*, they all had bene, or should be the sonnes of death. And this in the meane time whilest solemne processions were made at *Sienna* for the vnion, in which he himselfe was present, covered with the cloke of hypocrisie, bestoweth large Indulgences on such as followed them, and on them that prayed for the same, in so much as he sent of them into diuers nations, *Beguardis*, by certaine Monkes whom hee affected. Tenthly, New counsels seeme to giue vnto him new causes of delayes: He treateth with the gouernour of *Luca* to be receiued into the citie, that being neerer to *Benedict* hee may the more commodiously conferre with him, persuading himselfe that he should be denied, and so might haue a new excuse; whereas he on the contrarie willingly yeeldeth to his request. Then *Gregorie* requireth fittie of the best families in hostage: an vnhonest request, which neuerthelesse is granted him, least any thing should hinder so necessarie a worke. Yet here he findeth out a new subtile shift, That he would

L. 3. c. 22.

L. 3. c. 23.

would not enter into the citie, but would haue the castle of Pietra Santa in his power, *which was the strongest place of the sayd Governour*; which hee also granteth him euen without hostages. At length hauing no more pretences to make, he entred into Luca, trifling away the time till the beginning of the month of August, all the times before assigned being long agoe past. And when the embassadors of Princes were instant with both of them on euerie side, they haue the same answer from each of them, That the fault is not in him that the vnion goeth not forward: in which doubtlesse they both agreed together. *Gregorie* in the meane time priuately with his Chamberlaine and his nephewes disposed of all busineses, for money, of Bishopricks, Abbies, gouernements, and expeditions; although in publike he was ignorant of the things belonging to the Popedome, and ridiculous in his speeches and answers, being woont to say in Consistorie, That the Cardinals had conspired against him to make him leaue the Popedome, to the preiudice of his obedience. Eleuenthly, *Benedict* was come as farre forward as Porto-venere, to the end that he might seeme to performe his duetie: whereupon *Gregorie* is by his followers with greater instance vrged. Then *being giuen into a reprobate sence*, against his oath so oftentimes repeated, hee resolved to create new Cardinals, namely his nephewes, though his Cardinalls perswade him to the contrarie, That this would be to giue *Benedict* some colourable reason to say, That hee was the cause that the vnion was not made; till at last ouercome with the importunate requests of the embassadours of Polonia, Prussia, and other nations, expostulating with him, he consenteth to deferre the same for certaine weekes. And then about mid-Lent, on the *Lature Sunday*, *Nicholas de Luca*, a Carmelite Frier, durst preach against him euen in his presence; whom about the euening, in the sight of all the embassadours, he commaunded to be carried to prison, from which he was hardly at their earnest requests at length deliuered, yet on this condition, That hee should preach no more: neither durst any man thenceforth goe vp into the pulpet, vnlesse with resolution to please his eares. Many Bishops also, least they should communicate with him at Easter, some one way some another withdrew themselues from him; yea many embassadours returned into their countries: so that, least he should altogether lose his dignitie, he determined at length for once to write backe an answer to the letters of *Benedict*: There he complaineth, That *Benedict* had drawne the time out so long, by being obstinat in retaining still the place of Sauona (so that you would say, that there were great wrong done him) and offereth to meet him, if he please, at Pifa. *Benedict* on the contrarie, in his answer sheweth, That he was proceeded as far as to Porto-venere, that therefore *Gregorie* might come so farre as to Pietra Santa, a towne vnder his obedience, where the Lord of Luca promised to giue him his onely sonne, some of his neere kinsmen, and sortie citizens besides, for hostage: That for his part hee had offered to commit himselfe to the faith of his countrey men the Venetians, and many other things, which would haue cut off all delay: And that whereas now he maketh to him a new motion of Pifa, without specifying any assurance for him, he could not yet resolve of it, but sent in the meane time his Legats, wel informed of his intent, who might with *Gregorie* and the Lord of Luca determine of the whole businesse. The resolution of *Gregorie* was at last, after many tergiuersations, That both of them should request the Florentines by their embassadours, to assigne vnto them a safe and fit place, because that at the request of one of them alone they would not easily doe it. But during these delays *Ladislaus* king of Hungarie, by the counsell of *Gregorie*, is receiued into Rome by *Paul Vrsini* gouernour of the citie, and

Cap. 4 & 25.

and maketh himselfe Lord of the Citie, which was the cause, that on the one side he held the Popedome the more assured, because he had the seat thereof in his power; and on the other side, it prepared a readie excuse for him to returne to Rome to take order about it. For that this was done by this politique deuise, is manifest euen out of this, that his followers triumphing as of a thing well done, could not refrain from making dances for joy, euen in his palace. Twelstly, *Gregorie* therefore taketh no more paynes for a place to set forward the vnion, being now assured to breake it off by the assistance of *Ladislaus*; and so returning to his nature, against his oath, and notwithstanding any thing that the Lord of Luca objected against it, he created foure new Cardinals, and added vnto them a kinsman of his, for to bind the said Lord vnto him: And when the Cardinal refused, he commaunded some bishops and auditors of the Rota to sit and assist him therein; these were *Ambonie* his Chamberlaine, and *Gabriel Gondemar*, his nephewes, a protonotarie of Vdena, and one *Iohna* Dominicke Frier, one of them that preached at Siena by his commaundement. *That with a good conscience and without the damnation of his soule, he could not consent to the vnion.* The old Cardinals laboured to get away from him, but he chargeth them vnder most grieuous paynes, that they should not depart; yea, if the regent of Luca had not by his wisdom provided for them, their persons had bin in no safetie. But the Cardinal of Liege, a man of a great spirit, in disguise escaped from Luca, and got to Pifa; yet being discovered by some seruants of *Gregorie*, he continued there not without great danger of his life. In like manner all the rest by little and little steale away, being moued neither with his promises nor threats, from which they publicly appeale, and solemnely signifie the same vnto him sitting in consistorie amidst his new Cardinals. The Cardinal of Liege, first maketh knowne to the world by his Letters, *That God ought rather to be obeyed, for if (saith he) the Pope commaund or would constraime to such things as tend to the destruction of soules, it is most manifest that he ought not to be obeyed, neither by diuine nor humane right, yea and that man meriteth, who for not obeying in such a case, doth suffer his seuerer censures.* And thus haue wee now a two-fold Schisme, of *Benedict* against *Gregorie*, and of *Gregorie* against his owne Cardinals.

Now vpon this departure of the Cardinals from *Gregorie*, *Benedict* making vse of this occasion, objecteth vnto him his craftie sleights, which at length hath burst forth into so euill an issue. Whereupon, hee withdrew himselfe into the countrie of Arragon, where he was borne, seeing there was no more hope of the vnion. But *Gregorie*, seeing him departed, and being not yet wearie of deceiuing, assigneth a Councell at Aquileia, and to strengthen the same, createth againe new Cardinals; whilest on the other side *Benedict* appointeth likewise his Councell in Arragon: Both of them euer vnder pretence of vnion, but which neither of both desireth; both laboring to assure thereby the Popedome to himselfe alone: Which part of the Cardinals of *Benedict* perceiuing, they find meanes to escape away from him and come to Pifa. There the Cardinals of both sides ioyned together, and by the consent of the Florentines, Lords of Pifa, determined to hold there a Councell. Thither are both after a solempne manner cited, to be present either personally, or by their proxie, hauing fit and due commission. Both do testifie, That it belongeth not to them to call a Councell. The Cardinals on the contrarie maintaine, that seeing the Popedome is doubtfull and diuided, neither of the striuers for it could call a Councell, because it would be a particular and not an vniuersall one, where a part onely should be present. Wherefore they

Cap. 31.

Cap. 32 & 34.

Bopprath

Cap. 36, 37, 38.

passe

cap. 44. passe further, and entreat the Emperour and Princes of the Empire, the Kings of Fraunce, England, Hungarie, Arragon, Polonia and others, that they would be present by their Embassadors, which the greatest part agreed vnto. Then after many Sessions, when neither they themselves, nor any in their name appeared, all things well and duely examined, they all with one voyce pronounce, That *Benedict* and *Gregorie* damnably commending for their Popedome, are pranounced truly and notoriously in a petition presented and exhibited to the sacred and vniuersall Synod, That they haue bin and are verie Schismatickes, nourishers, defenders, fauourers, approuers, and obstinat maintainers of an old Schisme; heretikes strayed from the faith, ensnared with notorious crimes and enormous perjuries, notoriously scandalizing the vniuersall holie Church of God, with incorrigible contumacie and obstinacie, in notorious euident and manifest crimes; and for these and other causes, haue made themselves unworthie of all honour and dignitie, and also of the Papall: they and each of them, besides the foresaid iniquities, crimes and excesses committed: that they might raigne, commaund and beare sway, are ipso facto cast away and deprived of God and of the sacred canons; and also cut off from the Church, &c. Moreover, all Christians of all sorts, yea Emperours, Kings, and others in any dignitie, are declared for euer absolved from their obedience, forbidding the faithfull of Christ in no wise to obey or intend to obey the foresaid striners for the Popedome, or either of them; neither shall they yeeld them either counsaile, helpe or fauour, or receive them, or repaire vnto them, vnder paine of excommunication &c. Moreover all and singular proceedings, and sentences of excommunication, suspension, or other censure and paynes of prouision; also of orders and dignities; &c. giuen and thundered forth, haue bene and are disannulled, reuoked, void, of no strength, efficacia or moment. Moreover promotions, or rather profanations made of any whom soeuer to be Cardinals, by the said contemners for the Popedome, and either of them (to wit, by the sayd *Angelus* from the third day of May, and by the foresaid *Peter* from the fiftenth of Iune of the yeare past 1408) haue bene and are disannulled, reuoked and made void. Which when *Benedict* vnderstood, swelling with choler, he createth twelue Cardinals in Arragon; *Gregorie* as many in Germanie; but some of the wiser of them refused the hats. And for an vpshot of his deceitfull slights, he seareth not to publish, That all difficulties removed, he was readie to repaire to what place this Emperour, *Robert*, *Sigismund* king of Hungarie, and *Ladislaus* king of Sicilie should like of. But seeing (saith the Authour) that there were manifestly so many enimities and rancours, for the causes aforesaid, betwene *Robert*, *Sigismund* and *Ladislaus*; it seemeth vnpoussible by any reason or humane wisdom, that they should be able to agree together, how to make a union in the Church. I would we could haue as good a witness of the craftie wiles of *Benedict*, though this man doth in many places lively enough represent them, whence it is apparant that they stroue to excell each other in wickednesse: But it was needfull that the guiles of *Gregorie* should be more exactly shewed, as him whom they doe rather approue and entegister in the Catalogue of Popes. Furthermore, he at length, hauing suffered many troubles from his countriemen the Venetians, whom he vsed no better than others, he getteth him to the coast of the Abruzzo, and flying for refuge to Caieta, committeth himselfe to the protection of king *Ladislaus*, who commaundeth him to be obeyed in his iurisdiccions. In the meane time the Cardinals of both obediences, chose Pope, *Peter Philargas* of Candie, by Nation a Greeke, a Franciscan Frier, and named *Alexander* the fith, he that was wont to say, that he had bin a rich bishop, a poore Cardinal, and a beggarly Pope. A man (saith the Authour) liuing delicately, and drinking of strong wines, who wholly gouerned himselfe by the counsailes

An. 1408.

Cap. 46. 47. 48.

Theodor. 2. Nic. em. l. 2. c. 33.

cap. 51. 52.

A

B

C

D

E

of

A of *Balthasar Cossa* Cardinal Deacon; who was afterward *John* the three and twentieth, the most wicked among all the Popes. Therefore, saith *Theodorick*, he was no sooner come to the Popedome, but that all things brake forth into vnbridled licentiousnesse, so that in the tenne moneths that hee raigned, he brought more infamie to the seat, than others in so many yeares: The sayd Pope also inserted in the signature of the Roll that he made for the familiars of Cardinals, that he had made that signature so largely, because that euerie one of the same Lord Cardinals in the Conclau had promised, That if he were chosen Pope, he would graunt all things that their familiars should request; Which he particularly describeth, the Reader may see further there. So hard a thing it was, euen in a matter so long consulted of, after so great a confusion of all things, to find an honest man among so many of the Roman Court, and to proceed in election without manifest Symonie. Now he died at Bononia the third of May 1410, and here *Theodorick* finisheth that Historie. *Baptista Panatius* of Ferrara, a Carmelite, telleth vs, that *Balthasar Cossa*, the inward familiar of *Alexander* (who after was *John* the three and twentieth, or as some others say the foure and twentieth) neuertheless that he might succeed him, poysoned him by *Marsilius de Parma* his Phisition, hired with abundance of money; and that being nere his death, hee sayd to his Cardinals, that which Christ had to his Apostles, My peace I giue vnto you, my peace I leane with you. How could this flauie of Sathan, Prince of the world, giue that peace which the world cannot giue; who in that verie little space of time, had banded and opposed *Wenceslaw* king of Bohemia against the Emperour *Robert* in Germanie, and in Italic had crowned *Edmūd* of Armoū king of Sicilie, and sent him against *Ladislaus*, by his own absolute power, without any forme of law? But it may be they will be more wise and circumspect in choosing his successour. Being then at Bononia, where that *Balthasar* resided as Legat, or rather ruled as Lord, he commaundeth the Cardinals to elect a Pope that should be to his liking; And they offered vnto him many, of which he thought none fit enough, till at last they requested him plainly to expresse his opinion. *Giudme* (saith he) the chiefe of *S. Peter*, and I will giue to him that is to be Pope, which I do, he putteth on his own shoulders, and sayd vnto them, Papa sum ego, Iristum Pope. How saire from Christ, whose Vicar he taketh himselfe; I aminas come (saith he) of my selfe. And though the Cardinals did in no sort approue the same, yet none durst at that time speake against it. But he fearing least in need of time they should attempt something against him, dispatcheth Legats presently into Germanie to the Princes, to entreat them that the Emperour *Robert* being deceased, they would chose for king of the Romans, *Sigismund* king of Hungarie, whom to that end hee commended to all kind of vertues requisite. Which hauing obteyned, hee assigneth a Coucell at Rome, vnder colour to set the Crowne on his head, but indeed that by his ayde, whom thus hee had obliged vnto him, hee might firmly establish his seat. Memorable is that which *Nicolaus Clemangin* Archdeacon of Bayeux, a man famous in those times, hath left written in a certaine Epistle of his, Almost fiftie yeares agoe (saith he) at the great instance of some, that most perfidious *Balthasar* late by deposed from *Peters* seat (which he most filthly defiled) had assembled a Coucell at Rome; in which were scarce few strangers, but some Germans with some Italicans and courtiers, working out the time in matters superfluous, and not bring belonging to the profit of the Church. And when before the first meeting of the Coucell, Masse was celebrated after the accustomed manner, for to inuocat the holie Ghost; when the Coucell was set; and *Balthasar* himselfe in a chaire provided for him higher than the rest, beheld a direfull and

Monstrelet. vol. 1. cap. 62. Baptista Panatius Ferrariensis. Serm. 56.

Johan. Stella in Pontificibus.

T y ij

deadly

deadly Owle, the messenger (as they say) euer of death or calamitie, comming forth of her lurking holes, suddenly with a horrible voyce flew and sat vpon the middle beame of the Temple, with her eyes directly fixed on Balthasar. All began to wonder, that this night-bird which shunneth the light, was come in full day light into the midst of a companie, and not without cause tooke this prodigie for a presage of euill lucke. Behold, said they, with a low voyce one to another, the spirit is present in forme of an Owle. And whilest they beheld Balthasar and one another, they could hardly restraime themselves from laughing. Balthasar himselfe, vpon whom onely the Owle had bent the sight of her eyes, blushing with shame, began to sweate, to be troubled in mind, and to burne within himselfe, and at length, not finding any other meanes whereby to helpe himselfe from this confusion, he brake vp the Councell, rose and departed. There followed afterward a second session, in which againe in like manner as before, the Owle failed not to come (without being called. I beleeeue) turning her sight euer towards Balthasar; who seeing her come againe, was with good cause troubled with greater shame than before, and not being able to endure her looke any longer, he commaunded she should be driuen away with frightening clamours, and with stauces; but she would not be feared neither with shows nor other disquietings, till being grievously stricken many blowes with stauces, she fell downe dead in the sight of them all. This (saith he) I learned from a faithfull friend of mine, who in those dayes came directly from Rome, and being aduired by me with all vehemencie, when by reason of the rarenesse I had begun to doubt of the matter; he confirmed the things he had vitared to be most true. He added also, That all they that were present there were brought into great contempt and derision of this Councell, and by little and little the whole Councell being dispersed, nothing fruitfull was there accomplished. But they thinke it sufficiently prouided for, when they caused this place and the like to be quite rased out of bookes, yea whole bookes, according to their accustomed good faith. In the meane time *Benedict* and *Gregorie* retained still on both sides the Papall dignitie, notwithstanding their condemnation; the one at *Rimino* in *Romania*, the other at *Perpignan* in the frontire of *Spain*, each accompanied with their Cardinals, and vpholden by the Princes aboue mentioned; and all *Christendome* was exceeding wearie of so long a schisme, wherunto after so many yeares they had in vaine sought remedie in the Councell of *Pisa*. Wherefore the Emperour *Sigismund* undertooke to call a Councell, and the better to induce all *Christian* Princes to embrace the same, he taketh paynes to ride about almost all *Europ*, and visit them in person, that by communicating his mind vnto them, he might remove out of the way the difficulties that might hinder so great a worke. Neither did Pope *John* seeme to be against it, either because he hoped he should be thereby confirmed, by exclusion of others, through the requital he expected from *Sigismund*, or rather for that hee foresaw he could not with their good leaue denie a thing so iust, and so much desired. Yet *Leonard Arctine*, his Secretary, secretly telleth vs, That the Pope had secretly communicated his mind and intention with him; saying, All together in the place of the Councell, neither would I haue it in any place where the Emperour is the stronger. In shew therefore of honestie I will giue to those Legats that are sent by me, most ample commissions, and verie great power, which they may openly shew and lay forth: But secretly I will restraime the commission to certaine places; and be reckoned them; that is, appointed them. Which notwithstanding he mitigated, when he sent them away: for after he had told them how great confidence he reposed in their wisdome and fidelitie, he tare before them the catalogue of places that he had appointed them. I had purposed (saith he) to name vnto you certaine places, from which yee should by no meanes depart; but at this verie instant I change my

Leonard Arctine
An. 1413.

Antonin. part. 3.
c. 6. §. 1.

A purpose, and remit my selfe wholly to your prudence. For your parts bethinke your selues what is safe for me, and what to be feared. But he was exceedingly astonied, when he vnderstood that they had concluded with *Sigismund* vpon the citie *Constance*, a place depending of the Empire, and situate beyond *Alpes*. There then do meet in the yeare 1414, the Emperour, Pope *John*, the Cardinal of *Raguse*, and others of the obedience of *Gregorie* the twelfth, and in his name, *Charles Malatesta* with speciall commission of renouncing the *Popedome*; and the embassadours moreouer of the most part of *Christian* Princes: But not one man from the obedience of *Benedict*, although *Sigismund* had taken the paines to goe to *Perpignan*, to persuade him in the presence of the king of *Arragon*, to appeare himselfe, or send his Legat, or else in all euents to vndergoe the decision of the Councell. Vnto all which obstinately stopping his eares, he presently after withdrew himselfe into an inaccessible island called *Paniscola*. Not long after *John* the three and twentieth thoroughly perceiued, that his matters were in an euill place for him, notwithstanding that the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, had promised him all fauour. Wherefore, vnkowne to the Cardinals, in disguised apparell, and with small companie, he escaped away by night to *Schaffuze*, and from thence he tooke his course into *Burgondie*. *Sigismund* impatient to be so mocked, and beleeuing it to be some guile of the Duke of *Austria*, he commaundeth him vnder paine of confiscation of all his goods and honors, to represent or bring *John* forth in presence: who, ex protectore proditor factus (saith *Anthanine*) catcheth him by the way in his flight, bringeth him backe, and keepeth him in safe custodie for the Emperour, at his pleasure to be deliuered vp at *Constance*. It remained to proceed against him according to law, *Henrie de Pira*, and *John de Scribanis*, Procurators of the Councell, vnderooke to proue against him innumerable crimes both before and after his *Popedome*, and that by the testimonie of Cardinals, Archbishops, and other persons of note, his vices, exceeding voluptuousnesse, tyrannie, homicides, empoisonings, simonie, sacrilege, heresie, impietie, infidelitie, notorious Atheisme, or contempt of *Diuine* maiestie, as in the Acts of this Councell, second Session, are contained in fittie foure articles, in which also he is called *Diabolus incarnatus*, An incarnat Diuell. They specially note, That as a Heathen hee maketh not any esteeme of any office or seruice, That he said Masse running, gaue his graces and censures to merchants; to lay men, and married; to be dispensed for a certaine price, who sold them, & rendred to him an account; and that he was wont to send them with all power into the most remote Prouinces: That hee had sold many lands of the patrimonie of the Church, yea the Churches themselves of the citie of *Rome*: That he had wastfully spent the mouables, jewels, & relikes themselves, sold the head of *S. John Baptist* for 50000 ducats, which was kept at *Rome* in a certaine Monasterie of Nunnes of *S. Syluester*, which had bene deliuered if some citizens of *Rome* had not discovered it, whom he cast into prison; and condemned to great fines: That he had conferred benefices, curatships, and other Ecclesiasticall charges, to children, to bastards, yea of the age of five yeares: That hee had committed incest with Nunnes, rauishment with virgines, and adulterie with married women, and other crimes of inconstancie, for which the wrath of God commeth downe on the children of infidelitie: That hee had impoysoned Pope *Alexander* by maister *Daniel de Sancta Sophia*, his Phyfytian, that he might make way for himselfe to the *Popedome*: And to fill vp the measure, by the persuasion of the diuell he obstinately said, affirmed, and held opinion, That there is no life eternall, neither any other after this; yea he said, and obstinately beleued, That the soule of man dyeth and is extinct here

An. 1414.

Council. Constant.
Session. 11.
art. 4. 21. 22.

Session. 11.

ther with the humane bodie, after the manner of bruis beasts: and hee sayd, That being
 once dead, euen in the last day there should be no resurrection. Of which crimes being
 certaine he should be conuicted, he hath recourse by letters to *Sigismund*, putting
 him in mind of that which he had before time done in his fauour; In the secret of
 our heart. (saith he) preferring you before all men liuing, we haue predestinated you to be
 king of Romans. These are his words, and entreateth him to haue his honour and
 state in recommendation. But the Fathers of the Councell send deputies to *Sel-*
las, a place in the Diocesse of *Constance* (where he was kept by the Duke of *Au-*
stria) who heard him, and being heard and conuicted by the often confession of
 his own mouth, they condemne him. A definitiue sentence is pronounced against
 him, which notwithstanding was mitigated, when in this deipaurefull estate hee
 absolutely subiected himselfe to the will of the Councell: neuertheless he was
 declared schismaticke, scandalous, and deadly to the whole Church, and as such a
 one, and for many other crimes before, and in his Popedome committed, he was
 to be deposed, and indeed was deposed from his charge of chiefe Bishop. Fortie
 articles (saith *Platina*) and more, were proued against this man, of which some (which
 could not be changed in him) were iudged to be against faith, and other some scandalous
 to all Christians. And he himselfe approued the sentence pronounced against him,
 for iust. And he is remoued away thence to *Heidelberg*, vnder the custodie of
Lewis of *Bauaria* Palatine, who kept him prisoner in his castle of *Monheim*, verie
 straitly, without any Italian seruant, serued onely by Germans, with whom hee
 could haue no communication but by signes. As touching *Gregorie* the twelfth,
 alreadie decrepit and destitute of the support of *Ladislaus* king of *Sicilie*, *Charles*
Malatesta his Proctor appeared in Councell, hauing on him the Pontificall robes,
 which in token of renunciation he put off before all the assemblie. But *Benedict*
 hauing bene verie oftentimes cited in vaine, by sentence of the Councell is de-
 clared to be a periuurer, a scandalizer of the Church, a fauor and entermedler of schisme,
 an heretike straying out of the way of faith; and for these causes is deprived of his
 Papall dignitie, and cut off from the Church, as a withered and dried member; for-
 biddeth all men therefore from obeying him, vnder paine of excommunication.
 And though he were almost of all men forsaken, yet he continued still in obstina-
 ce, *Idolum cum idolis suis Cardinalibus* (saith *Krantzius*) An Idoll with the Idols his
 Cardinals. Yea being at poynt of death, in the yeare 1214, he adiureth the Car-
 dinals which remained with him in the castle of *Paniscola*, that they should in-
 continently chuse him a successor, which was *Giles Munion*, Canon of *Barcelon*,
 by them called *Clement* the eighth, who the fourth yeare after renounced his
 charge. Of this *Benedict* was that saying of *Gerson*, verie often repeated in Coun-
 cell, *There will be no peace to the Churches till Luna be taken away*. So much did *Luna*
 darken the Sunne; so much also had these good Popes their hearts set on the vni-
 on of the Church.

It was meet that impietie of doctrine should grow after the measure of the a-
 bufe of power: Therefore we read, that this *Benedict* the thirteenth was the first
 that instituted, That the Sacrament of the bodie of Christ should be carried be-
 fore him for the safegard of his bodie, that so he might seeme to haue a protector
 against his aduersaries on earth, whom he beleueed to be none in heaven: which
 without doubt he had inuented by the example of the kings of *Persia*, who made
 their god be caried before them. *Alexander* the fift also, because he was a *Minorite*,
 that he might gratifie the Friers of that Order, who wonderfully reioicing at his cre-
 ation, ran about the streets euerie day, verie many in troupes together, as if they had bene
 mad

Platina in
Iohan. 24.

Session. 11.

Krantzius in
Metrop. l. 9. c. 1.
An. 1214.

Paulus Emili-
us in Carolo 6.

Theodor. 2 Ny-
em. l. 3. c. ultim.

A mad men, made a law, That all Christians should be bound to beleue the wounds
 of *S. Francis*; and in veneration also of those wounds instituted a feast. These
 things, as we haue said before, although they are judged doubtful, yet are found
 in their owne Histories of those times. So *John* the foure and twentieth, for that
Wicklif had translated the holie Scriptures into the English Tongue, would needs
 haue that translation of the Bible into the vulgar Tongue, to be heresie in Eng-
 land. But our wise king, *Charles* the fift, was of another mind, when a little be-
 fore he commaunded that the sacred Bible should bee translated into the French
 Tongue, for his owne and his peoples vse. And let the Reader iudge of the in-
 uentions by the pietie and honestie of the deuifors. In the meane time the Coun-
 cell of *Constance* it selfe, whilest it arrogateh power aboute the Pope, doth not
 withall omit, in emulation of Popes, to extoll it selfe aboute the Lord Christ. For
 when many nations complained vnto them, That against the expresse institution
 of Christ, in the participation of the Eucharist, the cup of the Lord was taken
 away from them; the Fathers of this Councell feared not to publish a Decree,
 commaunding it seuerely to be excuted, which was conceived in these execrable
 words, *Although Christ after supper hath instituted and administered to his Disciples*
this venerable Sacrament vnder both kinds of bread and wine, yet notwithstanding, the
authoritie of the sacred Canons, the laudable and approved custome of the Church, hath ob-
serued, and doth obserue, that this Sacrament ought not to be finished after supper, &c.
 C *And seeing that this custome hath bene according to reason brought in, and a long time*
observed by the Church and holie Fathers; it is to be held for a law. In which words this
 clause *Non obstante, notwithstanding*, so odious (as we haue seene) to the Church
 in former ages, for that by it, added to the Popes Bulls, no lawes so holy but were
 reuoked; now by the authoritie of this Synod manifestly abrogateh not only the
 vse of the Primitiue Church, but the expresse commandement of the Lord him-
 selfe, in instituting a Sacrament of so great moment. And these things extend to
 the yeare 1417.

Waldensin
Fasciculo.

Council. Constant.
Session. 13.

An. 1417.

OPPOSITION.

D Let vs now consider what the Christian Church thought hereof, being distra-
 cted, and as it were torne in peeces by two, sometimes three Popes, openly war-
 ring one against the other. We haue alreadie noted something out of the historie
 of *Theoderick*, who was successiuelly Secretarie to *Vrbane*, *Boniface*, *Innocent*, *Gre-*
gorie, and *Alexander*: Neither doth he conceale from vs the murmure and distra-
 ction of minds that then was in the whole world, whilest some take part with one,
 others, content with the conduct of their owne Bishops, hold with neither: from
 whence in the meane time this benefit did arise vnto vs, in this so great mischief,
 That by occasion of this schisme there was a way made vnto the truth, and the
 mouth thereof in diuers things opened. And therefore he confesseth ingenious-
 ly, that it is agreeable vnto reason, that the Roman Emperour, with the Prelats,
 and Christian people, as the spirituall sonne of the Church, whose power is im-
 mediately from God, should by his authoritie appease these troubles; and that they
 are fooles and flatterers that say, That the Pope or Church hath two swords, the
 temporall and the spirituall: which great error being brought into the Christi-
 an Church, they raise a perpetuall emulation and discord betweene the Pope and
 the Emperour, trampling vnder their feet the Imperiall authoritie, to the great
 hurt of the whole Commonwealt. That it appeareth out of the Decrees them-
 selues,

Theodor. 2 Ny-
em. l. 1. c. 7 & 8.

D. 17. C. Const-
lia Theud. l. 3. c.
9. & 10.

selues, that whensoever any schisme shall arise in the Church, that the Emperours are bound, and by law haue power to prouide a remedie. Which he likewise pro- ueth by the example of *Theodoricus* the king, taken out of the Decree it selfe; and is much offended that the Emperor *Robert* did so flatter and gently intreat *Gregorie* the twelfth, who should haue compelled both parts to haue restored the peace of the Church. That the power of the Emperour doth especially tend to the re- pressing of a wicked and incorrigible Pope, scandalizing the Church; as it appeareth out of the acts of the Roman Emperours and kings: where he alledgeth the ex- ample of *Otho* the first, who came out of Germanie to Rome, to chasten the disorderly & stubborne behavior of *Iohn* the 13, whom by the authority of the Coun- cell, notwithstanding he were upheld by his kindred and friends at Rome, he deposed: For (saith he) in those daies the Pope had not so many temporalities as the Church of Rome seemeth now to haue, because that great Emperour *Otho* and his successors, the second and third of that name, enriched the Church of Rome, and other Churches in Ita- lie and Germanie, with secular dominions. And so it manifestly appeareth in those books that were drawne of the donations made vnto the Church by the Emperours and kings of Rome, and are still kept in the Apostolike treasury, or chamber. That from the pompe of these temporal dominions sprung the neglect of spirituall things, tyrannie gathered strength, and diuisions in one and the same Church encreased. Against which *Otho* quickly prouided a remedie, extinguishing the two schismes at Rome, whereof the one part had feised vpon the Capitoll, the other the castle *S. Angelo*; which hauing besieged and taken, he cut off the heads of the principall of those factions, and in a Councell approuing the one of these competitors, he tooke the other with him into Saxonie. It was not then objected vnto him, That the Popes might not be iudged but by God himselfe. But it were to be wished (saith he) that such an Emperour would arise in our times, that in this Labyrinth would abolish the multiplicite of bookes that are so increased by reason of the multitude of writers touch- ing this poynt, that an hundred Camels can hardly carrie them. For it is manifest how much it standeth all Christians vpon, that the Pope be a man of pure conuersation, no si- moniacall or bloudie person, no adulterer, dice-player, drunkard, hunter, leacher, or pub- like whoremaster (he toucheth the Popes vicers of those times) for who, knowing the Pope to be such a one, can without remorse of conscience, or the sinne of flatterie, kisse his hands or his feet, or with a good heart call him holie Father? &c. Neither is the Empe- rour or king of Romans bound to keepe his oath or fidelitie given to a wicked Pope, or other Ecclesiasticall Prelat, that is a notorious and incorrigible offender: For where abuse suc- ceedeth, all power ceaseth, and an oath must be no band of iniquitie: for otherwise it must follow that an oath binding, no man can hinder such as are wicked and peruerse, or admo- nish them to returne into the right way, which is contrarie to all law and reason, & hurt- full to the Commonwealth. Because not to withstand the course of the wicked when we can, is to encourage them in their sinne; and that error which is not resisted, seemes to be approued. Neither doth that which the Canonists affirme, contradiet it, That the Pope, except he wander from the faith, may be deposed, That no man can iudge the first and highest seat, or take away that authoritie and power which he cannot giue. From hence they would inferre, that none but God can or may iudge the Pope, because the Popedome ex- celleth all dignities: being the Vicar of God, and iudging the whole world: whereas these *Maximes* in a supposed Pope, and in these times of schismes, are not in force, nor can with reason be so vnderstood in an vndoubted Pope scandalizing the Church, because he cannot be truly and properly called the Vicar of Christ, that keepeth not Christ his commande- ments, nor followeth his example, to the great detriment of all Christendome: and there- fore

A fore is more truly and properly called a beast than a Pope. For he that wandereth from reason is not to be accounted a man, but an unreasonable creature. And the Pope being such a one, seemes rather a tyrant than the Minister of God, and therefore for his demerits is contemned of all, and removed, as unworthie; from so holie a gouernement, because a wicked Priest is not sayd to be a Priest; and a wicked Bishop is no Bishop. This is proued true out of the Gospell, where it is conditionally sayd vnto Peter; If thou louest me feed my sheepe, whereby it is inferred that he that loues not God, that is to say, a simoniacal person, an adulterer, or otherwise a publique incorrigible offender, deserues not to be, neither is the true shepheard of the sheepe, but a mercinario, or a Wolfe, because hee exerciseth not the office of a good and true shepheard, and therefore may, and ought to be iudged by others. Wherefore, he sheweth in another place that the Cardinall of Liege hauing forsaken *Gregorie* the twelfth, for his many treacheries, thus defended his cause, That we must rather obey God than man. For if (saith he) the Pope commaund those things, or enforce that to be done that shall endannger our soules, or bring them to perdition, it is manifest that he is not to be obeyed either by the Law of God or man, as *Augustine*, *Ambrose*, *Beda*, and others doe affirme: yea, rather by not obeying, and for that cause to endure his censures and severities, is meritorious. At the last amongst so many confusions he thus concludeth, But are these things the preambles to the coming of Antichrist? Truly according to the opinion of our Saviour, the Gospell hauing bene preached throughout the world, the consummation shall come; before which there shall be a diuision and a departure from the faith, according to that of the Apostle 2. Thes. 2. Nifi ueniat primum, non ueniet secundum, nisi prius ueniat separatio. And therefore he sheweth how the Empire departed from Rome; And as for faith, it was nowhere to be found. Whereupon he saith,

Tu portentorum locus conformis aorwm
Cum Nilio portenta paris, ueris Crocodiles
Iam cum portentis reor exterminia sentis,
Si quid in his passera, facere uis, stultes esse Mastrum &c.

D Thou art the place where monsters great are bred,
And Nilus-like where Crocodiles are fed:
Now like monsters rice, thou art vnto us
Had I power, barraine had thy water been.
E Antichrist, held him not to be farre off from the centre. Those poore people looked for him out of the window, that was before stollen in at the posterne. More- ouer, he saith, he was the authour of another treatise intituled *Nemus Vnionis*, printed at Basill, in the year 1566, where in first books he sets downe all the stragems of the Popes of his time; the titles are, of the first *Pia*, the second *Inuis*, the third *Semita*, the fourth *Iniqua*, the fifth *Volle*, the sixth *Labyrinthus*: A worke worthe the reading, and so much the rather, because the principall acts of this schisme are there produced; especially in the first, he deliuereth his opi- nion touching the schisme betweene these two Popes, Behold (saith he) that it ap- peareth

L. 3. cap. 34.

cap. 41.

Idem. 3. c. 41.

Theodor. & Ny-
cm. Tracl. 6.
c. 12.

Tracl. 6. c. 16.

Cap. 19.

peareth by this Epistle (that is to say, of the Cardinals) that these two old men contend-
 ing for the Popedom (if it be lawful to speak a truth) do strangely mock and abuse Christi-
 an people. And briefly he fettereth down their subtilties. These two Lords seeme to play
 together like two Champions or Tilters, who haue made an agreement not to hurt one ano-
 ther, and yet enter taine the people with a kind of shew or ostentation, as if they would doe
 wonders. There he likewise produceth the conclusions of the Doctors of Bologne
 touching this schisme, wherein they declare, first, That this schisme by their obsti-
 nacie and the long continuance thereof, is turned to an heresie. Secondly, That
 in ancient schismes, if the lawfull Pope himselfe doe not his best endeouers to
 extinguish them, he is to be accounted a nourisher of them, and consequently of
 the heresie; and that the Cardinals ought to forsake him; and to withdraw their
 obedience from him, as from a man incorrigible, and an heretike: and if they
 should refuse to doe so, they were likewise fauourers of the schisme and heresie,
 which they made good by many Canons and Ecclesiasticall lawes. Thirdly, That
 both Popes refused the means of vniou, and so were both faultie; and therefore
 he that of the two had most right to the Popedom, at the request of any prouin-
 ciall Councell, or the instance of a secular Prince, ought to leave the Popedom,
 and to permit the Cardinals to proceed to a new election: which if he did not
 agree vnto, they were to forsake him. By which reason he condemned them both,
 and consequently their Acts and ordinations. And here let our aduersaries con-
 sider, where that succession then was they so much boast of. In the nineteenth chap-
 ter there is an Epistle in mitre, sent to Gregorie and his adherents, who of the two
 was thought to haue the better right. It began with these verses,

*Perfide qui phrenesi raptus Plutonis
 Tartareis inuictus equis, heresimique secutus.
 Ausus es Ecclesia tentare pericula sancte.*

Perfidious wretch carried with Plutons frenzie,
 On hellish horses, and following Heresie,
 Hast dard to attempt the danger of holie Church's

If this man were thought to come from the duell, what shall we thinke of the
 other? As for his Cardinals, they were tainted with all horrible wickednesse, yea
 Sodomie it selfe. In the selfesame stile is that other written in the eight and twen-
 tieth chapter, whose Author I writteth himselfe of *Verone* the faithfull seruant of
 Christ. This setteth out the nephewes of Gregorie and his Cardinals in their co-
 lours, infamous for their heresie, hypocritie, simonie,

*Iam Nemo, inquit, Atagan, non tollit gratia gratior,
 Afflaxit vestrum, etc.
 Now Nemo, now Atagan, neuer came grace gratis
 from you to any, &c.*

And let not the Reader thinke it lost labour to read it out, nor that Epistle of
 Theodorick in the foure and twentieth chapter. In the nine and twentieth chapter
 he sets downe an Epistle written at that time in the name of *Sathan* Emperour of the
 kingdomes of Acheron, to *Iohn Dominick* of the Order of Preachers, professor in
 Diui-

Idem 24.
Cap. 29.

A Diuinitie, created Cardinall by *S. Sixtus*, chosen Bishop of Raguse, whom he cal-
 leth the scholer of perdition, the waxshopper of our workes, to whom he wisheth health,
 and pride euertlasting. There he thanks him for his good endeours he vsed to breake
 the vniou, and to excuse the perjuries of Gregorie, to put in practise his hypocritie,
 luxurie, simonie: thereby discovering all the infamies both of the Pope and Car-
 dinals of those times. But the Author himselfe in the 39 thaport, in good earnest,
 and without jesting, cunningly describeth the manners of Ecclesiasticall persons in
 Italic: They are alwayes carefull (saith he) to aduance their brethren, kindred, and ne-
 phewes; honouring them with Ecclesiasticall titles, in whose gates there are seldome or
 neuer seene any poore. And if perhaps any poore bodie beg an almes of a Bishop or Abbot,
 they presently turne away their eyes, and if perhaps they came wane vrger him to aske the
 second time, they threaten him. In the Apostolike chamber there is euerie day carried
 great store of gold, but it is neuer filled. They are wretched generation, who carrie swords
 in stead of teeth, to eat up the poore from off the earth. Amongst them are many blood-
 suckers, that cry bring bring. The officers of the chamber are called *Genes Camere*,
 the Gentiles of the Chamber: and well may they be so called, for *Genes* are barbarous na-
 tions: hauing manners and lawes strange, and different from the lawes of men rising rea-
 son. For as *Turkes* and *Tartars* are of those vnfortunate Christians that fall vnto their
 hands, roughly and inhumanely, so doo these *Genes Camere*, Gentiles of the Chamber, be-
 ing voyd of all pittie and pietie, shoyloose new Ecclesiasticall Prelates that are promoted
 amongst vs, by strange and exquisite means, of all their substance. And if perhaps they
 be not able to pay the full summe which the Chamber requirer of them, but a time must be
 giuen for the payment thereof (which grace is seldome granted, and to a few) they extort
 from a hosti such horrible sinnes, that there is no wise man that will not feare to take them,
 either to obtaine a great benefite, or to a voyd as great an euill. And upon this delay letters
 are giuen him in the Chamber, not propter Iesum tantum, nor for the loue of Iesus on-
 ly, but for slier, if there be any reasoning for the expence of his journey homeward: so
 that being freed from the Chamber, he may well say,

Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.

D He that chasie purst travels on the way,
 May boldly before the sheefe sing or say,

E For all pittie, mercie, and clemencie, haue taken their flight from thence. And if thou
 art to pay a thousand Florins in gold, and one of them want but a halfe penie in weight, ex-
 cept thou deliuer one more weightie than that, or supplie that in silver which it wanteth in
 gold, there is no departing, nor withstanding that what Florins they receive of others, they
 pay againe to others without weight and measure. And if a Prelate within the yere where-
 in he is bound to pay the remainder, discharge not the Chamber, be he the most excellent

E Dactor in the world, if a Bishop he is made a Clerke, of an Abbot a Monke, of a Prior a
 posterior; there being no law or iustice to releue him. Our iust Gentiles, one day to haue
 their portions with the infernall Furies, or Harpies, and thirthe *Tantalus*, who are neuer
 satisfied. They haue hard heads, and stonie breasts, made of the stones of Deucalion, and
 hearts harder than Steele, without all compassion. Vnhappie therefore is that poore Prelate,
 who being intangled in the nets of that Chamber, is enforced to endure such torment.
 Touching the Popes of his time, well knowne to himselfe, he spake ingeniously:
 of *Urban* the sixt, Before the time of his election to be Pope, so long as he was conuersant
 in the Court of Rome, he was reputed humble and deuout; but he was no sooner seiled in
 the

cap. 36. & 37.

the Popedome; but he was changed into another man: he began to tyrannize, ill demeaning himselfe towards those Cardinals that had chosen him, and doing other outrages unadvisedly. He had a nephew called Francis Pregon, an unprofitable member, & more licentious than is fit to be spoken, upon whom he would bestow many dukedomes and earldomes in the kingdome of Sicilia, and intitled him unto them, and would willingly, if it had bene in his power, haue made him Souldan of Babylon too, notwithstanding it were too apparent that he was unable to gouerne a small familie. To conclude, there was no man euer in the Popedome more wicked and more cruell, in so much that hee caused many Bishops and Cardinals barbarously and cruelly to be murdered, *Secum super hoc, vt æstimo diabolo dispensante, the diuell, as I thinke, dispensing with him for it, or at leastwise ioyning with him in the execution thereof.* Of Boniface the ninth. He was of a goodlie stature, but a vicious nature: For we read of none that euer bare rule in the Apostolike See, that durst presume so publikely, and with so little shame to commit the sinne of simonie, scandalizing without respect of difference, and ordaining Archbishops, Bishops, Prelats, Clerkes, and Priests, and all for gaine. He likewise made his brothers Marqueses, Dukes, Earles. Of Innocent the seuenth. In him vertue and vice was at variance: he was a great dissembler, frie in carnall affection: He enriched his kindred with temporalities, and took no care to confirme the union in the Church, which he had promised, and sworne to doe. Of Gregorie the twelfth. How he behaue and doth carrie himselfe touching his kindred, and that union that is to be made by him, is apparent ynough. And these foure gaue no almes, which is a signe of damnation, and though a fault in all, yet worst in a Prelat, because no man can be saved without charity. And this he writ being Notarie of the Apostolike letters, in the yeare 1408. There was likewise an Epistle directed to this Gregorie, which he calleth *delusorie* of the officers of the Church of Rome, wherein he is called, *The damnable forerunner of Antichrist*. Neither is *Benedict* his competitor forgotten therein. There they protest, That the world from thence forward will make no account of their excommunications, but rather make a iest of them, since it manifestly appeareth, that they both draw men into open perdition, being the one and the other vnworthe of the Popedome; especially Gregorie, to whom they attributed most, was a drunkard, an heretike, a destroyer of the Church of God, a man accursed. And in like manner they speake of his most familiar friends, namely of *Gabriel*, who was afterward *Eugenius* the fourth, whom they call his first borne, sprung from his raines; and of the Cardinal of Raguse, they say he was a Demoniacall Monke, an infernall Legat: and the like of diuers others. The Author in the end concludeth, That this schisme was come to that passe, that the Princes of both parts contemned these Popes, and nothing regarding their Bulls, knit themselues in friendship, alliances, and mariages one with the other; in such sort that a man might truly say, that all things on both sides were doubtfull, *We haue neither a true Pope, nor a true king of the Romans*. Behold here againe that succession they boast of. He likewise writ a treatise of the inuestiture of Bishops and Abbots, and attributeth the right to the Emperour. *Merrie Tokens*, Deligat of the Bishop of Magdeburge in the Councell of Basil, maketh mention of him in his treatise, *That the Councell is above the Pope*.

Here our France doth the rather offer it selfe to our consideration, because one of these contendants was then resident at Auignon. *Clement* therefore being departed, the Cardinals chose *Petrus de Luna*, called *Benedict*. *Froissard* saith, That the election was made vpon condition, *If it pleased the king of France and his Counsell*, otherwise he was not to be receiued: yea, that when he gaue the king to vnderstand of his Popedome, he carelessly answered, *That it was doubtfull whether hee*

should acknowledge him to be the true Pope or no. He sent therefore vnto him some of the most learned of the Vniuersitie of Paris, as master *John* of Gigencourt, master *Peter* Playons, & others, to admonish him, That the Christian faith was much weakened by this schisme, & that the Church could not long continue in that state: In so much that the Vniuersitie of Paris was not of opinion, that the Clergie seeking grace and fauour, should send their petitions to Auignon, notwithstanding that *Benedict* had before opened the fountaine of grace to all Clergie men: which the king likewise forbad by their counsell, vntill it were otherwise determined. The Duke of Britaine did the like, notwithstanding some Princes of France fauoured *Benedict*, because he denied them nothing. The king therefore without the knowledge of the Pope, disposed of such benefices as were voyd, in so much that the Cardinals began to feare least he should likewise lay hands vpon those benefices they held within the kingdome; and therefore they sent a Legat vnto him, to assure him, That if *Benedict* were lesse pleasing vnto him, they would enter the Conclau againe to chuse another to his owne contentment. The Legat being heard, and withall a Frier Minorite, who resided with the king in behalfe of *Boniface* Pope of Rome, it was concluded in Councell, not without the consent of the Vniuersitie, *That both the rivals should be commaunded to resigne the Popedome, and all the Cardinals their Cardinalships, and that certaine Clergiemen, that were men knowne to be honest and of a good conscience, should be chosen out of Germanie, France, and other nations, who deliberating of the cause amongst themselues, with good aduice, and without all fraud, should restore the Church to her former state and vnitie.* Which sentence of the Vniuersitie the king approued, and so did the Dukes of Orleance and Burgundie, and their Counsellors. Whereupon he sent embassadours to the kings of Germanie, Bohemia, Hungarie, and England (vndertaking for the kingdome of Castille, Navarre, Arragon, Sicilia, Naples, and Scotland) that they should yeeld their obedience vnto him to whomsoeuer he and his realme should grant his. There was much time spent in these embassages, but yet with this fruit, That *Richard* king of England agreed to whatsoeuer the king of France thought conuenient: and the Emperour *Wenceslaus*, in the yeare 1398, with many other great Princes, came to Rheimes to consider of this businesse with the king: notwithstanding he pretended the cause of this his journey to be the marriage of the daughter of the Duke of Orleance to the Marquesse son of Brandebourg. There, after many deliberations, those great Princes being assisted with the greatest and grauest personages of their States, decree, That *Petrus de Alliaco* Bishop of Cambray, should goe in their names to *Boniface* at Rome, and there should summon him to renounce his Popedome, that a new election might be made; wherein that right which he had should be still reserved: and hauing receiued his answer, hee should likewise doe the like to *Benedict*; the Emperour and king promising each of them for the kings and Princes their allies and confederats, to confirme this their decree. The Bishop therefore, one of the greatest men of name in those times, tooke his journey to Rome, where hauing had audience, the Cardinals thinking it necessarie to dissemble, aduise *Boniface* to answer, That he would willingly yeeld to whatsoeuer he should be by them aduised; provided, that *Benedict* should renounce the name of Pope, and then he would be readie wherefoeuer it should please them to appoynt the Conclau. And yet the Romans at that time murmuring hereat, because they feared they should thereby loofe that gaine they hoped for by the Lublie, he answered them ingeniously, *My sonnes, assure your selues I will continue Pope, and whatsoeuer these kings shall determine, I will neuer stand*

Froissard. l. 4. c. 58.

to their arbitrement. This was concealed from the Bishop of Cambrai: He therefore returned to the Emperour, who sent him to the king with this message, That he was first to make *Benedict* to submit himselfe, since *Boniface* his obedience depended thereupon. Whereupon our Nobles and Prelats assembled at Paris, whither neuertheless the king, out of his wisedome, thought it not good to call the Archbishops of Rheimes, Rouen, and Sens, because the Pope had many wayes bound them vnto him. There, by the councill of the Vniuersitie of Paris, it was determined, That the king should presently sende *Monseur Boucicant*, his Marshall, into the parts of Auignon, who either by treatie, or any other meanes, should endeavour that *Benedict* should yeeld his Popedome to the Counsell of the king of France; and that the Church to the utmost bounds of the kingdome, should follow neither part, vntill by the judgement and decree of the Prelats who were deligated to that purpose, the vnion were confirmed. The Bishop of Cambrai arriued at Auignon, leauing the Marshall at Lyons, there to attend the newes: but as he deliuered his message, *Benedict* (saith *Froissard*) changed colour, and with a lowd voyce sayd, They will that I yeeld to renounce my Popedome, whilest I liue I will neuer doe it; And I would haue the king of France to vnderstand, that what he appointeth I will not doe, but I will retaine my name and Popedome to the death. To which the Bishop answered, I tooke you to be wiser than I find you: take a day to consider better of the matter with your brethren. Whereupon they being assembled together, and the Cardinal of Amiens shewing, That whether they would or no, they must be obedient to the kings, and that the king of France did already threaten the losse of the fruits of their benefices, whereby many did already stagger; he grew the more obstinat: I will not resigne (saith he) nor submit my Popedome to any treatie, for any King, Duke, Earle, who soeuer. And with those words he dismissed the Bishop, adding withall, You shall say to our sonne of France, That hitherto we haue taken him for a good Catholike, whom now wee see by a wrong information fallen into error; but he shall repent him of it. Whereupon the Bishop went presently to the Marshall *Boucicant*, who was come as farre as Port S. Andrew, nine leagues distant from Auignon: who presently vpon the newes sent for the nobilitie and men of warre from all parts, stopping the passages both by land and water, and by a Herald denounced warre against *Benedict* within his palace. His Cardinals almost all studied how to satisfie the king, and so did the citizens of Auignon: but he persisting still obstinat, told them their citie was strong, that he would send for the king of Arragon to his ayd, who he knew would come to serue him, being bound therunto both by propinquitie in bloud, and that obedience which he did owe vnto the Pope: and that they were frighted with small matters. But the Marshall hauing threatned the inhabitants, That he would burne all their vines and houses in the field: without the knowledge of the Pope they resolved, with some of the Cardinals who ioyned with them (that is to say, of Amiens, Poitiers, Neuschastel, Viuiers, and diuers others) to receiue him into the citie, and to besiege the palace, vpon condition that he should offer no violence to them or theirs: which was performed on both sides. *Benedict* in the meane time defended himselfe in his palace, being well furnished with all manner of victuall, and still expecting the comming of the king of Arragon, to whom, if he would now set him at libertie, hee promised by an instrument drawne to that purpose, to keepe his residence at Perpignan: but his answer was this, Doth this Priest thinke, that I so defend his subtilties, will undertake a warre against the king of France: the world would thinke I was ill aduised. And the nobilitie likewise that were about him, were of opinion, That the king of France was so wise, that he would do nothing

A nothing that was vnlawfull, and that it was fit that the Clergie should learne how to obey their Lords, from whom they had their maintenance, & remember from whom they receiued their good. He therefore resolued, by the king of France his example, and at his request, to follow neither part: And the greatest part of his Clergie & kingdome were of this opinion, since by no other means the peace and vnion of the Church could be restored. *Benedict* therefore seeing himselfe thus forsaken, and his prouision to decrease apace, began to flie vnto mercie: The conditions were these, That he would not depart out of the palace of Auignon, vntill the vnion of the Church were restored, a speciall gard in the meane time being appointed ouer him, and some of the principall Cardinals & citizens bound to haue him forth comming dead or alive: which being done the armie was disaiffed. These are the words of *Froissard*. So the king of France performed that which he had concluded with the Emperour, whereof he presently gaue him to vnderstand by an honourable embassage, the chiefe whereof was the Patriarch of Hierusalem, who was to require of the Emperour, according to promise, the like faith and diligence in this businesse. Now there were that had giuen their consent to this neutralitie, the kings of Spain, Scotland, Arragon, Nauarre, to whom by the authoritie and endeour of the Emperour, there joyned the Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians, Italians; so that England onely remained, for whom the king of France had past his word. But king *Richard* could not perswade his Clergie thereunto, they alledging, That this *Richard of Bourdeaux* was wholly French, and that they would be aduised by some other than a Frenchman. Besides he was shortly after troubled in such sort with his domesticall affaires, that he had no leisure to thinke of foreine matters. Yea not so much as the people of Liege but they resolued to forsake *Boniface* at Rome, and to embrace this neutralitie, to whom, the better to retaine them in their faith and obedience, hee sent a Legat, but he, not daring to passe any farther, stayed at Cologne, and from thence by a carrier sent letters; who was forbid to returne to the Legat, except he loued to be cast into the riuer Mosa. Thus was the miserable state of the Church knowne to the whole world. And this brings vs to the yeare 1399.

D There passed many yeares in these contentions betwixt these Popes, either of them intending vnion, whilest neither of them embraced it; and both of them in their owne jurisdictions, amongst whom they were obeyed, laying exactions, burthens, and exercising tyrannie vpon the Churches: violently exacting likewise certain annuities, brought in by the inuention of *Boniface*, where soeuer their power did extend. Whereupon there followed a Decree of our Parliament, assisted by the great Councell, dated the eleuenth of September, in the yeare 1406, the Vniuersitie of Paris requesting the same: by which it was forbidden to be payd to the Pope, or any of his Cardinals; and if afterwards they shall request it, not to receiue any thing from him, or to haue ought to doe with him: In the narration whereof the Vniuersitie feared not to say, that it is written, *Withdraw your selues from euerie brother that walketh inordinatly*; presently adding that of the Apostle, *I know that after my departure shall grieuous wolues enter in amongst you, not sparing the flocke*; and that of the Prophet, *Because my flocke was spoyled, and my sheepe were deuoured of the beasts of the field, hauing no shepheard: neither did my shepherds feed my sheepe, but the shepherds feed themselves, and feed not my sheepe, therefore (saith the Lord) I will cause them to cease from feeding the sheepe; neither shall the shepherds feed them selues any more, for I will deliuer my sheepe from their mouthes, and they shall no more denour them*. Which words the Vniuersitie applies to *Benedict*; shewing likewise,

Froissard. c. 97. 98. 99.

cap. 120.

An. 1399.

An. 1406.

Arrestum Curie an 1406. imprefum cum Nicholao Clemangis.

that Rome receiued the preheminance of her See from *Constantine*, but yet had A not therefore any power to command or to impose any thing vpon others. There followeth the Ediēt of *Charles* the sixt, then raigning, dated the eighteenth of February, in the yeare 1406, whereby both his annuities, and his *bafer seruices*, as they call them, and innumerable the like grieuances and oppreffions, which are there particularly exprest, are vtterly made voyd, as being dangerous to the Church and Commonweale, causes of pouertie amongst the people, and perdition to a million of poore soules, that by that meanes are destitute both of corporall and spirituall nourishment. The occasion of this Ediēt was, because the later moderne Popes being often admonished, made no account thereof, but hardened themselves, and stopped their eares against all complaints: Another cause was, B because the regall power for the establishing of the Church, is ordained of God, in so much that the celestiall kingdome may be amended by the terrestriall; when the Church is destroyed by them who hold the highest places therein, and are to be repressed by the seueritie of Princes, to whom in such cases we are only to flie, since by their oath made vnto God they are to prouide for the good of the Church, otherwise to yeeld an account: In this case especially, wherein all the Doctors teach, That we are to denie obedience to the Pope himselfe. And this whole Ediēt is yet to be read, much differing from that their axiome, That the Pope hath the chiefest commaund both in heauen and on earth. These things fell out in the time of *Innocent* the seuenth, one of the compctitors. *Gregorie* his successor thought good at the first to flatter vs, and by his Legat sent a Bull to the king; wherein he promisseth in good earnest to doe his best endeouour to procure a vnion vpon those conditions before mentioned: It bare date the eleuenth of December 1406, and is to be had in *Monstrelet*. Whereupon the king and the Vniuersitie of Paris, the matter being deliberated with the chiefe of the Clergie and Councell, sent embassadours to *Benedict*, the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Bishops of *Cambray* and *Beauvais*, the Abbots of *S. Denis*, and *Mount S. Michael*, and certaine Doctors of the Vniuersitie, who should let him vnderstand, That except he would doe his office, and come to some reason, that the king and the Dolphine would withdraw themselves from his obedience, and refuse his Bulls. D *Benedict* continuing obstinat in his purposes, entertained the embassadours with fayre words; and in the meane time, without the knowledge of his Cardinals, made a constitution, which he sent by speciall messengers to the king and Vniuersitie, threatening grieuous punishment to all those that should withdraw themselves from the obedience of himselfe and his successors. And afterwards with doubtful speeches sent away the Embassadours. The king and his Councell began now to perceiue, that these Popes abused the world, both the one and the other, but yet are nothing terrified therewith. But the yeare following they sent *John de Castro morando*, and *John de Courfeno*, knights, to *Benedict*, to let him know, That if the vnion were not restored to the Church by *Ascension day*, that he, the Clergie, Nobles, and people of his kingdome, and Dolphine, would no longer obey him nor his aduersarie. To whom he answered without delay, That he would send an answer by a speciall messenger, who was a certaine man, I know not who, that came into the palace of *S. Paul*, where the kings Court then was, and entering into the kings Oratorie at the beginning of Masse, deliuered *Benedict* his letters, and presently departed. The letters were read, which contained an excommunication against the king and his subjects: but the messenger vanished. Wherefore the king by the counsell of his Princes, and the perswasion of the Vniuersitie of Paris, forsooke the Pope, and with-

Monstrelet.
vol. 1. c. 33.

Jdem 1.
Cap. 100.

withdrew himselfe from his obedience. The letters are to be read in the same A Authour, wherein the Pope complaineth, *That the subjects of his kingdome rebell against the Church of Rome, in appealing from him against the canonick constitutions, and that the king permitted diuers errors to be sowed therein, contrarie to the puritie of the law.* So he calleth the reprehension of his exactions. Furthermore, that the vnion which he dreames of is properly a sinne, and a perseverance in a Schisme, and that such as exhort him thereunto doe but abuse him: Concluding, that if he continue in this vaine error, besides those punishments and sentences pronounced in the law, he will send constitutions comprehended in his Bull, by the tenor whereof both he, and all other that shall offend shall be punished. These letters neuertheless are intermingled with some flatterie, but the Bull marres all: We excommunicat all those that shall appeale from vs, or our successors the bishops of Rome, entering into the Popedome by the right way; and all such as shall yeeld any helpe or fauour to any such appellants or perturbers &c. or shall affirme them not to be bound and excommunicated by our sentence, of what degree or dignitie soeuer they be, whether Cardinals, Patriarches, Archbishops, Bishops, of authoritie or maiestie royall or imperiall, of what soeuer state or condition ecclesiasticall or ciuile; from which sentence none can be absolved but by the Pope, except it be at the poynnt of death, &c. which excommunication being denounced by vs, if he shall obstinately beare, for the space of 20 daies, if he be a prince we subject him to the determination of the Church, with all his lands, townes, cities, castles, &c. If Vniuersities so likewise &c. Notwithstanding all liberties, graces, Apostolike indulgences, granted from vs, or our predecessors. Now it was in the beginning of the yeare 1408, C that the vniuersitie of Paris by the mouth of Master *John Courteheuse*, a Norman, in the great hall of the palace of Paris, made their complaint in the presence of the kings of Fraunce and Sicilia, the dukes of Barry, of Bar, and Brabant, the Earles of Mortaigne, Neuers, S. Paul, & Tancarville, the Rector of the vniuersitie and deputies thereof, and a great multitude of the Nobilitie, Clergie and people, also the earle of Warwicke an Englishman, and the embassadours of Scotland and Galicia. The text of this master *John* was taken out of the 7. Psal. v. 16. *His mischiefes shall returne vpon his owne head, and his crueltie shall fall vpon his owne pate.* From which words he drue six conclusions. The first was, That *Petrus de Luna* (that is *Benedict*) was an obstinat Schismatike, yea, an heretike, a troubler of the peace and vnitie of the Church. The second, That he was not to be called a Pope, nor a Cardinall, or to be honoured with any other title of dignitie, nor obeyed as a Pastour of the Church, vpon those paynes or dayned against such as fauour Schismatikes. The third, That the acts, sayings, collations, provisions, &c. from the date of the letter made in forme of a Bull, and all punishments Temporall and Spirituall, publique or priuate therein contained, were of no force. The fourth, That the sayd letters were wicked, seditious, full of fraud, troubled the peace, offended his royall Maiestie. The fifth, That those letters are not to be obeyed, and he that doth obey them to be censured as a fauourer of Schismatikes. The sixth, That the sayd Peter his fauourers, and such as receiued his letters, were to be proceeded against by a course of law. Whereupon the Vniuersitie requested his Maiestie, First, That due inquisition should be made of those letters, and their receiuers, that such a punishment might be inflicted vpon them, as the Vniuersitie at fit time and place should appoint. Secondly, That the king nor any of his realme, should any more receiue any letters from *Benedict*. Thirdly, That the Vniuersitie of Paris might be enjoyned by the commaund of the king, to preach the truth throughout the whole kingdome. Fourthly, That the Bishop of *S. Flour*, Master *Peter de Courfelles*, *Sancien de Lew Deane* of *S. German d' Auxerre*, being apprehended, should be punished according to their demerits,

rits, that is, for ioyning in Councell with the Pope. Firstly, That, that pretended Bull might be torne, as iniurious and offensive to the Maiestie of the king: the Vniuersitie protesting to proceed to greater matters touching the faith, (note these words) and to expound them, and to shew them to those to whom it appertayned. All which being granted by the king to the Vniuersitie, the Popes letters were presently in that honourable assemblie torne by the Rector of the Vniuersitie; the aboue named apprehended and cast into prison in the Louvre, and the messenger that brought the Bull by the diligence of the kings Proctour was taken, not farre from Lyons, and brought backe bound to Paris. Which Benediēt vnderstanding, was so astonished, that with foure of his Cardinals, by Venus gate he secretly stole away, and went to Perpignan.

There was, in the moneth of August following, another assemblie touching the same matter, where the Chauncellor of France was president, all these Princes and great personages assisting as before. There a certaine Doctour of Diuinitie, famous amongst the Dominicans, tooke vpon him to expound that Scripture in the 14 of the Romans, verse 19, *Let vs follow those things that concerne peace, and wherewith one may edifie another.* In the handling whereof, he proueth Benediēt a Schismatike, six wayes, his Bulls fraudulent and iniurious, and that the king in that he tooke part with neither, and had withdrawne himselfe from the obedience of both, had done that which was right and just. But in the meane time (saith *Monstrelet*) *Master Sanctien, and the messenger of Peter de Luna (Benediēt) who had brought the letters before mentioned to the king, both Arragonians, being both mytred, and attired with habillements wherein the armes of Peter de Luna were painted upside down, were drawne out of the Louvre vpon a sled, into the court of the Palace: where, neere the marble pillar that is next the staires, there was a Scaffold built, whereupon they were set to be scene of all that would behold them; and on their myters there was written, These are disloyall to the Church and King.* The day after, there was a Councell held againe in the Palace, where Master *Vrsinus Taluenda*, Doctour of Diuinitie, spake for the Vniuersitie of Paris, and tooke his Theame out of the 122. Psal. v. 7. *Peace be within thy walles, &c.* In the handling whereof he exhorted the King and Princes, to prouide a remedie for this Schisme, prouing *Peter* to be a Schismatike and an heretike, and all that obeyed him to incurre the punishment due to the fauourers of Schismes and heresies, *alleging many examples of the Popes of Rome that made to that purpose.* Moreover, he did earnestly request that the Bulls might be publicly torne, with others of that kind brought to Thoulouse; which was presently graunted and put in execution the twentieth of August 1408. *And all Prelats and other ecclesiastical persons likewise commaunded within the confines of their benefices, with a loud voyce to publish this neutrallitie, &c.* And the morrow after, both the *Arragonians* before named, were againe led through the Citie, and put to open shame vpon a Scaffold, as formerly they had beene. Which vigour and courage is so much the rather worth the noting, because it fell out in the most perilous diuisions of our State. Now it followed that the Cardinals, both of the one part and the other, taking heart, for the most part forsooke both Popes, & assembled themselves at Pisa, where in a Councell, they deposed them both, as being both heretikes and Schismatikes: The acts of which Councell are set downe at large in certaine letters of the Abbot of S. *Maxence* to the bishop of Poitiers, who was present at that Councell. There, a certaine bishop of Arragon, a great Doctour of Diuinitie, in a solemne Sermon, chose for his text that of the Apostle, *Purge the old leauen &c.* wherein he feared not to say, *That they were no more Popes than his old shoes*

cap. 52.

cap. 53. & 54.

B

C

D

E

shoes, worse than Annas and Caiphaz, yea, to be compared to the Diuels of hell. Whereby, let the Reader judge of those Archbishops & Prelats that he ordayned, and of those things that by them were done whom he ordayned. The selfesame is to be read in the letters of the Embassadours of the Vniuersitie of Paris, to their Lords and Masters, *That the neutrallitie and subtraction of obedience was good and lawfull, and the processe and sentences of the competitors against those that had withdrawne themselves, justly pronounced to be of no force:* Approving in all respects the sentence of the Vniuersitie. As there is likewise extant the definitiue sentence against both the contendants, *for their horrible sinnes,* and a reuocation of all their acts in the yeare last past, with the Epistle of *Alexander* the fifth to the Bishop of Paris, who expressly pronounced them *the enemies of God and his Church, for their grieuous and horrible notorious sinnes.*

John the foure and twentieth (alias, the three and twentieth) the successeur of *Alexander*, in the yeare 1410, sent his Legats, namely the Archbishop of Pisa, to demand the Tenthes due in the vacancie, procurations, and mortuaries. The Vniuersitie assembled at the Bernerdins, the three and twentieth of Nouember, and calling vnto them such Prelats as were then at Paris, concluded, that those Lawes and ordinances aboue mentioned, made in the yeare 1406, were to be defended, that is to say, That the Church of Fraunce was freed, from all tenthes, procurations, and other subsidies and annuities whatsoever. And if the Pope or his Legats, shall constrain any man by ecclesiastical censure to pay them, that it shold be lawfull to appeale from them to a generall Councell. And if any of the collectors shall goe about to exact them, they are to be punished with the losse of their goods, if they haue any; if not, with imprisonment. They humbly besought the king and the Councell thus to determine the matter, and his Proctour generall to ioyne with the sayd Vniuersitie. But if the Pope should alledge some manifest necessitie of the Church, that a Councell should be called, wherein some charitable subsidie should be determined of, which honest men chosen by the Councell should gather, and being gathered, by the authoritie thereof distribute it. The Munday following, there was called a royall Councell, where the Archbishop deliuered vnto them, That what he demanded, was due to the Apostolike chamber by law Diuine, canon, ciuile, and naturall, which, whomsoever should denie to pay, was no Christian. Let the Reader here note, the definition of a Christian. The Rector interrupting him affirmed, That these words were pronounced to the dishonour of the king, and the Vniuersitie, and consequently of the whole realme. Wherefore, the thirtieth of Nouember, he called a generall congregation, wherein it was agreed to send Orators to the king, to request that the Legat might be commaunded to reuoke his words, and if he should refuse to doe it, that then the professours, graduats of Diuinitie and Law, should write against him, vpon the Articles of the faith, That both he and his Colleagues might according to their desert be punished. That they would likewise write to all other Vniuersities and Prelats to ioyne with them in this controuersie, and to the Archbishop of Rheimes likewise, and others of the kings grand Councell: to that purpose, who haue bin sworne to the sayd Vniuersitie; otherwise, to be deprived that dignitie. Whereupon the Popes Legats departed without taking their leaue. Neuertheless the Pope is nothing at all herewith discomfited; but sendeth his Legats againe to the king to require the Tenthes imposed vpon Fraunce, who pronounced in the kings Councell, the duke of Aquitan being present, That not only the Church of Fraunce, but all others whatsoever were bound to this subsidie,

An. 1410.
Bochell. l. 2.
Decret.
Ecclef. Gallica-
neg p. 323. 324.
Jdem l. 4. p. 51.
52. 53. 54. 55.
56. ex ydem.

not

not onely by the positie law, but also by the law of God. The Vniuersitie with-
 stood it, and in a congregation concluded, That the manner in demanding this
 subsidie was to be reprocued as vniust, and contrarie to the law before made in the
 yeare 1406, which they were resolu'd to defend. And if the Pope or his Legats
 should proceed any farther, that they would then appeale to the generall Coun-
 cell of the Church: and if the gouernours of the new king and kingdome should
 attempt any thing against the sayd law, they would appeale to the king and the
 Lords of his Councell. And if any of the Vniuersitie it selfe should goe about to
 gather these tenthes, he was to lose his rights and priuiledges; if other, his tempo-
 ralties, if he had any, if not, to suffer imprisonment. But if the Pope by way of cha-
 rittie would gather this money, then the Vniuersitie would beseech his Maiestie,
 that the Prelats of the kingdome might be called to deliberat, First, What was
 to be handled in the next generall Councell: Secondly, What answer was to be
 made to the supplication of the Popes Legats. So that if a subsidy should be gran-
 ted, that it might be gathered by some chofen honest men of the kingdome, for
 the vnion of the Greekes and Latines, the peace of the kingdome of England, the
 recouerie of Palestina, and for the preaching of the Gospell to all creatures; since
 these were the ends for which the Pope (as his owne Legats did affirme) did leuie
 this subsidie. In all which they humbly beseech the Lords of the Parliament, and
 the kings Proctors, to yeeld them their helping hand, and to ioyne with them.
 Whereupon the Archbishop of Pisa carried himselfe more humbly towards the
 Vniuersitie, and began to flatter the principall amongst them, that hee might win
 them to deale more mildly with him; but it was to small purpose, for the Vniuersitie
 continued still constant, though the greater part of the Nobles, yea the Prin-
 ces themselues, began to faint in their resolutions.

Montrelet, vol.
1.c.67.

An. 1416.

Here is fit place to speake of the Councell of Gonstance, wherein, in the yeare
 1416, a bill was exhibited in the name of the Church of France, and the Vniuersi-
 tie of Paris, called *Apostoli*, because *Charles* the sixt by a Decree of the Court of
 Parliament, and an Edi& following thereupon, had forbid annuities to be paid. It
 was otherwife called *De Annatis non soluendis*. Which bill was so much the more
 necessarrie, because the Cardinals going about to put downe the Antipopes, ende-
 uoured neuerthelesse to retaine their gaineful arts and inuentions, especially these
 annuities; which their promoters with their reasons likewise defended. There
 it was disputed by our Diuines, That those annuities were not due either by the
 law of God or man: That they were extraordinarily granted to *John* the three and
 twentieth, for an expedition beyond the sea, whereupon some Popes afterwards
 vnder other pretences would haue continued them: but the cause of them cea-
 sing, they were to cease too; neither could they be any longer tollerated, espe-
 cially at this time, wherein Italic, France, Germanie, and England, were at peace
 and amitie one with the other. And here they spent much time in the vnfolding
 of those exactions that were then in force: Where they proue, That neither the
 Pope nor the Church of Rome could by law impose any thing vpon Churches
 or Churchmen, since he was not their Lord, but Christ onely: That these exaci-
 ons are contrarie to the minds of their founders, whose successors complaine vnto
 the king, That the goods giuen to Churches and Commonwealth, and all orders therein:
 concluding in the end, That the whole nation would neuer pay them, vnder what
 pretence soeuer they were demaunded. It were too tedious a thing here to re-
 peat all their reasons; the principall are these: *Annuities seeme to bind men to fall*
 into

into heresie, taking the word in the larger sence, that is to say, That it is lawfull to buy
 things spirituall, or for spirituall to giue siluer, or things temporall, &c. Item, He that is
 so promoted seeme'h to commit simonie and periuurie. Which they proue by that obli-
 gation that was required of Patriarches, Archbishops, Bishops, &c. You &c. by
 the Apostolike permission and authoritie granted to you in that behalfe, doe freely offer
 and promise of your own wills to giue for your common seruice to the Chamber of your most
 holie Father and Lord in Christ, Pope Alexander, and the holie and sacred Colledge of re-
 uerend Fathers and Lords in Christ of the Church of Rome, that is to say, the Cardinals &c.
 so many Florins of gold of the Chamber, of good and lawfull weight, &c. with diuers
 other clauses verie strait, which they were to sweare vpon the Euangelist, and vn-
 der paine of excommunication, &c.

There flourished in these times the Cardinall *Zabarella*, a famous Lawyer, who
 writ of schisme: he feareth not to say, That the defenders of the Pope had so cor-
 rupted the Canon law with their Glosses, that there was nothing so vnlawfull,
 which they thought not lawfull for them to doe, in so much that they extolled him
 above God himselfe, making him more than God. From whence sprang infinit errors,
 the Pope chalenging vnto himselfe a right ouer all inferior Churches, and making
 small account of all inferiour Prelats: in so much (saith he) that if God giue not his
 helping hand to the present state of the Catholike Church, it is in danger of an vtter ouer-
 throw. But at the next Councell it shall be necessarrie to restraime this power, and
 to confine it to that which is lawfull, since it is a power subiect to that of the
 Church (as it appeares in the fifteenth of the *Acts*) wherein, and not in him, doth
 the fulnesse of power reside, and in a generall Councell, which representeth the
 Church. In so much that the Church neither can, nor euer could transferre that
 power in such sort to any one, but that it euer remained wholly in her selfe, not in
 the Pope, whom she had euer power to depose. And therefore it is vaine that they
 commonly boast of, That he that is judged by the Church cannot be judged by
 men, but by God alone. It is in the power of the Emperour (saith he) to call Coun-
 cels, which plainely appeareth by the example of *Constantine*, *Insimian*, *Charles*,
 who did preside, and were chiefe Iudges ouer them, as it appeares by the first vni-
 uersall Nicene Councell, and others; where, when matters of faith were treated
 of, the lay people were likewise present. Neither is it lawfull for the Pope to hin-
 der the calling of Councels, by the intermission whereof the Church incurreth
 great danger, whilest the Popes gouerne it after the manner of secular Princes,
 not Ecclesiasticall Prelats. And that which is more, the Emperour, if hee doubt
 thereof, may demaund of the Pope a reason of his faith; and if he be accused of
 any manifest crime, proceed likewise against him by a course of law, and to depose
 him; he being the principall Aduocat and defender of the Catholike Church. As
 touching the pretended fulnesse of power, he saith, That *Saint Peter* neuer had it,
 but that he was one of the chiefe Apostles and ministers, to whom, in as much as
 he bare the person of the Church, the keys were deliuered. For as well at Anti-
 och as at Rome he tooke vpon him the administration of his part or portion, no
 otherwife than the rest did. And therefore the Pope commaunding nothing but
 what is iust and lawfull, is to be obeyed: But whereas it is said that he is *solutus le-
 gibus*, not subiect to lawes, it is to be vnderstood of his owne lawes, and not the
 law of God, whereunto he is bound as well as others. We must therefore be-
 ware least that honour be done vnto him, whereby we may make him equall with
 God, nay in any sort to adore him, since *S. Peter* himselfe would neuer endure it,
 but vtterly refused it, *Acts* 10. And whereas it is commonly said, That the Church
 cannot

Zabarella de
schismate circa
annum 1406.

cannot erre, he saith, it can no way be vnderstood of the Pope, or of the Church of Rome, but of the Church of Christ, and the congregation of the faithfull. And that euerie particular member of the Church is bound to be carefull for the preferuation of the Catholike faith. And this he saith he hath presumed to write in this manifest danger of the Church, moued onely with a zeale of God and his glorie, and not any hope or expectation of reward.

In like manner writ our *Clemangis*, Archdeacon of Bayeux, in his booke *Of the corrupt estate of the Church*, which was produced in the Councell of Constance: where he setteth downe by what degrees the Church rose to her temporal height and her spirituall declination, at one and the same time; and by what subtilties the Pope got all to himselfe, and fatted himselfe by staruing others. Afterwards coming to particular corruptions, *They beare more patiently* (saith he) *the losse of ten thousand soules, than of ten shillings; what say I more patiently, yea they beare the ruine and losse of soules without any motion of the mind: whereof there is with them not onely no care, but no thought at all, whereas for their owne priuat domestically losses they presently grow furious.* He saith likewise a little after, *The studie of Diuinitie, and such as make profession thereof, are made a mocke and ieausting stocke (which is most monstrous) to the Popes themselues, who preferre their owne traditions farre before the commaundments of God. Now that worthe and excellent function of preaching, sometimes attributed to Pastors onely, and proper vnto them, is of that base account with them, that they thinke nothing more vnworthie, or more vnbesitting their dignitie.* The Monkes are rauening Volues in sheepes clothing, diuels transformed into Angels of light, Scribes, Pharisies, hypocrites, painted sepulchres; to whom hee applies that prophesie of *Paul* against false Prophets in the last times, *2. Timoth. 3.* and the like places. The Monasteries of men and women are so many brothell houses, their diuinitie meerely scholasticall, and that properly which *S. Paul* would decipher in these words, *They dote about questions and strife of words, &c.* Their fruits are like those of the lake of Sodome, outwardly faire, but inwardly smoke and ashes. Ecclesiasticall persons are simoniacall, no man hath Orders without argent, no man put backe that brings money, be he neuer so wicked. To such an excesse are they growne in lasciuious wantonnesse, that their people, the better to defend their wiues chastitie, will haue no Priests except they haue concubines. The traditions of men, euen the least, are more esteemed than the lawes of God, which whosoeuer shall omit, or commit any thing against them, shall bee grieuously punished. The Legends of Saints are read in stead of Scriptures, and consequently the Saints brought into the place of God. But because all these corruptions, & diuers other the like, are defended vnder the onely name of the Church, he overthroweth this foundation. *Notwithstanding* (saith he) *the authoritie of the Church militant be great, because founded vpon a firme rocke, &c. yet we are not to attribute vnto it the titles of the Church triumphant, that it cannot be deceived, that it cannot sinne; for many times it deceiveth, and is deceived, I doe not say in matters of faith, &c. but of fact, or manners, or iudgement, &c.* And writing to a scholer of Paris, touching certaine ordinances of the Councell of Constance, *Truely* (saith he) *it seemeth not conuenient to me to proue the Acts of the Councell by the Councell, &c. but if all the Acts of the Councell be definitions of faith, when some produce many Decrees of the holie Fathers and Synods; on the contrarie part, see what a thing it is (this schisme still hanging, and in so great varietie of things and opinions, and controuersies of learned men) to ordaine so many articles of faith, whereas it seemeth vnto me to be not onely conuenient but necessarie, that those other constitutions or determinations which they affirme to be alledged by*

Nicholaus Clemangis in lib. de corrupto Ecclesie statu.

Idem in Epist. de Theolog. studio.

Idem in Tractatu contra Simoniacos.

Idem contra nona Sanctorum festa.

Idem ad Scolasticum Parisiense.

*others in the contrarie part, should be interpreted in behalfe of the truth and of faith, and proued not to be contrarie to these, least otherwise the Church might seeme to erre in matter of faith, determining the contrarie. And whereas you say, That the Decrees of the Fathers are not wont to depend vpon reason. Truely, with your good leaue be it spoken, if the question be of faith, or matter in controuersie, it is their manner to rest themselves vpon reasons especially drawne out of the Scriptures, or the definitions of the holie Fathers, from whose footsteps they depart not without great reason, &c. And as for that place of *Saint Augustine*, which you alledge, &c. I should not beleue the Gospell if the authoritie of the Church did not compell me. Truely it seemes strange at the first view, that he should seeme to preferre the authoritie of the Church traouelling vpon the earth, before the authoritie of the Gospell, since in many things that may be deceiued, this neuer; and that the authoritie of the Church, as touching the root and foundation thereof, consist principally of the Gospell: neither can the institution, power, edification thereof, be drawne from any other, so expressly and certainly, as from the Gospell; especially since *Paul* himselfe saith thereof, *If an Angell from heauen preach vnto you otherwise, let him be accursed: otherwise, that is, a contrarie Gospell.* He therefore answereth, That *S. Augustine* neuer thought any such thing, but was to deale with the Maniches, who had their Scriptures proper to themselves, and receiued not ours. As if he should say, *It is not out of mine owne particular iudgement, that I receiue the Gospell for Canonically Scripture, but the authoritie of the Church which hath acknowledged it to be such: That is to say, of the Primitiue and Apostolike Church, which hath appointed the Canon of the Scriptures, some of those being yet liuing that writ them, Apostles, Euangelists, Disciples of the Apostles, who could giue testimonie to the truth of these Scriptures, that this or that man was the Author of this or that booke, being directed by the spirit of God; which being inspired from above, ought to be the rule of our faith and Church. To be brieue* (saith he) *thou art not ignorant, that both Christ our Law-maker, and his Apostles preaching the law and faith vnto vs, alledged many times their proofes out of the old Testament, and the sayings of the Fathers and Prophets, to confirme their owne: than which we can propose vnto our selues no example more certaine for our imitation, since his actions are a most infallible instruction of our manners and actions, &c. And therefore it is not their parts who hold the Councell, by a certaine bolnesse and libertie to doe what pleaseth them; to thinke with themselves, wee are the generall Councell, let vs carrie our selues boldly, we cannot erre. They that were at the Councell of Pisa defined, and caused it to be published, That they, by a new election, at the instance of certaine ambitious men, had taken away the schisme, and restored the peace of the Church. And yet who is so blind in the Church, that by experience of things apparently seeth not how much this opinion deceived both themselves & the whole Church? For* (saith he) *of what kind of men for the most part doe Councells consist? doubtlesse of Lawyers (Canonists) rather than Diuines, of temporal persons, whose care is of the things of this world, not spirituall. How then canst thou hope for a reformation of the Church from them? If then* (saith he) *they assemble themselves for the recouerie of the temporall peace of the Church, there is no necessitie that we should presently beleue that they are come together in the name of Christ: First, because they know not whether it be expedient for the health of the Church, and that Christ hath determined by this meanes to heale this diuision. For what else are temporall afflictions, wherewith the Church is oppressed, but bitter potions and medicines, whereby temporall auarice, pride, and wantonnesse, is beaten downe? And who will say, that they are assembled in the name of Christ, who with this mind seeke the vnitie of the Church? who neuertheless are so many that they can hardly be numbred. These carnall sonnes of the Church doe not onely**

not

not care for spirituall things, nor haue any feeling of them, but persecute those that are according to the spirit, as since the time of iust Abel, whom carnall Kaine murdered, it hath euer beene, and will be to the worlds end. These are they who for temporall commodities flee to the Church, and liuing like secular men, conet and scrape, and rob, desiring to beare rule, but not to serue, glorying in their superiortie, oppressing their inferiours, reioycing in their owne pride and luxurie. They account gaine goalinesse, and are alwayes readie to doe and endure whatsoeuer for the encrease of their temporalties, howsoeuer they are gotten; scorning and laughing at those that are willing to liue iustly, holily, chastly, innocently, spirituallly. To be brieue, they thinke none other learned men to be profitable to the Church, but such as haue learnt profitable sciences: with such the Church at this day is full, that almost in euery Chapter and Colledge none other can hardly be found. Since therefore no other are accounted in these dayes wise in the Church, but these temporall persons, and all things are swayed according to their disposition, if any are to be sent either to the Court of Rome, or of any other secular Princes, or to the Councell, in hope of greater preferment, after which they gape by fauours and intercessions, with great importunitie they labour to be sent. For what doe these temporall men but seeke for temporall things, thinke of temporall gaine? Can we thinke that such will endeuour the reformation of the Church in manners and discipline, and honestie of life, who thinke that reformation their greatest calamitie, and desire nothing so much as that it may be lawful for them to doe whatsoeuer pleaseth them freely, without feare of punishment, &c. And here hee describethem at large. But what concludes he hereupon? Truly since the Prophet saith, *Vpon whom shall my spirit rest but vpon the humble, and him that trembleth at my words,* wee must not looke that these Councells should be ruled by the spirit of God, where the Decrees depend vpon voyces, where for the most part carnall, ambitious, contentious persons, puffed vp with vaine knowledge, where subiects ill prepared to receiue the spirit of God, where the workes of the flesh, contentions, emulations, clamors, beare sway: since it is sayd quite contrarie, *The eyes of the Lord are vpon the righteous: Yea since our auncient Fathers when they went about to celebrat a Councell, to the end they might the better obtain the assistance of Gods spirit therein, prepared themselues, with prayer, fasting, teares, contrition of heart, humilitie of spirit, searching and inquiring into the verie inward parts of their selues, least they should offend any way therein, that might auert his presence, and whereby he should not speake more in them than they themselues. If (saith he) they had by experience found, that they could not be deceiued in those matters for which they were assembled, what need was there of such diligence? &c. Since therefore the whole congregation assembled doth many times depend vpon the voyce and opinion of one man, why, as that one man may be deceiued in his iudgement, may not likewise the whole multitude, especially if out of humane presumption, or any other grieuous crime, it deserue to be deceiued? Is it not onely proper vnto God to doe all things rightly, and neuer to be deceiued? But thou repliest (saith he) That in that the Councell cannot erre, it proceedeth not from humane infirmitie, but the power of the holie Ghost. Doe thou tell me againe, how thou knowest that the holie Ghost will alwayes giue his assistance to the greatest part, &c. especially since the greatest part is commonly the worse, &c. In the Councell of Achab the holie Prophet of the Lord, Micha, was present, who without feare spake that which the spirit of God suggested vnto him, but yet could persuade nothing with the king, and the rest of the false Prophets, who spake out of their own spirit and vnderstanding, &c. Read in the Prophecie of Ieremiah what the Lord spake of his Temple, against those who falsely persuaded themselues that God would neuer forsake it for their iniquities. Trust not in lying words, saying, It is the Temple of the Lord, &c. There.*

A Therefore this house is made a denne of theewes, whereupon my name is called before your eyes, Behold what I did to Shilo for the wickednesse of my people: Now therefore because ye haue done all these workes, and haue not heard me, I will doe vnto this house wherein ye trust, as I haue done vnto Shilo, and I will cast you out of my sight, &c. Now what is the Temple of the Lord, but the Church of God? For notwithstanding these things were spoken to the Iewes, and written for them, yet according to the Apostolicall tradition, in a figure they are spoken to Christians. But perhaps thou wilt yet say, That promises of God can neuer faile, where he hath bound himselfe to bee with his Church to the end of the world. I confesse indeed, that God can neuer faile of his promise; but where and with whom he is, by grace in his Church, it is not for vs, but for him to know. God knoweth (saith the Apostle) who are his, but we, how should we know it? The Church by grace may remaine in one simple woman, as it is sayd to be in the Virgine onely at the time of the Passion. Hath a Councell of Bishops in these times a greater authoritie and prerogative than the congregation of the Apostles, who all declined and went astray? Nay hath it a greater prerogative than the whole militant Church, which S. Augustine sayth cannot accomplish that which the Apostle saith, Offer it selfe a glorious Church, without spot or wrinkle, but onely in the celestiaall Ierusalem, where that shall be true that is written, They are without spot before the throne of God. What other cause can wee thinke there was, why those foure Councells, the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, first Ephesine, and that of Chalcedon, are accounted more holy, and had a greater veneration than the rest, but because they were assemblies of holie men, and such as came thither were so accounted, and therefore in them, and by them God manifested his holie will, &c. Such the spirit of God assembleth, such he assisteth, and is in the midst of them. At the last, to shew that such cuncts must not be looked for, from contrarie persons, he reciteth the historie related by vs in the former Progression, of the Owle, that in the Councell at Rome, celebrated by John the foure and twentieth, appeared after the inuocation of the holie Ghost. Thus did Clemangis write to this Scholeman, who was present at the Councell of Constance. To conclude, in his Epistles hee calls the Church of Rome a house of theewes, no other wise to be purged than with a whip, as the Temple once was: for what doth he differ from a theefe, who being entred by the breaches and ruines, to steale, brings others in by the same way? meaning the Pope. Truly the Church at this day is made a shop of ambition, trafficke, theft. The Sacraments, Orders, yea the Church it selfe, the Masse, the bodie of Christ, and all are set so sale, &c. It is become a publike faire, a brothell house, worse than the Synagogue, yea Babylon it selfe. For what doest thou thinke (saith he) of that prophecie of the Reuelation of S. Iohn? Doest thou not think that in some sort it belongs to thee? Thou art not growne so shamelesse as to denie it? Consider therefore of it, and read the damnation of the great strumpet sitting vpon many waters; there contemplating thy worthie Acts, &c. And a litle after, It is now long since that this thine arrogancie, not able to endure it selfe, began to fall, though slowly and by little and little, and therefore thy ruine not to be perceived of any; (that is to wit, as the light of the Gospell began to shine) but now thou fallest downe headlong like a riuer downe a hill. Much more, like vnto this, may you read in this Author, which I deler it suffice that I haue briefly collected. But yet I cannot omit an Epistle or declaration that he writ to that purpose to Gerard Market, a Doctor of Paris, the Argument whereof is this, *We are not onely to depart from Babylon with our affections, but with our bodily feet.* Which argument, for as much as he handles it excellently, according to that precept of our Lord in the Reuelation, *Goe out of Babylon my people, &c.* Let it not be troublefome to the Reader if I insert it wholly, and so much the rather, because our aduersaries could be content it were buried in their libera-

Nicol. Clemangis ad Germanum.

Jdem de ruina & reparations Ecclesie.

rics. That we are to flie out of Babylon, according to the admonition giuen in both Testaments, thou confessest; but thou wilt not haue that flight to bee understood corporally, changing the place, but spirittually, not imitating the corrupt manners of the wicked. Truly this is not amisse, but it sufficeth not for a full resolution of this question. We see the Patriarch Abraham was commaunded to depart out of his owne countrey, and from his kindred and fathers house, not onely in affection, but effect too; yea his bodily departure is first commaunded, and then he is enioyned to withdraw his verie mind and thoughts from it too. Lot, after he receiued a commaund to goe out of Sodome, because he was backward and slow in doing it, he was taken by the Angels and drawne forth with a kind of violence. The people of Israel were not commaunded to goe out of Egypt, because it was not in their libertie to doe it, because of their grieuous oppression; but by the commaundement of God giuen to Moses, and by the ministerie of Moses obeying God, they were led forth with a strong hand, not onely by a departure of affections, but by a March on foot too. Now by the circumstance of these places, it is easie to note for what causes this was done. Abraham was commaunded to goe forth of Chaldea, wherein he was borne, because the inhabitants of the countrey were Idolaters: Lot was constrained to goe out of Sodome, because they were wicked men, and that hee might escape that destruction that hung ouer their heads for their sinnes: The Hebrewes were led out of Egypt by Moses and Aaron, not onely because of that intolerable seruitude they endured in their bodies, but much more for the saluation of their soules, because the Egyptians were giuen to vaine superstitions, and it was not there lawfull for the Israelites to sacrifice vnto the Lord. And therefore in these words of our Lord, so often repeated by Moses to Pharao by his commaundement, this cause is openly exprest, *Let my people goe, that they may sacrifice vnto me. I doe not thinke therefore thou wilt denie, except thou wilt openly contradict the Scriptures, that wee must depart out of Babylon not onely with our liues and conuersations, but with our feet too; since that there, with sound manners, with integritie of conscience, with the obseruation of the commaundements of God, it is not lawfull to liue; and least we being altogether unable to resist the corrupt and wicked maners of the Babylonians, violently carrying all things headlong with them, they put vpon vs their manners. The nature of man by its owne corruption is prone vnto euill, and good men are more easly drawne into error by the wicked, than the manners of the wicked mended by the good. Vice, be it neuer so pernicious and dangerous, by little and little growes into custom, and whilest it stealingly creeps into vs, it growes and increaseth. Errours when they are made publicke change their names, and take vpon them the laudible titles of vertue and wisdom. For to omit those grieuous sinnes which a man may not lawfully name, (but yet is lawfull for God to punish with his vengeance) behold rapine and robbrie by a publicke impunitie, are not accounted vices, which vntill now were wont to be punished with death. Now who is he that can liue there in health, sound and free, where not onely things vniust are permitted, but where a man is constrained by all sorts of punishment, the most cruell that may be, to beleue, to say, to follow, to embrace as iust and laudible, that which is most vniust, most wicked? who can be sober, who would not abhorre to liue where all are madde? who can be so confident vpon his owne strength, that he should hope in the midst of the fire not to burne, or in the midst of a shipwracke not to be drowned? But perhaps thou wilt say, That the furnace of Babylon burnes onely the kings ministers, not the children of God. Let that man boldly applie that historie to himselfe, that is like to those holie children, that may with reason expect that God should bridle the force of a fire so furious and consuming, to preserue him. The furnace of Babylon burnt onely the ministers that kindled it. Consider diligently whether they are of the number of these ministers, that put fire to the furnace, that are constrained to consent, to follow, to*

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aproue the things that belong to the kindling thereof, and that dare not resist it when they would, which whosoever doe, to vse the words of the Apostle, are worthe of death, not onely they that doe them, but they that consent to those that doe them. God was afraid of faithfull Abraham least he should be burnt in Vr, a citie of the Chaldees, for then as thou seest, the fire was already kindled. He was afraid of holie Lot, least he should be corrupted with the companie of the wicked, and so should be partaker of their destruction: And yet we in the midst of the furnace of Babylon, burning aboue wonted measure, secure our selues from all daunger, and flatter our selues with the deliuerie of the three children; as if the case were allone with vs, that as the flame of the burning furnace was extinguished with the dew of heauen that it could not offend them, so no flame of euill concupiscence, no sparke of wickednesse, no heat of publique error, no furie of violence, no fire of licentiousnesse and euill custome, in the midst of the conflagration of all wickednesse, can touch vs. Turne ouer the whole Canonickall Historie, and thou shalt not find that God hath euer poured downe his vengeance vpon any Babylonicall Congregation of wicked men, but that first consulting with the righteous, if any were amongst them, he seperated them from the wicked, not onely in their owne heartie desires, but the place too, least being couered with the wicked, as it were vnder the same roofe, they should perish in the same destruction. When all flesh by sinne being corrupted, the whole world was to perish by an inundation of waters, God first commaunded Noah to build the Arke, and so to seperate himselfe with some small number of those that belonged vnto him, from those sinners that were to perish in the flood, that they might be saued. Lot as I sayd before being led by the ministracion of Angels out of Sodome, which was to be consumed with fire from heauen, before that tempest of fire should fall, for feare least he should perish with the wicked, they said vnto him, Make hast to saue thy selfe in the mountaine, for I can do nothing vntill thou come there. The people of Israel were deliuered from the tyrannie of the Egyptians, and had passed the Sea on drie foot, before the Egyptians were ouerwhelmed in the red Sea. Before Dathan and Abiron and the rest of their confederats were swallowed up in the bottomlesse gulfe, the earth opening vnder them, Moses said to the rest of the people that were innocent of that conspiracie, Depart from the Tabernacles of these wicked men, and touch nothing that belongs vnto them, least you be entangled in their sinnes. When Saule by the commaundement of the Lord was to destroy Amaleck, and the Kenites friends to that people, were remaining amongst the Amalekites, Saule said vnto them, Goe, depart and get you downe from among the Amalekites, least I destroy you with them, for yee shewed mercie to all the children of Israel when they came vp from Egypt. To conclude, old Tobias dying in the sinfull citie of Nininie, hauing called vnto him young Tobias his sonne, and his children, said vnto them, The destruction of Nininie is at hand, for the word of the Lord shall surely come to passe; Heare me therefore my sonnes and stay not heere, but so soone as you haue buried your mother by me, prepare your selues to be gone from this place, for I see that the wickednesse of this Citie will hasten her end. Do not therefore so restrain those things, that in the book of God are either done or commaunded to be done to a mystical vnderstanding, that they be altogether vaine and vnprofitable as touching the imitation of the Historie. That flight wherewith the Prophet Ieremie, and the Euangelist S. Iohn exhort to goe out of Babylon, thou saiest is not to be vnderstood of the feet, but of the affections. I confesse with thee that we may so vnderstand it without absurdities, but how dost thou proue that it may not be vnderstood of a local departure? Thou wilt say perhaps, because there is no place where Babylon is not, There is no Citie that is not drunken with the cup of Babylon. Tell me I pray you, haue you travelled through all places, haue you scene all Citie, that you can giue so absolute a sentence of euerie corner? Take heed how by one certain place knowne to your selfe, you measure others which you haue not scene.

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seene. If the crye of any place, or of the sinnes thereof shall ascend to the eares of God, and call for vengeance, for which cause God shall afflict that Province or Citie, doost thou therefore thinke that he will poure downe the like vengeance upon other Provinces and Cities? Doost thou not thinke that there remains among the rest, some little Zoar, wherein a Lot flying the furie of the fire may be saved? They whom God hath purposed to save in any grievous affliction, are commaunded sometimes to flie to their enemies countries, as in the 16 of the Prophecie of Esaiiah, he saith to Moab, Let my banished dwell with thee Moab, be thou their covert from the face of the destroyer. To be brieve, our Saviour himselfe did flie from the face of cruell Herod, thirsting for his bloud, into Egypt an auntient enemy to his people, there in a safe corner attending the death of that cruell persecutor; he confirming by his owne example, what he was afterward to give in commaund to his Disciples. If they shall persecute you in one citie, flie into another. And least, seeking occasion not to flie, they should answer, That there were no cities to which they could retire themselves: See how he taketh away this excuse, Verely I say vnto you, that you shall not goe to all the cities of Israell vntill the sonne of man come: plainly insinuating thereby, that there should be alwaies cities, dedicated to the honour of his name, vnto which in times of persecution they might flie, vntill he should come as the last iudgement. Now what persecution is more to be auoyded than that which constraines men to doe that which is wicked, execrable, and contrarie to the law of God, to good maners, to the instructions of our holie Fathers? And againe, the commaundment of our Saviour, as it not to be applied herunto? whereby he imposeth upon all Preachers, that if they shall come to preach in any citie, that will not receive their message, they should presently depart from thence, shaking the dust off their feet, that they might depart from thence pure and free from all pollution, no way defiled with the companie and conuersation of the wicked. Now he that commaunds this of such a place, what doost thou thinke he would haue said of that, wherein not onely sound doctrine is not received, but where such are cruelly persecuted as contradict their wills, yea rather their madnesse? What wilt thou doe then, where if thou propose any thing that is good, no man will obey it? And if any man commit any wickednesse, thou shalt bee constrained to imitate it; where if thou give a sound iudgement of any thing, they will say thou art besides thy selfe; if thou bee furious and madd, they will thinke thee wise; and if thou withstand the violence of their peruerseesse, thou shalt get vnto thy selfe without any other fruit, an implacable hatred, with the daunger of thy life. What is it to bee made drunken with the cup of Babylon, but by a long conuersation there, to bee so infected with the contagion of Babylon, as following the wandring multitude, to embrace falshood for truesh, vice for vertue, follie for wisedom, like madd men; and to chuse rather to bee a foole with the enraged multitude, than to bee wise alone with mockerie and daunger? For whereas thou sayest, That that man flieth from Babylon, according to the exhortation of the Prophet, who lying in the midst of a wicked and peruerse Nation, differeth neuertheless from them in his life and conuersation: Know that this flight suffiseth, so long as the force of the furie compelleth not a man to wickednesse, and so long as Gods mercie tollerateth the sinnes of the place, not yet growne to their full height of corruption. But where their state is desperate, and past hope of amendement, they admit no counsell, no remedie, no wholesome helpe whatsoever, but refusing to be cured, they rage like madd men, and from all parts they send up a continuall crye vnto God for the destruction of that place: whatsoever therefore hee be that abideth long time in that place, and feareth not that vengeance of God that hangeth ouer that place, how different soener hee be in manners, hee is madd. Neither is it lawfull for him that differeth in manners to live there, where

B

C

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E

A the plague of corruption is growne to that strength, that all are infected with the contagion thereof, especially the cure being remediless. Is he different in manners, that hauing drunke of the cup of Babylon, become corrupted with her person, polluted with her sinnes, carried with her rage, is constrained to approue with commendation, consent, imitation, those things that are done by wicked men, not daring to open his mouth to the contrarie, or to oppose himselfe with any freedom of conscience? Thou askest whether thou canst goe where thou shalt not find a confused Babylon, and thou seest no quiet resting place, or contented abode for a peaceable mind: as if Babylon were not in thy mind too. For what mind canst thou euer make me instance of, so peaceable settled and contented, in which, I will not say sometimes, or often, but euerie day and houre, there is not some iarre, some conflict, wherein the tempestuous stormes of perturbations doe not arise, which the blustering winds of pride doe tosse, the murmuring noyse of diuers passions doth not disquiet, and wherein there are not many times horrible and furious tempests; in so much that it is needfull for vs daily to crye out, Lord saue vs, we perish. Thence it was that one speaking of a mind meditating heauenly things, and not earthly (which therefore he called heauen) sayd, and not ineligantly, though in meetre:

Confusa sunt hic omnia
Spes, metus, moeror, gaudium,
Vix hora vel dimidia
Fit in caelo silentium.

All things are confused here,
Sorrow, joy, hope, and feare,
Scarce for a moment of time
Peace in heauen can we find.

C If thou seeke here an assured settled rest in all respects, thou seekest a knot in a rush, as one sayd, and thou shalt neuer find it, either within or without thee. All things are full of warre, confusion, danger, euerie thing compassed with snares and subtilties, neither canst thou retire thee within thy selfe but they follow thee. But yet notwithstanding, though there be something of Babylon euerie where, yet that Babylon is not euerie where that is the mother of the fornications and abominations of the earth; whose iudgement, as John saith, is ascended up to the heauens, which hath made drunken all the nations with the wine of her whoredome, and constraineth all her inhabitants to commit fornication, to blaspheme, to eat things sacrificed to Idols, to worship the dragon: with which impieties who soener is polluted, how can he find peace within himselfe, except he hate the fornications of that whore, forsake, condemne, desest them: to which who soener shall adhere, is made one bodie with her, because so long as he conuerseth with her, hee cannot bee freed from her manners, being by force and furie drawne vnto them. But if thou shouldest habitate of cities, and the course of people, as being infected with a Babylonish contagion, there are secret places seuered from cities, fit for the seruice of God, religious, approved, deuout Monasteries, sanouring rather of Ierusalem than Babylon. To bea brieue, if thou feare all humane companie, there are solitarie places wherein thou mayest dwell with thy selfe, and retire thy selfe to thine owne heart, liue to thy selfe, haue onely God to be a witnesse and companion of thy life, where at the last thou mayest more easily and more happily find that peace of thy mind which thou professest is so much to thy desire.

In the same stile writ master John Gerson the Chauncellor of the Vniuersitie, who

Gerson in Tractat. de potestate Ecclesiastica confid. 10. & 11

In Tractat. de Anseribilitate Paup. confid. 4. 9. 10. 11. 14. 15. 16. 18.

Item in propositione sacrae coram Anglicis eunibus ad Concil. confid. 4. Item in Tractatu an liceat in causis fidei appellare Paup. Item in Tractatu de examine doctinarum.

Item in propositione utilit. ad extirp. schismat.

Item in regul. moral.

Item de loco
Pauli ad Theſſ.
ſal. in Tractatu
de ſignu ruine
Eccleſie.

Gerſon. de vita
ſpirituſi aie.
Lect. 2. Corol. 7.
to. 3. num. 61.

Item in Tractatu
an liceat in
cauſis fidei a
ſummo Pontific.
appellare pro-
pof. 3. tom. 1.
num. 14. ſub
ſincm.

Gerſon. de exa-
mine doctrinar.

Gerſon. de exa-
mine doctrinar.
conſid. 5. tom. 1.

Vide Tractatu
de Eccleſia.

Iohan. Gerſon.
in Tractatu de
Indulgentiis.

Idem de abſo-
lutione ſacra-
mentali.

who was likewise present at that Councell: for I leaue to ſpeake of his inue-
ſtiues in many places, *Againſt humane traditions*, becauſe we haue ſpoken there-
of elſewhere; and likewise againſt the corruption of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline,
and the ſimonies of the Court of Rome, in ſelling graces and dignities, which
they call ſpirituall, becauſe all theſe are couered vnder a pretext of the intalli-
bilitie either of the Church or of the Pope. But this in diuers his treatiſes he
cloſely, yet elegantly, teacheth, *That the Pope can erre and abuſe that power com-
mitted vnto him, to the ruine of the Church: That he can proſtitute and oppreſſe it,
fall into ſchiſme, hereſie, idolatrie, in which caſe he may bee corrected by the mea-
neſt Lay-man that profeſſeth the Goſpell: That hee may be reprobued, repreſed, depoſed,
by a Councell repreſenting the Church; ſince the Church (ſaith he) can ſubiſt with-
out the Pope, without his miniſteriall head, and yet bee gouerned well ynough by
Chriſt the Spouſe of the Church: For it is not ſayd (ſaith he) when you are aſſem-
bled in the name of Peter, or of the Pope, but, In my name, &c. And this doctrine
hath diſpleaſed many, but the Councells of Conſtance and Baſil haue freed the Church
from this pernitiouſ hereſie which placeth the Pope aboue the Church. So farre hee
proceedeth, by reaſon of thoſe inconueniences he found thereby, that hee alled-
geth ſome caſes wherein it is lawfull to make an aſſault vpon his owne per-
ſon. But becauſe hee handleth theſe propoſitions in whole Treatiſes, we will
content our ſelues with the quotations in the margent. Touching the queſ-
tion, Whether the Pope be aboue the Councell and the Church, he perempto-
rily ſaith, *That it is as much as if one ſhould aſke, whether the part bee greater
than the whole: That the Pope is ſubiect to the Church: That the keyes are properly gi-
uen to the Church, and not to Saint Peter, much leſſe to the Pope.* The Church in the
meane time ſubiect and bound to the holie Scriptures. *Neither is it (ſaith he)
in the power of the Pope or Councell to change traditions giuen by the Euangelists
and Paul, as ſome doe doze: Yea we are to giue more credit in a caſe of doctrine to the
aſſertion of a ſimple man, learned in the Scriptures, than the declaration of the Pope:
For it is manifeſt, that we are rather to beleene the Goſpell than the Pope: In ſo much
that any ſuch learned man being preſent at the Councell, ought to oppoſe himſelfe a-
gainſt him, if hee ſhall perceiue the greater part againſt the Goſpell, either by malice
or ignorance, to decline from the truth. And toucing that place of *Auguſtine, I
would not beleene the Goſpell but that the authoritie of the Church moueth mee there-
unto: He meaneth (ſaith he) the Primitiue congregation of the faithfull, who had
ſcene and heard Chriſt, and were witneſſes vnto him.* Neither is it in the power
of Pope or Biſhop, of a propoſition not hereticall or not Catholike, to make it her-
eticall, or Catholike. All which Theſes deſtroy the tyrannie of the Pope and the
Church of Rome, with thoſe inuentions likewise, and vſurpations, which vn-
der the cloke of his pretended authoritie they brought into the Church. Let
the Reader here note, That this was then the doctrine of the Vniuerſitie of Pa-
ris, yea the Sorboniſts themſelues. We haue elſewhere quoted many places, by
which it may appeare how much they deſpaired of the reformation of the
Church, by reaſon of the malignitie of the Popes and Prelats. Touching In-
dulgences, he ſaith, *Chriſt is the onely Pope that can grant thoſe Indulgences for a thou-
ſand thouſand dayes and yeares, &c. Againe, Perhaps ſuch enormous graunts haue
bene inuented by wicked men, who ſeek their owne gaine. And againe, The graunt of
Indulgences will hardly be taken away, &c. ſince it is moſt certaine, that Purgatorie ends
with the world, & conſequently the daies of their puniſhments. Again, Thoſe inſtitutions
of Indulgences for twentie thouſand yeares, and the like, to him that ſhall ſay ſine Pater no-***

ſters

A ſters before ſuch an Image, &c. are ſottiſh and ſuperſtitious, and contrarie to the truth,
&c. At theſe fooleries all men in thoſe dayes began to bend their browes.

But in this ſermon intituled, *Of the ruines of the Church*, he manifeſtly proueth
the fearefull iudgement of God to be then at hand. The ſignes which he ſetteth
downe are theſe, Firſt, 2. *Theſſalonians 2. The diſſipation of the Roman Empire*; be-
twixt which and the perſecutions of Antichriſt (following therein S. Hierome) he
ſetteth downe no diſtance of time: *And now (ſaith he) the ſtate of the vniuerſall
Church is ſo doubtfull, that it knoweth not on which ſide the See of Rome is, except per-
haps God ſhould reueale it to ſome one, or the iudgement of Salomon, touching the diui-
ding of the infant into two parts, giue vs to vnderſtand who is the true mother.* Second-

B ly *Impudencie*, wherein, as touching maners, it is worſe than the Synagogue, when
the ruine thereof approached; for that permitted Pigeons to be ſold in the Tem-
ple, and this ſells Spirituall charges for money; that honoured God but with the
lips onely, this diſhonours God both in word and deed, taking no care at all to
couer her owne ſhame. Thirdly *Inequalitie*, or rather Iniquitie, the like whereof
was neuer amongſt the miniſters of the Church, the vnworthie being exalted, the
worthie trod vnder foot; ſome ſet aboue Princes, others more contemptible than
the baſeſt of the people: And from hence ariſe ſchiſmes in the Church. Fourth-
ly, *The pride of the Prelats*, which purchaſeth rather hatred than reuerence: And
from hence ariſe ſchiſmes in the Church. Fifthly, *The tyrannie of thoſe that beare rule*,

C who feed not the flocke, but themſelues, they deuour the fleſh, and plucke off the
skinne. Sixthly, *The troubles of Princes, and commotion of the people*, which we haue
experience of in ſo many kingdomes and Prouinces. Seventhly, *The reſuſal of cor-
rection in the Principall of the Clergie*, who deteſt thoſe that reprehend them, hold
the Scriptures for a fable, and thoſe that meditate thereupon for fantaſticall per-
ſons. Eightly, *Noveltie of opinions*, from whence ariſe hereſies, ſchiſmes are de-
fended, and being defended take root, &c. And this he applies to thoſe that ac-
commodat the Scriptures to their owne aſſertions, make them ſpeake according
to that loue or hatred, hope of advancement, or reuenge, wherewith they are carried: *And
ſome of them, vpon euerie light occaſion, call them hereſies whom they neuer knew to be
ſainted with hereſie.* All which ſignes he rehearſeth, and compareth them with o-

D thers of former times, which being confirmed by the examples of his age, and the
threats of the auncient Prophets, he applyeth to the preſent ſtate of the Church.

Of the ſame opinion were diuers others, in diuers parts of the world. In Ger-
manie *Theodoricus Vrius*, an *Auguſtine*, in his worke of the conſolation of the
Church, eſpecially in his third book, where inuicing againſt the wickedneſſe there-
of, the whoredome, ſimonie, ambition, contempt of the word of God, neg-
lect of the ſaluation of mankind, he pronounceth the Pope to be the forerunner
of Antichriſt. Yea wee haue his verſes recited by *Paulus Langius* in his *Chro-
nicle*, not vnworthie the reading, in number eighteen, whereof theſe are the

E firſt:

*Papa ſtupor mundi cecidit ſecumque ruere
Cœlica ſempta Dei, membra ſimulque caput, &c.*

The Pope, the worlds aſtoniſhment, is dead,
With him are falne Gods houſe, members and head, &c.

Wherein he deſcribeth how the Pope hath drawne the whole Church with
himſelf into ruine, ſupplying the place of *Simon Magus*, not *Simon Peter*: That the
Churches

Gerſon. de ſignis
ruine Eccleſie.

Theodor. Vrius
in conſolatione
Eccleſie. lib. 3.
Idem apud
Paulum Langium
in Chron.
Citizenſ.

Churches vnder his gouernment were fairs of treacherie, wherein the Sacraments and all holie things were put to open sale: That the Church of Rome grew euerie day worse & worie, of a golden Church was become a filuer, of a filuer an yron, of an yron an earthly & durtie Church; in so much that nothing now remained, but that it wold likewise turne into a stinking dung-hill. And yet such a Church it was at that time, when neuerthelesse it made a beauriful & a glorious shew. There was likewise another, one *Theodoricus* a Minorite, Bishop of Croatia, who foretold in a certaine prophesie written in verse, That this See polluted with so much corruption, should shortly come to naught, and the Pope be vtterly ouerthrowne, euen by those that had extolled him: and that contrarily the Church, and in her true pietie, should recover her pristinat beautie more than before. *Petrus Dresdensis* likewise, and *Iacobus Misnensis*, the Disciples of the auncient Waldenses, were for this cause banished their country, who repaired to *John Hus*, who, as *Aeneas Siluius* saith, gaue him great light in many principall poynts. In Italie it selfe *Nicholus Luccensis*, a Carmelite, and Doctor of Diuinitie, was not afraid, out of the pulpet at Lucca, in the presence of *Gregorie* the twelfth, to preach against his and the Papall tyrannie: whereupon he was cast into prison; and hardly got out againe, notwithstanding that fauour and helpe he had from the gouernour; and from thence forward he was put to silence. Besides infinit numbers of all estates and conditions, whom euerie where with exquisite torments they put to death in France, England, and elsewhere: some shut vp in barrells, some hanged on gibbets, some burnt, whose memorie remains in the bookes of their aduersaries themselves, *Waldensis*, *Baptista Panetus*, *Walsingham*, and others: Amongst whom we must not forget *John Oldcastle*, a nobleman of England, heire by right of his wife to the Lord *Cobham*, A man (saith *Walsingham*) *Regi propter probitatem charus & acceptus*, in great fauour with king *Henric*, the fift for his honestie, and likewise renowned for his valour and great knowledge in feats of armes; who in the yeare 1413. is in the historie called the Protector and defender of the Lollards (for that name or title was giuen to all those who protested against the corruptions of the Church) who sent into the Diocesses of London, Rochester, Hereford, some to publish the truth of the Gospell, without the leaue and license of the Ordinaries, who were especially in their sermons to confute the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Sacrament of Penitence, Perigrinations, the worshipping of Images, the Keyes vsurped by the Church of Rome. For these speciall heads the Author reciteth. Hee therefore reporteth, That *Oldcastle* being by the authoritie of theking committed to the Tower of London, and being brought before the Archbishop of Canturburie, hee tooke out of his bosome a copie of the confession of his Faith, and deliuered it vnto him to read; which the Archbishop hauing read, said, *That it contained in it much good and Catholike matter, but yet he must satisfie him touching other poynts, that is to say, the abouenamed, but especially that that concerned the power of the Pope and Cardinals, and the Roman Hierarchie: which Oldcastle refused not to doe, but ingeniously professed withall, That the Pope was true Antichrist, that is, his head; the Archbishopps, Bishops, and other Prelats, his members; the Eriers, his tayle. And astouching the other poynts, They are ordinances* (sayth he) *of the Church of Rome, made against the Scriptures, after that it grew rich, and the poison had dispersed it selfe therein, and not before.* The place it selfe is worthie the reading, that we may acknowledge the agreement of their doctrine with ours, against which no man can call. Wherefore the Archbishop pronounced *Oldcastle* an heretike, and excommunicated

Theodor. Minorita in propheta vna cum pluribus alijs ritibus impressa.

Theodor. à Nyem. de schismate l. 3.

Thom. Waldens. in Fasciculo Zinzionorum. Baptista Panetus in Chron. & in sermone. Thom. Walsingham in Chron. an. 1413. Henr. 5.

Idem in Prodromate Nestoris an. 1413.

communicated him, requiring the secular power for the putting of him to death: But the king proceeding slowly and unwillingly in this businesse, he escaped out of prison; to whom there gathered a great multitude, to haue freed him from that danger, who were almost all put to the sword, and such amongst them as were taken prisoners, as well Clergie as Lay, vnder a pretence of heresie, were put to death, whose constancie appears in these words, *That the greatest part of them, nec quidem poenitere curabant, tooke no care to repent.* If wee may credit *Walsingham*, there were not then lesse than an hundred thousand, who made publike profession of this doctrine. Another Annalist in few words sayth, *That Oldcastle was not afraid in the Parliament to say, That England would neuer be at peace vntill the Popes power were banished beyond the seas.* And learned and eloquent as he was, he caused many bookes to be scattered in the streets, against the inuocation of Saints, auricular confession, the single life of Priests, Transubstantiation, and other abuses of the Church of Rome; for which cause being led prisoner to London, at the last he was burnt.

But there comes now vpon the stage, euen with open faces, *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of Prague, men, by the testimonies of their aduersaries themselves, renowned for their learning and godlike conuersation; who being called to publike charge in the Church, did publicly preach against the abuses of the Church of Rome, euen those that we in these dayes detest and abjure; namely, against the tyrannie

of the Pope, whom, as their owne Iudges doe testifie, they called Antichrist. *Aeneas Siluius* himselfe, who was afterwards Pope *Pius* the second, sayth, With the sound of their voyce, the spirit of God assisting, the word of God thundering in them, the people were awakened out of their dead sleepe, ran by flockes to this great light, enuiting likewise their neighbours from diuers parts. And whereas about that verie time Pope *John the fowre and twentieth* had granted a full remission of sinnes to all that would beare armes in defence of the Church of Rome, against *Ladislans* king of Naples; Certaine mecanicall persons (saith *Pius* the second) bearing this, published with a loud voyce, *Pope John to be Antichrist, bearing the crosse against Christians.* These good Fathers in the meane time assembled at the Councell of Constance,

for the reformation, as they sayd, of the Church, as well in the head as in the members, who should haue beene stirred vp thereunto by the sound of these Heraulds, vnder a pretence of fidelitie, as much as in them lay suppress and oppress them. Being therefore called to the Councell, vnder the trust of a safeconduct granted by the Emperour *Sigismond*, who had called that Councell, there to give a reason of their doctrine, they willingly came: but presently they were cast into prison, declared heretikes, and in the end burnt aliue, *John Hus* first, and *Hierome* about a yeare after: These Fathers leauing this Decree for an example and law to all posteritie, *Hereticis non seruandam fidem.* That we are not to keepe faith to Heretikes.

For such they accounted all those, as we haue seene, that withstood their opinions, euen in matters meereley ciuile: and that not without an apparent purpose to cut off all hope of a reformation of the Church by a free and lawfull Councell. *Siluius* telleth vs, That they were admonished not to thinke themselves more wise than the Church; and that it would be easie for them to obtaine an honourable place in the Church, if they would renounce their opinions. In which meanes of conuerring, we may easily note the stile of that auncient Doctor tempting our Sauour in the desert. But they answer (saith *Pius*) *That they teach the truth, being the disciples of Christ, directing themselves according to his spell: That the Church of Rome, with other Churches in the world, were departed from the*

Iohannes Capgravius l. 2. de Nobilibus Henrici.

Aeneas Siluius in historia Bohemiae c. 35.

cap. 35.

cap. 36.

tradi-

traditions of the Apostles: That they all sought after riches and pleasure, and dominion over the people; consumed in wickednesse and luxurie the goods destined to the poore people of Christ: That they either knew not the commaundments of God, or if they knew them, made little account of them. These are Pius the second his own words, in which who acknowledged not the voyce of truth? He addeth immediatly, The principall men of this great Synod perceiuing the obstinacie and immouable courage of these miserable men, gaue sentence, That putrified members of the Church, which could not be healed, were to be cut off, least they should infect the whole bodie (putrified members, because they accuse their putrifaction.) In the assemblee therefore it was concluded, That such were to be burned that reiected the doctrine of the Church. So that they who held that it belonged not to Ecclesiastical persons to sentence any man to death, by the testimonie of Pius himselfe, were their iudges in this case. Touching the sentence pronounced against Hus, he exprefly saith, That he appealed from them to Christ Iesus the soueraigne Iudge; which was not the least part of their crime. But as touching their death, Both of them (saith Pius) suffered death with a constant mind, and went ioyfully to the fire, as if they had bene invited to a feast; neither of them yeelding any one word that might discover any shew of heauinesse, or a discontented mind. When they began to burne, they began to sing a hymne, which hardly the flame and noise of the fire could let to be heard. Neuer haue we read of any of the Philosophers that suffered death with better resolution, and greater courage, than these endured the fire. Poggius a Florentine, an honorable writer of our age, writes an eloquent Epistle of the death of Hierome, to Nicholus Nicholai, though he seeme, according to his maner, to inueigh a little against the manners of the Clergie. This Poggius whom hee here alledgeth, who was Secretarie to the Councell, writ an Epistle to Leonard Aretine, which for as much as it is worthie the reading, I haue here thought good to set down at large.

Poggius Constans Secretar. in Epist. ad Leonard Aretinum.

Soiourning for many dayes at the Bathes (saith he) I writ from thence a letter to our friend Nicholus, which I thinke you haue read: Afterwards, some few dayes after my returne to Constance, the cause of Hierome, whom they tearme an heretike, was heard, and that publikely; which I haue thought good to relate vnto you, both for the weightinesse of the matter, and especially for the eloquence and learning of the man. I confesse I haue neuer seene any man, that in pleading a cause, especially that concerned his life, who hath come neerer to those auuncient Orators we haue so much admired. It is a wonderfull thing to see with what words, what eloquence, what arguements, what cariage, what countenance, what confidence, he answered his aduersaries; and at the last concluded his plea in such sort, as that it is much to be lamented that so noble a spirit, and so excellent, should applie it selfe to those studies of heresie (sit tamen vera sunt, quæ sibi obijciunt) if neuertheless (note the words of Poggius) the matters objected against him be true: for it belongs not vnto me to iudge of so great a cause; but I refer my selfe to the opinions of those who are wiser than my selfe. Neither would I haue you to thinke, that according to the maner of Orators, I relate vnto you euerie particular circumstance of this businesse, for it were too tedious, and a worke of many dayes: I will onely touch some principall places, whereby you may in some sort vnderstand the learning of the man. This Hierome being charged with many matters which tended to heresie, and those confirmed by witnesse, it was at the last determined, placuit, that he should answer publikely to euerie poynt that was objected against him. Being therefore brought before the assemblee, and commaunded to answer to such poynts as were objected; a long time he refused to doe it, alledging that hee was first to plead his owne cause, before he answered to the false accusations of his aduersaries: but this condition being denied him, standing in the middle of the assemblee, what iniustice is this (saith he) that hauing lyeen for three hundred and sixtie dayes in prison, in or-
dure,

A dure, in stench, in fetters, and want of all earthly comforts what soeuer, in all which time you haue heard my aduersaries speake against me, and yet you will not now suffer me to speake one houre for my selfe? Hence it is that whilest euerie mans cares are open vnto them, to heare in so long a time, what soeuer may persuade that I am an heretike, an enemy of the faith, a persecutor of Ecclesiastical persons, and shut against me, whereby I haue no means to defend my selfe, that you haue concluded me to be an heretike, in your owne conceits, before you know what I am. And yet notwithstanding all this yee are but men; and not gods, nor perpetuall, but mortall, such as can stumble and fall, and erre, be deceived, be seduced, &c. In the end it was decreed, that first he should answer to those errors that were objected against him, and afterwards he should haue leaue to speake what he would. There were read therefore out of the pulpet all the beads of his accusation, which were likewise confirmed by witnesses: Then it was demaunded whether he had any thing to object. It is incredible to be spoken how cunningly he answered, with what arguements he defended himselfe: He neuer spake any thing vnworthie a good man, insomuch that if he thought that in his heart which he professed in words, there could not be found in him any iust cause of death, or of the least or lightest offence. He affirmed all to be false, and that they were all crimes deuised against him, by those that hated him. But by and by the cause for the multitude and weight of the offences, which could not be determined in one day, was put off for three dayes longer. At which time the arguements of euerie crime being recited, and by many witnesses affirmed, he arising: Forasmuch (saith he) as you haue with such diligence heard mine aduersaries, it is right and conuenient that with indifferent minds yee likewise heare me speake. Which after much adoe being graunted vnto him, he first began with praier vnto God, that he would be pleased to giue him that mind, and that facultie of speech, that might redound to the saluation of his owne soule. And then: I know saith hee, many excellent men, that haue suffered many things vnworthie their vertues, oppressed by false witnesses, condemned by iniust iudges, &c. And againe, it is an vniust thing that a Priest should be condemned by a Priest, and yet this was vniustly done by the Colledge and Councell of Priests, &c. All mens minds were moued and bent to mercie; For he added, that he came of his owne accord to the Councell, to purge himselfe, and to giue a reason of his life, and of his studies and endeauours, &c. That the most learned and wisest men of the world in matters of faith, were many times of diuers opinions, not to ouertrow the faith, but to find the truth: That Augustine and Hierome had discented, and contradicted one the other in diuers things, without suspicion of heresie. All men did expect that he would purge himselfe, either by reuoking that which was objected, or by asking pardon for his errors: But he doing neither the one nor the other, fell into the commendation of Iohn Hus, condemned to the fire, calling him a good and a holie man, and vnworthie of that death; and that he for his part was readie with a valiant and constant mind to vndergoe any punishment, and to yeeld himselfe into the hands of his aduersaries, and those impudent lying witnesses that were brought forth against him, who neuertheless were one day to yeeld an account vnto God, whom they could not deceiue. But this (saith Poggius) is an admirable argument of his memorie; For three hundred and sixtie daies together he was in the bottome of a stinking and deepe dungeon, the miserie of which punishment himselfe complaineth of, affirming as it became a good and a valiant man, that he was not therefore grieued therewith, for that he had suffered things so base and vnworthie, but rather wondred at their inhumanitie against him; in which place he could neither read nor see. I omit the griefe of mind wherewith hee must needs be troubled, which a man would thinke, should haue vtterly ouertrowne his memorie; and yet notwithstanding all this, he alledged so many learned Doctors of the Church, to
make

62. PROGRESSION.

The former proceedings of *John de Trosnowie*, otherwise called *Zifcha*, Captaine of the distressed Christians, against the Emperour *Sigismund*. The practises of Pope *Adartin* to destroy the Christians in Bohemia, after the death of *Zifcha*. The cunning shifts of *Martin* the fifth, to auoid the reformation of the Church, at the Councell of *Constance*. The Councell of *Basil* deposed *Eugenius*, and chuseth *Adamas*, Duke of *Sauoy*, for Pope. Of the comming of the Emperour of Greece and the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to the Councell at *Florence*. *Vladislaus* king of *Hungarie* maketh peace with *Amurath* the great *Turke*, which he breaketh through the perswasion of Pope *Eugenius*, and what happened thereof.

Aeneas Syluius
in histor. Bohem.
c. 35. & 36.

Great was the authoritie of *John Hus* in Bohemia, whose puritie also of life commended him to be powerfull in words. The people were filled with his doctrine, especially at *Prage*, the capitall citie, where, vpon the exceeding great Indulgences of *John* the foure and twentieth, they made this outcrie, That he was Antichrist: and when the magistrat had put many of them to death in prison, not daring to do it openly, the people seeing their blood running vnder the gate of the palace, ran thither to seek the bodies, crying out, *These are the Saints that haue deliuered vp their bodies for the testament of God*. Moreover, that Epitome of Roman abominations, which was come so neere vnto them at *Constance*, made their stinking fauor reach so far as into Bohemia; the people of *Sueuia* complaining, That in so very little space of time they had brought in with them so great a deluge of vncleanness, as could not be washed away in thirtie yeres, seeing that among the traine of those Prelats are numbered of Historiographers, to be foure hundred and fiftie common whores, and three hundred juglers. The report then of the death of *John Hus* comming vpon this, and aboue all the infamous treacherie vsed towards him, exceedingly stirred vp the people, yea made them so much the more beleue the truth of his doctrine, for that he had sealed it with his blood; and contrariwise moued them to abhorre the Romish, whose abhominable faith could not be maintained but only by treacherie. Then therefore they entreat the king to grant vnto them Temples, for the free exercise of their religion; which he consented to them, and they multiplied, and according as they increased they require to be provided of places necessaric. Neither did queene *Sophia*, of the house of *Bauaria*, who gouerned the kings weakenesse, shew her selfe repugnant vnto them. But he being deceased of a palsey, the Emperour *Sigismund* his brother succeeded, who instigated by the Councell, and after by the Pope, resolueth to vse all violence against them, and employeth against them all the forces of the Empire, assembling to that end Princes, Prelats, Knights, Esquires, and common people, out of *Liege*, *Holland*, *Zeeland*, *Henault*, and other places, and left nothing vnattempted that could be done either by force of warre, or bitterness of torments. There rose vp at that time one *John de Trosnowie*, called *Zifcha*, because he had but one eye, of a noble house, but of meane fortunes, yet a valiant man, who gathered together the wandring and scattered people of euerie age and sex, into a place of aduantage. It were incredible, but that the aduersaries themselves doe testifie it, hee

Mon Brelet, vol.
1. c. 257.

A fought eleuen battels with *Sigismund*, and euer got the vpper hand, and in some of them after he had lost his eye, blind of both, he was no lesse fortunat a Leader of this wretched people; whose murmurings often in that desperat estate, was no lesse difficult a matter for him to restraints and appease, than to sustaine the violent force of the enemy: till at length *Sigismund* seeing all things succeed well vnto him, and that at his onely becke all the affaires of Bohemia were swayed, resolueth to overcome and ruine him with faire words; and giueth vnto him the Lieutenancie of the kingdome, with chiefest authoritie, and a great yearely pension, on condition, That he should acknowledge him king, and cause all the rest also to acknowledge him. Here the acclamation of Pope *Pius* is worthe noting: Surely a great ignominie to the Maestie Royall, shame to the glorie Imperiall, and eternall infamie to the Christian Commonweale, That our age hath seene *Sigismund* (a Prince of good yeares, borne of Emperours, and himselfe an Emperour, whose name *Italie*, *France*, *Germanie*, and all *Europe*, honoured, and whom barbarous nations feared) a suppliant vnto this man, not borne otherwise of any great nobilitie, an old man, blind, an heretike, giuen to sacrilege, and all wickednesse, to offer vnto him money, and the greatest honours that he might vouchsafe, to take his part. But the death of *Zifcha*, partly broken with trauels, partly with yeares, brake off the treatie. And some write that hee dyed of the plague: Whereupon *Syluius* hath this bitter taunt, Him whom the hand of man was not able to kill, the finger of God destroyed. By how much better right ought hee, in the basenesse and infirmite of the man which he representeth, to haue acknowledged the arme of God. Neither yet were this miserable poore people destitute of Gods protection, although by his death they thenceforth named themselves Orphans, as shall be seene in his place. The Epitaph written on his tombe, in the citie of *Tabor*, which he had builded, is memorable: *I John Zifcha*, yest here, in skill of militarie affaires not inferior to any of the Emperours, or Captaines, a seuerer reuenger of the pride and couetousnesse of the Clergie-men; and a most valiant defender of my country. That which *Appianus Claudius*, being blind, did for the Romans in well counselling, and *Furius Camillus* in valiantly exploiting, the same haue I done for my Bohemians. I neuer was wanting to the good fortune of the warre, nor it to mee. I haue foreseene, though blind, all importunitie of well-doing, and with Ensignes spread haue fought eleuen times, euer victorious. It seemed vnto mee, that I haue verie well done, to take in hand the most iust cause of the miserable and hungrie, against the delicat, fat, and crammed Priests, and in this doing haue felt the helpe of God. If their enuie had not hindered it, no doubt I should haue merited to be numbered among the Illustrious men. Neuertheless my bones lye here in this sacred place, etiam insalutato, inuitoque Papa, Euen without hauing saluted the Pope, and in despite of his teeth. And vnderneath was written in Greecke, *Ioannes Zifcha o Basileus te uaschousion ishor exhoros, ein er dia zino, John Zifcha, enemy of the Priests conuious of dishonest gain; but in a godlie zeale*. Neither is it to be omitted, That when a certaine Picard came into Bohemia, & had by his illusions enticed after him some people into an island of the riuier *Lufmik*, where he had taught them to goe naked, and promiscuously to couple themselves one with another, whence they were called *Adamites* (as it is an ordinarie thing with *Sathan* to cast such mistie clouds ouer the light of the Gospell, when he seeth it begin to shine forth,) *Zifcha* and his people were the first that set vpon them, with open force inuaded the island, and put them all to the edge of the sword, excepting two onely, of whom they might learne the particu-

Aeneas Syluius
Histor. Bohem.
c. 46.

Paralipom. Ab-
batis Vesper-
gensis.

larities of their impious superstition: When notwithstanding the Preachers of the Romish Church burden the doctrine of *John Hus* with diuers calumnies, the Fathers of the Councell of Constance condemned it for the opinions of *Wickliffe*; but they imputed to *wickliffe* such opinions, after their owne pleasure, as he neuer thought off, and one monstrous about the rest, That *God ought to obey the diuell*, although the calumnie it selfe is such as sheweth their vntrue dealing: and none of them that wrot against *wickliffe*, whilest he was aliue, doth make mention of any such. And as for *John Hus*, Pope *Pius* the second recounteth in his historie the articles of his doctrine, agreeable to our confessions. And there is extant the confessions of the Bohemians, exhibited to their kings, when libertie of their religion was permitted them, in which is nothing which agreeth not with true Christian pietie. In the meane time Pope *Martin* loseth not courage; on the contrarie thinking, as indeed it was, that the vnion of this people was shaken by the death of *Zischa*, determined to contriue against them. They had two different captaines for the warre, the great and the little *Precep*, and thence their concord seemed to be but ill repaired. He therefore sendeth the Cardinall of Winchester, an Englishman, into Germanie, to stirre vp the mind of the Emperour, & command the Germans to take the Crosse against this people; and so is a threefold armie leuied, the first out of the circuit of Saxonie, and the townes by the sea coast, commaunded by the duke of Saxonie; the second out of the territorie of Franconia, by the Marqueffe of Brandebourg; and the third out of the iurisdiccions of Rhine, of Bauaria, and of Suceuia, by *Otho* Archbishop of Treuer: who by three wayes enter into Bohemia, and joyne themselues together, joyntly to recouer the citie *Mizla*, which the night before the enemies had surprised. That handfull of men seemed vnable to stand against so mightie an armie, neuerthelesse hauing gathered themselues together in hast, they march directly towards their enemies; But they (saith *Pius* the second) fled without seeing the enemy, and coming to *Thacouia*, left their artilerie and bootie there. The Cardinall commeth to meet them, admiring at the fearefull and shamefull flight of so many Captaines and valiant men: He earnestly entreateth them againe and againe, to turne backe their face to the enemy, euerie way weaker than they: But when hee could not obtaine this, hee is constrained to accompanie them in their flight. I durst not write thus much, if Pope *Pius* the second had not first written it, and in so many words: *Scarcely were they entred into the forest, when the Bohemians comming upon them, began to assault the hindmost troups: then their flight is made more disorderly and fearefull, neither doe the Germans giue ouer sooner to flie, than the Bohemians to follow.* Therefore they take their baggage, winne *Thacouia* by assault, and make themselues masters of the artilerie: Thence they waite *Misnia*, take *Franconia*, *Bamberg*, *Nuremberg*, and other cities, to redeeme themselues. Here *Sigismund* and Pope *Martin* be-thinke themselues of another armie stronger than the former, vnto which all the Princes, States and cities doe contribute. *Julian* Cardinall of *S. Angelo* commaunded for the Pope, and the Elector of *Brandebourg* for the Emperour, many Princes accompayning them; there was in the army fortie thousand horse, but the number of the footemen was not so many: And with these great forces the Cardinall entred into the countrie, putting all he can to fire and sword, and sparing neither sex nor age. Yet scarcely haue the feet of all touched the borders, but that, whether there were treason in the armie of the faithfull,

Aeneas Syluius c. 48.

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A (meaning the Papall) *In many supposed, or that a waime feare had innaded the mindes of men without cause, they assembled throughout all the campe, and before there was one enemy seeme they betooke themselves to a most shamefull flight. Iulian* would reb-
 whence this feare rose, what reason might persuade such an armie to flie: He went about
 suing to the Captaines, and exhorting them to take armes, to set themselves in bat-
 taile aray, and conyagiously to expect the enemy: That they did not now contend for the
 glorie of the kingdomes; or for the possession of some countrie; but waged warre for
 their liues, religion, for the honour of Christ, and saluation of soules: That it was
 a shamefull thing for the Germans, whose nobilitie and vertue was famous through-
 out all the world, to flie out of battaile; that better were it to die, then to giue place to
 the enemies, before they see them. But truly here might *Pius* haue laid more to
 purpose, that from the death of *Zischa*, Here is the finger of God. But whatsoeuer
Iulian could vpbraid them of, or set before their eyes, all is in vaine; so much had
 feare overcome *spawne*, The ensignes were suddenly snatched vp, and as if there were no
 Generall in the armie, every man tumultuously without staying for commandement, with-
 out saluing his fellow, also some casting away their armes, make hast to flight running as
 fast as they could, no other misse than if the enemy had bene hard at their backes; and the
 Cardinall, will he will he, is faine to accompany them. A while after the enemy embold-
 ned by their feare, come and leise upon their baggage and get a great bootie. Where-
 fore the Emperour and the Pope despairing that they should euer by force bring
 them vnder, speeches are cast forth of calling another Councell at *Basil*; whither
 the Cardinall went to take courage and heart againe after the flight. *Montrelet*,
 though ill affected towards the Bohemians, saith, They feared no martyrdoms, mator-
 nents, their verie women sook armes and fought, and the dead bodie of many were found
 among the slain in battels. So that here if we respect the cause and reason of this war
 it may seeme to be compared to that of the *Machabees*; Pope *Martin* with *An-
 tiochus*, both in their Councels and in their successes, waiting in time past against
 the people of God: which *Antiochus* also is set forth vnto vs for a figure of *Anti-
 christ*.

Sigismund had giuen hope to the complaints of the people from all parts, That
 hee would prouide in the Councell of Constance for the reformation of the
 Church; and therefore as well the Vniuersities, as many nations themselves, had
 exhibited by their embassadors to the Councell verie many articles, tending to re-
 formation, namely of *Paris*, by *M. John Gersun* Chancelor of the same, and *M.
 Peter de Aliaco* Cardinall, which to this day are read; yet they were appointed
 to be examined after order was taken for the schisme. When therefore *Sigismund*
 saw all things finished that should goe before, That *John* the fourth and
 twentich was deposed, That *Gregory* the xij had renounced, That sentence was
 giuen against *Benedict* the xij, and order taken (as it was thought) to prevent
 schismes to come, and moreover *John Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague* condemned
 and punished, he thought now the time was come wherein he might seriously so-
 licite the Fathers to take in hand a Reformation, and that so much he rather so-
 licited that there was not yet any Head chosen, the Councell might both more easily
 with greater authoritie, and with lesse contradiction, ordaine for reforming the
 Head, and constraining him into order; and he which was to be chosen Pope;
 would the more willingly accept of the law prescribed to him, for hee knowing
 not of his owne election, he himselfe would consent to the reformation of the fu-
 ture Pope. Therefore in the fortieth Session, in which sat chiefly the Cardinall of
Ostia, *William* Cardinall of *S. Marke* read certaine Decrees, of which he required

Aeneas Syluius Histor. Bohem. c. 48. & 49.

Montrelet, vol. c. 1. 258.

no. 100. 100. 100.

*Concilium Con-
 stantiens. Sess.
 12. 14. 17. 19.
 Sess. 15. & 21.*

Self. 40.

the Councell to give sentence, that they might be published by the figure Pope A before the dissolution of the Councell: yet were they but matters superficiall, as the number, qualitie, nation, of Cardinals, reservations, Annates, common and mean seruices, collations and graces expectatiue, confirmations, causes to be referred to the Court of Rome, or which are not to be referred; Appelles, Rules of Chancelrie, and Penetenciaries, commenda's, alienations of the goods of the Romish Church, extirpation of simonie, dispensations, indulgences, tithes, also the causes for which the Pope may be corrected & deposed: All which neuerthelesse are put off to be ended after the Popes election, that a law might be made of them in Council by his authority, by the aduise of the nations. Without doubt because that word galled them that scaped from Sigismund, who, to some that said *reformation should be begun a minoritis, with the meener sort*, answered, yea rather *a maioritis, with the greatest*, meaning the Pope and Cardinals. For he himself had instituted a forme of reformation, which is yet read, printed at Ausbourg in the yeare 1484. Wherefore, Cardinall Colonne being elected Pope (called Martin the fift) on S. Martins day 14 17, and Sigismund vrging him earnestly to a reformation, he declareth, That this long sojourning at Constance, had bin a discommoditie to all the Churches; That so great a businesse needed mature deliberation; That euerie Prouince, as saith Hierome, hath their peculiar manners and opinions; which without trouble could not be soone taken away: and by his cunning deuises hee preuailed so much, that he obtayned the dissolution of the Councell, on condition that another Councell should be held five yeares after; then another seuen yeares after that, and from thenceforth from ten yeares to ten yeares, in which they should treat of matters pertaining to Faith and to the Common weale. And to make them beleue that hee meant good earnest, he presently ordaineth that the next should be held within five yeares at Pavia. And then in the five and fortieth Session, Cardinall Winbald by the Popes commaundement, pronounceth, *Domini iis in pace, My Lords depart in peace*: with which words they were dismissed, *Sublato*, saith Platina, *omnium consensu maxime vero Imperatoris, without the consent of all, yea of the Emperour*; Who entreating him, that he would yet sojourne but a verie little while longer in Germanie; Martin excused himselfe vpon the necessitie of returning to Rome, for that the *Chappels of the Saints by the Popes absence were to ruine*. Wherefore, saith Volateran, he departed against the will and liking of Sigismund. What fit excuse, when there were propounded to him the diseases of the Church, fretting away her most inward bowels, yea threatening an vtter ruine at hand: Martin then passeth into Italie, triumphing without doubt, that he had by his diligence escaped this dangerous rick of reformation, which he so much feared; and now wholly bendeth his mind to settle and strengthen himselfe in the Popedom.

Balthasar Cossa, called *John* the foure and twentieth; or according to some the three and twentieth, sat neere to his heart, who had found meanes for the price of thirtie thousand Crownes to redeeme himselfe out of the hands of the Palatine who had him in custodie, & departing thence visited his ancient friends throughout Italie; for that it seemed to portend vnto him a new Schisme: yet he commeth to him to Florence and salureth him humbly, trusting in the friendship and faith of *Cosma de Medicis*, who had all power and authoritie in the citie, though it were a free citie. *Martine* therefore made him Cardinall of Tusculum, where a few daies after he dyed. *Peter de Luna*, called *Benedict* the thirteenth, raigned yet imaginarily in his rocke of Arragon, with some of his Cardinals; and *Alfonso* king

A king of Arragon was offended against *Martin*, for that to his prejudice, he had declared king of Sicilie, *Lewis* of Anjou, adopted by Queene *Ioane*. In the meane season, fell out the time appointed for the Councell of Pavia, which hee could not with honestie shift off, though *Alfonso* threatned to oppose *Benedict* against him. He therefore sendeth thither *Peter Donatus* Archbishop of Candie; with some Cardinals to begin the Councell at Pavia: then after, by reason of the pestilence, transferreth it to Siena, to which place resorted a greater number of all Nations than to Pavia. Neither wanted there the Embassadors of *Alfonso* to prolong the Councell, till he might with bountious gifts promote the businesse of *Benedict*. But *Martin* thinking it good to prevent the worst, suddenly breaketh vp the Councell and putteth it off for seuen yeares; And therefore *Antoninus* saith, it was onely held *persunctorie*, for fashion sake. Till at last *Martin* is deliuered of this feare, first by the death of *Benedict*, in the yeare 1424, hauing surpassed An. 1424. the yeares of S. Peter for the full measure (saith the Authour) of his damnation, but Antonin. iii. 22. cap. 7. not in the seat of S. Peter: to whom neuerthelesse his Cardinals created a successor named *Clement* the 8. But afterwards the sayd *Clement* renouncing the Popedom in the yeare 1428, whom *Martin* compelled so to doe (he being forsaken An. 1428. of most of his Cardinals) and giuing him the bishopricke of Maiorca, and reseruing to the Cardinals that were about him their dignities: and furthermore, hauing also before all things appeased the mind of *Alfonso*, when he perceiued that the warres of *Lewis* had no good successe at Naples: then *Martin* being receiued at Rome, bendeth his care to the re-edifying and repaying of the buildings; and the Cardinals by his example, euerie one in their parishes did the like, and that was sayd *instaurare, to restore or repaire the Church*. He gaue himselfe also to the gathering of money on all sides; For, saith *Antoninus*, this thing common report reproveth in him, that he too greedily laboured to heape up money; so that he was in no wise able to say with the chiefe Apostle, *Siluer and Gold haue I none. But that his exceeding great temporal treasure was consumed by the hands of his kinsmen, and chiefly of his nephew the Prince of Salerne, to whom it fell by his death, in bestowing it on hired souldiers and enemies against the Church*. And in the yeare 1431 he dieth, D happie in this, that thereby he escaped the Councell of Basill, which fell out at the same time, and was so much the more to be feared, for that the Fathers of the Council of Constance had made a law both by word and in effect, wherby it was decreed, That a generall Councell is about the Pope. This is that Pope of whom *Angelus de Clausio* a Frier Minorite, authour of the Angelicall Summa, writeth on the word Pope, *Hauing communicated the matter with his Doctours, he gaue to a certaine man leave to marrie with his owne sister*. And this *Angelus* flourished almost about the same time vnder *Sixtus* the fourth.

Now he had already assigned this Councell at the instance of *Sigismund*, and for to hold it, ordayned Legat *Julian* Cardinall of S. Angelo, who had already begun it, and hauing had but bad successe of the warres in Bohemia, had graunted in the Councils name a safe conduct to the Bohemians and Morauians to come thither, with all assurances requisit. But it was to be doubted, whether Cardinall *Condalmero* his successeur, called *Eugenius* the fourth, would continue it, and so much the rather, for that in the second Session it had bene deceed these words, That the Synod gathered together by the assistance of the holie Ghost, making a generall Councell and representing the Church militant, hath power immediatly from Christ, Concil. Basill. ensi. Sess. 2. wherewith all men of what estate or dignitie soeuer, yea be it the Pope himselfe, is bound to obey in those things that pertaine vnto Faith; and he that shall disdain to obey the statutes

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An. 1431.

And indeed hee endeoured **A** readie to put it off for a yeare and a halfe longer, and to transerre it to Bononia, that thereby (as he sayd) the Greekes might more easily repaire vnto it. For which cause, *Sigismund* fearing delay, wrot vnto him verie vehemently, That vnder pretence of the Greekes, he ought not to deferre the peace of the Church among the Latins: That the Bohemians had already accepted of the safe conduct, of whose conuersion there was some good hope, which if it would not be, they would then ioyntly take counsell together of the meanes to destroy them: That seeing they professe to proue their doctrine by the holie Scripture, if the Councell should either be dismissed, or deferred till another time, they would say that the Fathers could not answer them; and that the Catholikes themselves, to whom so long time Reformation was promised, frustrate of that hope at Pisa and at Constance, would verily deeme all to be but mockerie and collusion: That the Princes also, neighbours of the Bohemians, would make truce with them, as some already haue done, and it may be would ioyne together with them both in their minds and forces. Therefore that he should giue commission to the President, *Cardinall Iulian*, to continue the Councell, otherwise it were to be doubted, that the delaying of the Councell would prouoke the *Laiie* to play the mad-men against the Church. Moreover, That the Councell it selfe would by no meanes consent to the dissoluing of it, and in that behalfe should be followed and out-borne by the greatest part of the Kings, Princes, Prelats, and of all in generall, who would hold him (by good right) for an authour and fauourer of heresies and schismes among Christians; whereby he would be an occasion of a new disobedience in the Church, and of new troubles: and that it would be much better if he himselfe were present in person. *Eugenius* was yet, but young in the Popedome, and had not as yet ynough tried his strength: at Rome also was disagreement betweene him and the *Colonna*, whom he had diuersly molested, for to recouer of them the money of *Martin*, which (as it was said) they had craftily gotten into their hands. Therefore thinking it best for him to rest quiet, hee approacheth the conuocation of the Councell of Basil, and confirmeth the Legation of *Cardinall Iulian*, and that so much the rather, for that *Sigismund* came into Italie, whose alliance with the Duke of Milan, and intelligence with the *Colonna*, he feared. But this Prince, otherwise great, either by his owne negligence, or more truly, by reason of pouertie, came thither in so poore a manner, that hee easily put away from him all feare. *We haue scene him* (saith *Valla*) *with few followers about him, liue but as for a day, and he would haue perished for hunger if Eugenius had not fed him, though not gratis, for he wrested from him the Donation. He coming to Rome to be crowned Emperour of the Romans, could not be crowned of the Pope, but on condition that he should ratifie the donation of Constantine, and also giue all those things anew. Yea he addeth in indignation, what is more contrarie, than to be crowned Roman Emperour, and to renounce Rome? to be crowned of him, whom he confesseth, and (as much as in him lyeth) maketh Lord of the Roman Empire? and to ratifie a donation, which if it be true, leaueh to the Emperour nothing of the Empire? which I thinke children would not haue done.* Yea and *Eugenius* adiuereh him, before he set the Crowne on his head, presently to depart Rome, and to stay no longer in Italie: and so hee forthwith passed the Alpes, and returned into Germanie. And this is it *Platina* hath: *In the beginning of his Popedome, moued by the words of the Emperour, Princes, and Prelats, he confirmed the Council of Basil, euen by his Apostolicall letters: for he was so vexed with warres, that he scarcely had power to breath: but taking heart againe, hee constantly*

Platina in *Eugenio* 4.

- A** stantly and prudently administr'd all things. Thus spake hee in fauour of the Popes.
- Whereup *Eugenius* stoutly taketh vpon him to dissolue this Councell, or to assigne another somewhere else, and he publisheth his Bulls, whereby he reuoketh both the Councell and *Cardinall Iulian*, whom he had appointed to preside there; who speedily returneth to him into Italie. The Fathers of the Councell on the contrarie, by their embassadours sundrie times beseech him, That he would come and be there present himselfe, otherwise by dissoluing the Councell hee would giue occasion of scandall: yea they decree, That reuocation can haue no place, and set before him the most grieuous punishments propounded in the Councell of Constance, vnlesse he would obey: but if he purpose (which he hideth) to hold another Councell, they declare openly, that there can be but onely one. And that if he breake it off, he with his is to expect the like judgement of God as in *sess. 10. 11. 12. 26.*
- time past fell vpon *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiron*, schismatices. Lastly, they admonish, cite, blame, accuse, and adiuere him, leauing no forme requisit vnobserved or done, they abrogat the Cardinals by him created for to hold another Councell: they suspend him from the Popedome, depose him, pronounce him a notorious schismaticke, periurer, heretike, scandalous, incorrigible, obstinat, depriued, deposed, put downe; and as such a one they take from him all obedience, and make a Decree for the chusing another in his roome. All which things in their order reach to the yeare 1439. And these things were done, notwithstanding the Emperour *Sigismund* in the meane time was deceased, who had chiefly set forward the Councell; that *Eugenius* also with his had assigned another Councell first at Ferrara, in the yeare 1438, and after by reason of the pestilence there, transferred it in the yeare 1439 to Florence: whither came the Emperour *Palaeologus* of Greece, to entreat the succours of the Latines against the Turkes, and for that cause, as it was thought, was the more pliable to the pretentions of the Romish Church. But the Fathers of the Councell of Basil proceed farther to the election of a successor, and prescribe beforehand the forme of the oath that hee ought to take, namely, *To execute and obserue the Decrees of the Councells of Constance and Basil: also* *sess. 37.*
- D** so to procure the celebration of generall Councells, and confirmation of elections, according to the Decrees of the sacred Councell of Basil. They further declare the Councell of Ferrara to be vnlawfull, and none at all, and tearme it a *Conuenticle*: And presently also authorise three Catholike truties, against certaine *herectikes* of *Eugenius*. The first is, *That the power of a generall Councell, representing the vniuersall Church, is aboue the Pope and all other whomscener, is a truth of Catholike Faith.* Secondly, *That the Pope can by no meanes of his owne authoritie dissolve a generall Councell, or prorogue it to another time, or transerre it from one place to another, without the consente thereof.* Thirdly, *That he which obstinately repugneth the foresaid truties, is to be iudged an heretike.* And these they handle in a writing published expressly: In the end they enter into the Conclauie, and chuse for Pope *Amadeus* Duke of *Sa* *sess. 38.*
- E** *Heruo*, absent, by the name of *Felix* the fourth, who a litle before did liue an Hermits life at *Ripaille*, vpon the lake of *Laufanne*. In the meane time *Eugenius* was not idle in Italie. *Charles* the seuenth, king of France, who held for the Councell of Basil, had sent his gallies into the *Ionicke* sea, for to meet *John Palaeologus*, Emperour of the East, and to giue him to vnderstand in what place the lawfull Councell was held, & to persuaide him to take land in France, & thence to conduct him to Basil. *Eugenius* hauing corrupted with money the Generall of the French gallies, breaketh off his course, and draweth him to his part. Whereupon *Eugenius* taketh

place rather belongeth to him. At last they agreed, that the Pope with his Westerne people should sit on the right hand, the Greeke Emperour with the Easterne people on the left; but *Eugenius* ouerruled so farre, that his throne was placed by the high Altar, the Roman Emperours (though absent) in the next place, but some degrees lower, and equall with him sat the Cardinals and Westerne Prelats: the Emperour of Greece had his throne set right against the Popes, and on his left hand sat the Patriarch of Constantinople, but in an inferiour degree, and equall with him were the seats of the Legats of the other Easterne Patriarches, of the Archbishops and Prelats, euerie one in his order. And hence may the Reader discern what the Patriarch might judge of the pride of the Latine Bishop. But what may we say of *Baronius*, who in diuers places contesteth, That the left hand in Councils was euer the more honourable. As touching the matter it selfe, for the concluding of the controuersies of the Latine and Greeke Churches, is made an instrument of a vnion, *Latentur caeli*, wherein they agree on both sides, That the holie Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne: That the Sacrament may be indifferently made of leauened or vneleuened bread: That the soules of the faithfull that haue not yet satisfied for their sinnes, goe to Purgatorie: That the Pope of Rome is Head of the vniuersall Christian Church. All which articles the Greeke Emperour causeth to be approued by the most part of his, hoping he should haue assistance against the Turkes. But *Michael* Bishop of Ephesus, with some others, doth euer withstand the same, reiecting especially the two later. Which is more, when *Ioseph* Archbishop of Constantinople was dead, *Eugenius* would haue them proceed before him to the chusing of another, promising, against his disposition, to ordaine him without money, yea to giue them some if need were; and to depose him that did obtaine with him the place of Patriarch: which he would not doe if they deferred his election till they came into their country. The Greekes perceiuing whereto he tended, namely, that he might enter possession of the supreme power in the Church by that meanes, and that with their consent, answer him with one accord, That their Patriarch cannot bee, by their laws, chosen any where else than at Constantinople: That it is their custom he should be chosen and consecrated in his owne Church: That the Emperour, who was not ignorant of these ceremonies, would not suffer it to bee otherwise. Which the Pope vnderstanding, though much against his mind, with gracious words he let them depart. Now they were no sooner returned into their country, but they were reiected of their Churches, in this especially, that they had admitted the supreme authoritie of the Pope of Rome, whose pride being more neerely looked into, they at last refuse it in their writings published, notwithstanding that he had endeouored to bind vnto him some of the best learned, as *Isidore* Bishop of Ruffia, and *Bessarion* Bishop of Nicea, to whom he had giuen a Cardinals hat, which he chose rather to weare in Italie than in Greece. And from that time forth were by the Popes neglected the affaires of Greece, and abandoned to the furie of Infidels.

Concilium Florent. Sess. 24. 25.

But it is in no wise here to be omitted, That during the time that *Eugenius* held his Council, partly at Ferrara and partly at Florence, hee published diuers writings against that Decree of Basill, That a Council is aboue the Pope, in which he did not sticke to affirme, *That so farre was it off that he ought to obey generall Councils, that then he most merited when he contemned the Decrees of the Council: and which is more, he declareth this proposition to be hereticall, The Council is aboue the Pope, although both then and euer since it was held and affirmed by all the Vniuersities*

uerities of Christendome. Whence it came, that whilst the Roman Church sayd she is superior to all other Churches, and the Roman Bishop to all other bishops, by this decree of *Eugenius* should the Bishop of Rome be made superiour or of higher authoritie than the Vniuersall Church, and consequently that pretended infallibilitie of the Church should be deriued not now to the Romish Church, but to one onely man, which is the highest degree of Antichrist in the Church; according to that of *S. Augustine* in his booke of the citie of God, That Antichrist should not onely sit in *Templo Dei*, in the Temple of God, but as *Saint Paule* hath it *eis vobis in Templum, into the Temple*, as if he himselfe were the Temple it selfe; he alone the Church. In the meane time, let the Reader judge of that *Infalibilitie* of the Church, represented in a Council, by these Councils which at one same time and in one same matter, doe decree things directly contrarie.

August. de Civitate Dei l. 18. cap. 2.

As touching the affaires of the Bohemians, for which particularly the Emperour *Sigismund* had so instantly requested the Council, the most part of the Churches, terrified with the perfidious treacherie vsed towards *Iohn Huss*, and *Hierome* of Prague, refused to send any one thither: but the principall of the Nobilitie ouer-ruled the matter, that some should appeare, for to render a reason of the innouation in religion imputed vnto them. So soone as they came thither, they were receiued verie curteously by *Cardinall Julian* the Legat, who was not yet called backe. Then in the Council he maketh an Oration, wherein he bringing in the Church of Rome speaking to them, in his words, and attributing to it selfe alone all that is spoken in holie Scripture concerning the Church the Spouse of Christ, and presupposing that which is chiefly in question, flattereth himselfe in this perpetual Elenche: Sheweth that in her power are the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, That she is without spot or wrinkle, That who soeuer departed from her was an Heathen and a Publican, That the decrees of Councils are her decrees, which are no lesse to be beleued than the Gospels, seeing they giue authoritie to the Scriptures. To this the Bohemians in few words; That they despised neither the Church nor Councils, that they had beene condemned at Constance without being heard, notwithstanding that they affirmed nothing but by the holie Scriptures: and then they propound their Articles; And on both sides were chosen such as should enter into conference. The disputation lasted fiftie dayes, and after many spent on this side and on that, it was thought best to leaue Theologicall questions, and provide for the Common wealth, and to send some thither, who having made search how matters stood, might compound with them. Here was the policie, To permit the Communion vnder both kinds, to such as in other things would submit themselues to the Council, and proceeded with all rigour to the rest that embraced not the same condition: These were the auntient *Waldenses*, and their Disciples, who requested that the Church might be reformed in most of the Articles, which are contained in their and our confessions; who for this cause suffered much, both by the warres that *Sigismund* made vpon them, and by the diuision and back-sliding of their companions: Yet doe we see their Churches outliue so many miseries, & vntill these times consist and continue most flourishing and largely propagated. As touching the Fathers of the Council of Basill, they seeme to be somewhat ashamed of that Decree of Constance, concerning the Communion vnder both kinds: And whereas they of Constance sayd, *Although Christ hath instituted the holie Supper vnder both kinds, &c. Yet notwithstanding, &c.* These of Basill say, hauing well examined the Diuine Scriptures, and the doctrines of the holie Fathers, *That the faithfull of the Laitie or of the Clergie*

Oratio Iulian. Cardinal. Legati in Append. Concilii Basiliens.

communicating, are not bound by the commaundement of the Lord, to receiue the Sacrament of the Eucharist vnder both kinds, of bread and wine, altering and wresting the decision beside the purpose; whereas indeed the Bohemians complained not, that they were constrained to a whole Communion by the Romish Church, but that they were excluded from it: And what greater necessitie can there be to a Christian man, than to sticke vnto the precept and prescript rule of his Sauour? These are euer their subtile deceits. Lastly, this Councell of Basil had forbidden to exact or pay Annates, vnder pain of Simonie; *Eugenius*, who willingly would loose nothing, complaineth as of an iniurie done to the Church, That this could not, neither ought to haue beene done, without hauing first consulted with *Eugenius* and his Colledge of Cardinals, *If any pretended abuses in them, they ought to haue provided against them, without priuation of the substance, that so Justice and peace might meet each other: euidently abusing the Scriptures. For, said he, whence shall the Apostolike See defray charges, in providing for the necessities and commodities of the vniuersal Church, and for those things that belong vnto peace, and the extirpation of heresies and errors?* And with the same reason ouerthroweth he that which they had ordained concerning indulgences, election, causes and vacations of Scribes and Abbreviators of the Court of Rome, and other like pillages. And this was not the least cause why he would dissolue the Councell. An Authour of those times, not to be suspected, saith, That he was so prodigall of Indulgences, that the Englishmen, who perceiued it, commonly sayd, *Rome commeth now to our gates. The Church of Rome is a great harlot, for now she prostituteth herselfe to euery one that offereth money. And all being full of pardons; the Popes negotiators at length gaue indulgences for a supper, for a lodging, for a draught of wine or beere, for tennisplay, and sometime for brosbetrie or leacherie.*

Respons. satis per Domin. Anton. Auditorem pro parte Eugenij.

Thomas Gofcoigne in Dictionario Theologico.

Eneas Sylvius Lt. Epist. 81.

Bonfinij Hist. Hungar. Dec. 1. lib. 6.

We are not to omit that *Eugenius*, who from the time of *Martin* his predecessour had accustomed himselfe to warfare, and all the time of his Popedome had beene entangled in warre, made such a wound in Christendome, as hath bled euer since. *Vladislaue* king of Hungarie, had made peace with the Turke. *Eugenius* sendeth vnto him *Cardinall Iulian*, who promising vnto him some succours, and a Naue at Sea to stay and incumber the enemye, perswadeth him to breake that peace, seeing that it could not subsist with the enemies of Christ without his commaundement: whereupon, ensueth a bloudie battaile, in which the Turkes had the victorie; for to shew vs (saith *Eneas Sylvius*, after *Pope Pius* the second) *That oaths ought to be kept, not onely with the domestick friends of faith, but also with the enemies thereof.* In that battaile was slaine king *Vladislaus*, a patterne of singular valour, and of renowned Nobilitie; *Cardinall Iulian* was wounded, and in his retiring is slayne of the Christians themselues, as Author of this miserable discomfiture, by the desloyaltie of which he was instrument. And from this misfortune arose others without end, and without number; so dangerous is it for any to enterprife any thing against faithfulness and beyond his vocation. Memorable against perfidious persons, is that which we read in the Hungarian Historie: *When Amurath beheld his armie put to flight by king Vladislaus, not without great slaughter, pulling forth of his bosome the Articles of peace solemnely sworne, unfolds it, and lifting up his eyes stedfastly vnto heauen, saith, These are, O Iesu Christ, the covenants of peace which thy Christians haue made with me; they haue holily sworne by thy Diuine Maiestie, and haue violated the faith giuen in thy name; they haue perfidiously denied their God. Now, O Christ, if thou be God, I beseech the reuenge here these thine iniuriers & mine; and to them that as yet acknowledge not thy name, shew the punishment of viola-*

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ted faith. Scarcely had he said these words, who expected the last of extremities against himselfe, when the battell, which before had beene doubtfull, enclined towards his side, &c. This happened in the yeare 1444, from which time the state of Christendome could neuer well recover it selfe. An. 1444.

Moreouer the Councell of Basil, or at leastwise, they which in their name wrote against the Bohemians, on their part set forward the progresse of abomination. For when those Churches had determined not to admit any doctrine that was not grounded on holie Scripture, *Cardinal Cusan* was charged by letters to confound them with this Axiome, which they were not ashamed to maintaine, *That the Scriptures can by no means be of the essence of the Church, either begun or continued, but onely of the seemely order thereof.* Item, *That the Church is not knowne by the Gospel, but the Gospel by the Church.* Item, *That so much the more worthily is the word of God giuen of God, by how much the farther off it is from all Scripture, yea and from all vocall word:* That by this reason he might reduce all things to the Church, which they call Catholike, from the Catholike to the Roman, and at last draw them from the Roman to their Councell. And when those Churches replied, That that was not the mind nor voyce of the auncient Church, which had otherwise celebrated the holie Eucharist, and had in another sence interpreted the Scripture, than now in these dayes it is: *Let not this moue thee* (saith he) *that in diuers times, diuerse are the ceremonies of Priests; and that the Scriptures be found applied to the time and diuersly vnderstood; so that in one time they be expounded according to the vniuersall ceremonie then currant, but the ceremonie being changed, the sence thereof againe is changed: which (saith he) although of the same precept of the Gospel the interpretation of the Church be other than in times past, yet this sence now currant in use inspired for the gouernement of the Church, ought to be receiued, as befitting the time and as the way to saluation. The reason followeth, because the iudgement of the Church being changed, the iudgement also of God is changed.* And by this account, whether it be their Church or their Councell, it is not onely extolled about the holie Scripture, but also about God himselfe; who is held, if we beleue them, to change his counsell after their pleasure: of which doctrine truely euen the Iewes in their Thalmud, and the Turkes in their Aleoran would be ashamed. And when afterwards the Popes haue reduced the vniuersall authoritie both of Councils and of the Church it selfe, to the person of the Pope alone (*Eugenius* in the Councell of Florence, *Pius* the second in his eloquent bull on that matter, and others afterward) it followeth that the Pope is exalted about the holie Scriptures, yea about God himselfe, and is therefore to be accounted for him, of whom the Apostle speaketh, *He exalteth himselfe against all that is called God or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the Temple of God as God;* who dare correct God, alter the sence of his word after his owne pleasure & commoditie? And thus Reader thou seest, how this Mysterie of Iniquitie still aduanceth forward.

Cardinal. Cusanus Epist. 2. & 3. ad Bohemos.

1. Thes. 2.

OPPOSITION.

The precedent progression is intermixed with so many and mightie oppositions, that there seemeth to be no need of any other; notwithstanding, as signes encrease according to the euill, so in this place aboundeth vnto vs, verie manie. The Emperour *Sigismund* had framed certaine Articles of reformation, to be exhibited to the Councell of Constance; diuers others also in diuers Nations had conceiued also some patternes. *M. Peter de Alliaco*, Cardinal of Cambray, is particularly

An. 1415.

particularly commaunded to write these things, for to shew them to the Council in the yere 1415, the first of Nouember, foure monthes after that *John* the foure and twentie had renounced the Popedome, the Seat being vacant, two yeres before *Martin* was chosen to succeed, during which space this matter of reformation seemed fittest of all to be thought vpon. The Preface of his discourse is by a place of *S. Bernard* vpon the *Canticles*, *Sermon 33.* *A rotten vlcere spreadeth it selfe at this day ouer all the bodie of the Church, so much the more desperat, by how much the more it is farre and wide extended; and by how much the more it is inward, so much the more it is dangerous. For if an heretike enemy should openly arise, he might be cast out, and so wither; if a violent enemy, he might perhaps hide her selfe from him: but now whom shall she cast out, or from whom shall she hide her selfe? All are friends, and all enemies, &c. they are the ministers of Christ, and serue Antichrist, &c. The wound of the Church is inward and incurable, & therefore in peace her bitternesse is most bitter.* And this place haue we aboute alledged at length, out of which he draweth this conclusion, Seeing that the Church from henceforth was fallen from euill to worse, vnlesse betimes it be looked to and preuented, after the horrible darknesse of so many schismes, much more horride things were in very few daies to be expected. He profecuteth afterwards by degrees those things that he thinketh doe belong to reformation of the vniuersall body of the Church: First, That it is necessarie there shold be citions held generall and Prouinciall Councils for the correction of abuses; especially generall, which can with greater authoritie correct both all sorts of persons, and all things. Neither are we to expect remedie from the Church of Rome, as if it were able to satisfie all cases that fall out: *Many* (saith he) *suspect that she hath dissembled these things, and for this cause hath neglected the holding of Councils, that she might the more fully beare dominion according to her owne lust and pleasure, and vsurpe the more freely the rights and prerogatives of other Churches:* That before the time of *Constantine*, because the Church might not with free libertie hold Councils, it hath fallen into diuers heresies; therefore no maruell if in these later times, through neglect of Councils, it fall into diuers schismes, and innumerable other euils and hereses *disponens*, which dispose it to heresies: That generall Councils are first of all necessary for the reformation of the body of the Church, especially of the Roman, which is *de arduis pertinentibus ad fidem, difficult in things pertaining to faith*; in as much as that which the *Glosse* saith (*That the Pope ought to require a Council when matters of faith is debated*) is not to be referred onely to the articles of faith, but to those things that belong to the state of the faithfull Church: whereas otherwise it would be too dangerous a thing to commit our faith to the judgement and fancie of one man alone. Lastly, that now, if euer was a fit opportunitie, either to procure the vnion of the Greekes with the Latines, or to repress the designements of the Turks, who after they haue rent and torne in peeces the Empire, will with all violence rush vpon the Church, and so make way for Antichrist: *And already* (saith he) *many very godly deuout men, not without cause, doe feare praesentialiter presently both the one and the other ruine; namely, of the Empire by the Turks, and of the Church by Antichrist.* 2. For the reformation of the Court of Rome: That for the auoiding of schismes, which proceed from the factions of the Cardinals, it is sufficient to haue of euery each Prouince but one onely Cardinal: Also that the Pope ought to prouide remedies, & cut off the grieuous burdens wherewith the Roman Church oppresseth other Churches, seeing that the Greeke Church is alienated from it because of her exactions, excommunications, and statutes: and that to take away those exactions, it were meet she should abate of her pompe, of her excesse, and

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A of the number of the Cardinals: Excommunications, which after the example of the Primitiue Church, for to make them the more to be feared, ought not come forth but for graue and weightie causes; whereas in these dayes they are thundered forth for verie light and for the most part temporall causes, and the Anathemas themselves; whereupon they are growne into contempt with all men: That there be a meane vsed in Statutes, Canons, and Decrees, which oblige to mortall paines, and of which may be said that of our Lord to the Pharisees, *They lay burdens on mens shoulders, which they would not touch with the top of the finger.* And this article reached very farre. 3. For the Prelats, That they should be chosen capable in doctrine, exemplarie in manners, resident in their charges, *moderat in diet and expence, abstaining from corporall armes, from secular affaires, cutting off all simonie.* That it was necessarie to declare, that many obseruations are of that kind, that they are rather counsels than precepts. He bringeth for example, *Leuit.* to be moderated out of the circumstances, the Seruice to be abridged to a deuout and entire breuitie, the varietie of Images in Churches to be repressed; a meane and bounds to be set in new Holidayes, Churches, and Saints; on Sundayes and solemne feasts onely to abstaine from labour, and out of the Diuine Seruice to banish and put forth all Apocripha Scriptures, new prayers, and to be short, all nouelties. 4. For religious persons, That their great number and diuersitie is altogether pernicious, whilest the one boasteth and is proud in his Rule against the other; aboute all the begging Friars ought to be bridled, being burdensome to the people, *damnable to spiritles and hospitals and to other truely poore and needie wretches, preiudiciall also to the Curats and poore of Parishes, and likewise, if it be well considered, to all estates of the Church: Those Preaching money-gatherers above all, because they defile the Church with their lyes, and make it ridiculous, and the office of Preaching contemptible.* Monkes after the Canon of Chalcedon, to be restrained in their monasteries to fastings and prayer, excluded from Ecclesiasticall and secular affaires, and to be debarred from all studies, Diuinitie excepted, seeing it is euident, *That the Court of Rome, in contemning Diuines, haue preferred to all Ecclesiasticall degrees the students of gainefull sciences, when neuerthelesse the Primitiue Diuines haue edified the Church, which some wrangling Lawyers haue destroyed, and now seeme to bring to extreme ruine; so that now this horrible proverbe is vsed of some, That the Church is come to that state, that it is not worthie to be governed by any but reprobats.* Neither doe they withdraw themselves from the iurisdiction of Ordinaries against the holie Decrees; by humane priuiledges obtained by importunitie: *For it is not a little to be doubted* (saith hee) *whether such men are in state to be saued.* All which things, although they respect more the circumstance than the substance of Christian religion, yet are they in no sort touched in that Council. Moreouer, this same *Peter de Alliaco* in his Questions, hath disputed, *Utrum Petri Ecclesia lege reguletur, whether the Church of Peter* (meaning the Roman) *may be ruled by a law: where he concludeth affirmatiuely, and subiecteth both the Pope and the Roman Church to a Council.* Yet there wanted not at the same time, euen in France it selfe, busie spies of the Pope, who maintained contrarie positions; for in the yere 1429 one *Erier: Iohn Sarazenus*, of the order of Preachers, durst teach and maintaine these same that follow: First, *That all powers and iurisdctions of the Church, which be other than the Papal power, are from the Pope himselfe, as touching their institution and collation.* 2. *Such like powers are not de iure diuino, of diuine right, nor immediatly instituted of God.* 3. *It is not found that Christ hath expressed such powers; to wit, different from the Papall, but only that supreme power to whom hee hath committed the foundation of the Church.* 4. *When*

Petrus de Alliaco in Vesperis.

soeuer any Statutes are made in any Councell, the whole authoritie giuing force to those Statutes, resideth in the Pope alone. *Fifthy*, It is not expressly shewed by the text of the Gospell, That the authoritie of iurisdiction was bestowed on any of the Apostles, saving onely on Peter. *Sixthy*, To say that the power of iurisdiction of inferiour Prelats, whether they be Bishops or Curats, is immediatly from God, like as is the Popes power, is after a sort repugnant to the truth. *Seuenthy*, Like as no flower, no bud, neither yet all flowers and buds together, can doe any thing in the tree, which are all ordained for the tree, and deriued from the tree, so all other powers can de iure, by right doe nothing against the chiefe Priesthood, or Priest, being instituted by him. (Here after is said, that the Spirituall power is the Pope, as sayd Hugo de Sancto Victore 2. De Sacramentis: out of which it may seeme, that here by chiefe Priesthood hee meaneth the Pope.) *Eightly*, That the Pope cannot commit Canonically simonie, prohibited by the positive law. The professors of Diuinitie in Paris, being solemnly assembled on the eighth day of March, and hauing duely weighed these positions, condemne them publikely, and compell the said *Iohn* to abiure them, and force him to answer vnto others contrarie, which here doe follow: *First*, That all powers of iurisdiction of the Church, which are not the Papall power, are from Christ himselfe, as touching their primarie institution and collation, but from the Pope and from the Church, as touching their limitation and ministeriall dispensation. *Secondly*, Such like powers are de iure diuino, of diuine right, and immediatly instituted by God. *Thirdly*, It is found in holie Scripture, that Christ hath founded the Church, and hath expressly ordained the powers diuers from the Papall. *Fourthly*, Whensoever in any Councell any Statutes are made, the whole authoritie giuing vigour to the Statutes, resideth not in the Pope alone, but principally in the holie Ghost, and in the Catholike Church. *Fifthy*, By the text of the Gospell, and by the doctrine of the Apostles, and on the Disciples sent of Christ. *Sixthy*, To say that the power of iurisdiction of inferiour Prelats, whether they be Bishops or Curats, is immediatly from God, is consonant to the Euangelicall and Apostolicall truth. *Seuenthy*, Any power, that is to say, of the Church, by right may doe something, and in certaine cases, against the Pope. *Eightly*, Any whoeuer that is but meere man, hauing the use of reason, of whatsoever dignitie, authoritie, and preheminance, yea though he be a Pope, may commit simonie. *Lastly*, If I haue vttered or written any other things, which seeme contrarie to the foresayd truthes, or which are otherwise written, I will not stand in them, but will and entreat that they be accounted for not sayd or written, and all other things whatsoever, which may seeme to yeeld occasion of scandall or error. The Acts of all which are solemnly kept in the Arches of the Sorbone.

The Councell of Basil was able perhaps to take in hand a reformation with more courage than that of Constance; but it had *Eugenius* to contend with, who, as before we haue seene, defended stoutly euen the least articles, so that by admonitions, gainesayings, and oppositions, he left nothing vnattempted. Notwithstanding the historie of the Councell of Basil, written by *Aeneas Syluius*, then Clerke of the Ceremonies, who was there present, and since *Pius* the second, and therefore a most fit witness, assureth vs, that many things were there grauely pronounced according to the truth: although he plainly sheweth, that *Eugenius* had intruded into it many of his, which were incorporated and had taken oarh in the Councell, and yet neuertheless in all things tooke the part of *Eugenius*, who were vulgarly named the *Grisean* sect. In the yeare then 1438, when *Eugenius* had assigned his Councell at Ferrara, to the preiudice of that of Basil, the Emperour *Albert* came in betweene to be a mediator of peace, and for that intent assembled

An. 1438.

assembled a Parliament first at Norimberg, and after at Mentz, wherein were present the Deputies of the Councell of Basil, of all nations: in *Eugenius* name appeared none in shew, yet verie many in deed, who set forward his intention. The Fathers of Basil consented, that for the commoditie of the Greekes the place of the Councell should be changed. *Eugenius* for to retain his authoritie, would haue the Councell of Basil bee dissolved. In the meane betweene both was the Emperour, who would haue it so to be transferred, that it should be thought dissolved: Neuertheless he found so much reason in the proceeding of them of Basil, that he gaue them for Protector of the Councell *Conrade de Windzberg*; whereby he manifested both that he approved the Councell, and disliked the wiles of *Eugenius*, namely that which the Author noteth, *The embassadours requested that the Fathers would repaire and transferre the Councell to another place; which one thing Eugenius seemed to haue sought, that so he might either disperse the Fathers of the Councell, or take away the libertie thereof.*

During the Parliament of Mentz, was disputed among the Diuines in the Councell of Basil, of the person of *Eugenius*, the one part affirming, *That he is an heretike*; others, *That he is a relapse*, and some denying both: *the more grievous sentence carried it away; That he was an heretike and a relapse both together.* The Diuines therefore set downe in writing eight Conclusions (which they call Truthes) and send copies of them throughout all the world, which were such: *First*, It is a Truth of Catholike Faith, That a sacred generall Councell hath power above the Pope, and all other whomsoever. *Secondly*, That a generall Councell lawfully assembled, cannot, without the consent of the same, be by the Pope of Rome his authoritie, either dissolved or transferred, or prorogued for a time; and that is of the same Truth. *Thirdly*, That he which obstinately opposeth himselfe to these Truthes, is to be iudged an heretike. *Fourthly*, Pope *Eugenius* the fourth hath repugned these Truthes, when first by the fulnesse of Apostolike power he attempted to dissolve or transferre the Councell of Basil. *Fifthy*, *Eugenius* being at length warned by the sacred Councell, hath reuoked the errors repugnant to these Truthes. *Sixthy*, The dissolving or transferring thereof, the second time by *Eugenius* attempted, is contrarie to the Truthes aforesaid, and containeth an unexcusable error concerning faith. *Seuenthy*, *Eugenius* enterprising againe to breake vp, or transferre the Councell, is fallen into his errors formerly reuoked. *Eightly*, *Eugenius* being admonished by the Synod to reuoke the dissolution or translation by him attempted, for the second time, persisting in rebellion after his contumacie declared, and erecting a conuenticle at Ferrara, declareth himselfe obstinat. Neuertheless the Fathers would haue these yet publikely be examined by all the Doctors both of the Ciuile and Canon Law, for the space of six dayes, *Lewis* Cardinall and Archbishop of Arles, sitting President, a man of great learning and courage, and they would that all should speake their opinion of them. The Abbot of Palermo, vulgarly called *Panormitan*, tooke vpon him the defence of *Eugenius*, yet durst not denie that hee was an heretike, but onely that he was a relapse, whom he would rather should be called a *Prolapse*, because from a relapse is no returne. On the contrarie *Iohn de Segouia*, a Spanish Diuine of great fame, stily maintaineth out of his owne sayings, *That he is an Infidell rather than a beleuer, a member of Sathan rather than of Christ; opposing to that singular Glosse alledged by Panormitan, That the iudgement of the Roman Church ought to be preferred before all the world, the authoritie of S. Hierome, Orbis maior est urbe. The authoritie of the whole world is greater than of one onely cite.* The Bishop of Arges proceedeth, *That the Pope is onely the Minister of the Church. Panormitan waxing in choler, contendeth, That he is Lord thereof.* *Segouia* replieth,

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Take heed what thou sayest, Panormitan, that is a more honourable title for the Bishop of Rome, whereby he calleth himselfe the Seruant of the seruants of God. For that is taken from the saying of Christ to his disciples, when they asked which of them should be the greatest; for you know that he answered, The Princes of the Gentiles rule as Lords over them, &c. But the Archbishop of Lyons, Embassador of the French king, stoutly proued by many reasons, that Eugenius was an heretike, and detested the lacke of courage of them, that had created such a man Bishop of Rome. The Bishop of Burgos Embassadour for Spaine, insisting on the three former conclusions, concludeth out of all the Law diuine and humane, That the Councell is above the Pope, that he is an heretike which denieth it. But comming to other things, which properly respected the fact of Eugenius, It seemed (saith the Authour) that he somewhat departed from himselfe, and was no more Burgenis; neither did that grace appeare in his words, nor that grauitie in his speech, or chearefulnesse in his countenance, and if he could haue scene himselfe, perhaps he would haue bene abashed at himselfe: For who (saith he) did not then see the force of the truth, which furnished this man, speaking for it, with sentence and words; but speaking against it, tooke away from him that verie eloquence which naturally was ingrafted in him? Yet thus much modesty shewed both he and Panormitan, that they sayd ingeniously, That the iudgement of the Diuines was to be beleued, and not their opinion who were not instructed in the holte Scriptures. What Doctors of the Canon-law are these? what assistants or assistants of Popes and of Councils, which neglected to read the holic Scriptures.

The Authour proceedeth to declare, what was done vpon those three conclusions: vpon the first, namely, which hath two points, whether the Councell be above the Pope, and whether Catholike faith commaunders to beleue so; And for the Popes authoritie was solemnly cited; Thou art Peter and vpon this rocke &c. Item, I haue prayed for thee Peter, &c. By conference then of places, and by the exposition of the Fathers, they manifestly proued, that these things were promised to the church, not to Peter, much lesse to the Pope: and indeed, that many Popes haue grieuouly erre'd, and of these they produce examples; That the Church, which is represented by a Councell, is the mother of all the faithfull, and by consequent of the Pope, whence of Anacletus and Calixtus it is called Mother; That the Church is the Spouse of Christ, the Pope onely his Vicar, a Vicar, who can neuer be above the Spouse, who is one bodie with the bridegroom: That these words euer in their mouth, maketh nothing for them, whatsoever yee shall bind on earth, &c. for this power was giuen to the Church not vnto Peter, for edification not for destruction, which consequently may be taken away from the Pope, if he abuse it, who is onely Vicar and Steward of the Church; therefore not equal to the Church, seeing Christ sendeth Peter himselfe to the Church, tell it (sayeth he) to the Church, which if he will not heare, he ought to be accounted an heathen and a publican: That this Church ought to be heard by the Pope, in a generall Councell lawfully assembled: And that all those Canonists, which buzze into his eare, that the Pope cannot be iudged but by god alone, that the first Seat is iudged of none, that though he should leade multitudes of foules with him into hell yet is it lawfull for none to say vnto him, what or why doest thou so; doe most shamefully flatter him: That those decrees are the words of the Popes themselues, labouring to enlarge the fringes of their garment: That those places also of Scripture, Thou shalt be called Cephas, &c. I will giue vnto thee the keyes, &c. I haue prayed for thee, &c. Feed my sheepe, &c. Launch forth into the deepe, and the like, are induced against the true meaning of the holic Scripture; which they proued both by forcible reasons, and

and by good and well applied places of the Fathers: That the Pope, if he obey not the Church, may be deposed by it, seeing he is not the naturall head thereof, but grafted in, which may be lesse be cut off than the rest of the members, if hee ill execute his charge, if he be for the destruction or dammage thereof; be cast into the fire, if he bring not forth good fruit, and be troden vnder foot in the street, if he be vnprofitable: Which is the opinion of S. Hierome, interpreting the vnprofitable salt, That the Prelat foolish and vnswaorie in preaching, chiefly in Peters chaire, is to be cast forth of doores, that is, to be deposed, that he may be troden vnder feet of swine, that is, of Diuels, which beare rule ouer the euill Prelat, as ouer a beast of their flocke. And this not onely for heresie, but for whatsoeuer crime whereby the Church is scandalized. And this so much the more truely, for that the Pope, to speake properly, is not the Vicar of Christ, but of the Church; and the Lord and Master may by all right depose his Vicar or Lieutenant, whose power ceaseth when the Master is in prefence: so likewise doth the power of the Pope when a Councell is gathered, wherein remaineth fullnesse of power. Here this doubt came in their way, But the calling of a Councell, doth it not belong to the Pope alone? Yea (saith he) if that haue place, who seeth not that the ruine of the Church is neere at hand, and will presently ensue? For who knoweth not that hee which will sinne, will sinne without punishment? And who wil beleue that a Pope will assigne a Councell for to repress and reforme himselfe? Neither doe I find (saith he) either by histories, or by the Acts of the Apostles themselues, that Popes alone haue assembled Councils: The first of all Councils, where Mathias is substituted in place of Iudas, I find to be gathered not by the commaundement of Peter, but of Christ, who commaunded his Apostles, that they should not depart from Hierusalem, but should expect the promise of the Father. The second for the election of Deacons, was not assembled by Peter alone, but by the twelue Apostles, for it is written, Then the twelue called the multitude together. The third for the taking away of Circumcision, and other legall rites, was gathered by common inspiration, as it is written, The Apostles and Elders came together. The fourth for the permission of certaine legall things, seemeth to be assembled by James the brother of the Lord. The same was also in the Primitiue Church, and since by the authoritie of the Emperours, yet so, as that the Popes consent was requisit according to reason, but on condition that the greater part carrie it away. And much more the Councell, being once assembled, cannot be by the Pope reuoked, seeing he himselfe is a part of it, which ought to giue place to the greater, and from it to depart, maketh him guiltie of schisme. And thus much for the first Truth, whereon the second dependeth, That the Pope cannot dissolve a Councell, otherwise, at the first word he should heare of correction, he would bethinke himselfe of this remedie. There remained the third, whether this of Catholike faith is so to be beleued: Which they shew affirmatiuely, because we are held to beleue whatsoeuer is in the Gospell; now in it, say they, is dic Ecclesie, on which words the Council of Constance hath grounded this Decree, That the power of a Councell is above the Pope, vnder paine of heresie. And so these three first Conclusions rest most firme, by consideration of which the others also are approved.

Now this decision was to be applied against Eugenius, and part of them who had consented in these Truthes, desired that the sentence should be deferred, some hoping they should haue better of him, others, by reason that many Bishops yet stayed in the Parliament of Mentz, famous men, whose Suffrages might seeme to be expected. And Panormitan tooke occasion thereupon to inferre, That the Bishops ought to be stayed for, and that inferiours haue not in Councell a Suffrage

decisive, but onely consultative: Vnto which added *Ludouicus Romanus*, That argument is not to be taken out of the *Acts of the Apostles*, whose examples were rather to be admired than imitated; neither is it there manifest, that the *Apostles* had called the *Elders* out of their duetie; there is onely declared that they were present, out of which nothing can be inferred. Which speech all wondering at in so great a man, crie out *Blasphemie*. Then therefore *Lewis* Cardinall of Arles, *Aman* of all other most constant, and borne to the gouernment of generall Councils, taking up the words of all the Orators that had spoken, declareth, That all these doubts were without cause, That these Conclusions had bene maturely determined and weighed, That the embassadours of all the Princes had giuen vpon these their sentence, which were the chiefest men in the Church, That the Bishops were in fault that they were not present, That to such as were present greater reuerence was giuen than in any Councell before, and indeed greater authoritie, for so much as their prerogatiues are fully restored vnto them, whom they placed in their former state, and haue made them which were not Bishops, but shadowes, to be true Bishops: That euen they which now do most draw back, haue in their writings auouched the same Truthes (meaning by those words of *Panormitan*, and *Ludouicus Romanus*.) But (saith hee) the *Presbiters* are not so to be put downe, who in the Councell of the *Apostles* had a decisive voyce; and in like sort also in the auncient Councils: That in time past the Bishop and the *Presbiter*, or *Priest*, was but one and the same; in so much that *S. Augustine* saith on these words, *I will giue vnto thee the keyes, &c.* That our Lord gaue *iudiciariam potestatem*, *iudiciarie power* to Bishops and *Priests*, especially seeing they haue more done their duetie in the Councell than the Bishops; these fearing to lose their dignities and their delights, those for so just a cause not dreading any losse, nor yet death it selfe: That the Councell hath now sat eight yeares, so that there cannot be pretended any headlong proceeding, nor any ignorance. And moreover, the threats of some Princes are inferred beside the Purpose, who are wiser than to attempt any thing in preiudice of the Councell; and they themselves also being taught by the word of God, not to feare them that can kill the bodie onely, but him that can cast the soule into hell. Lastly, That seeing the embassadours of *Eugenius* dare preach euerie where their new doctrine, That the Pope is above the Church, they ought not deferre the publication of those three Conclusions: yea That they should imitat the *Apostle Paul*, who would not for one houre forbear *Peter*, not walking according to the truth of the Gospell with a right foot: But that the other things, which respect his person, might be deferred, least *Panormitan* exclaime more than needs. At these words *Panormitan*, *Ludouicus Romanus*, and others, made a great tumult, and greatly vpbraided him, That he had related those Conclusions at *Louaine*, and at *Colonia*; which he himselfe also denied not. And verie hardly could *Iohn de Segouia* obtaine silence to be made, though all did take an exceeding great delight to heare him speake: He then strongly confirmed the sentence of the President, & after many forcible arguments, The followers of *Eugenius* (saith he) preach heresie all the world ouer, neither doth any say vnto them that they should surcease: but to you that intend to publish the truth, a thousand things are whispered in your eares, for to make you be silent, &c. And to you my Lord President, I say, that you must rather please God than Princes: If you therefore depart hence without conclusion, know that you shall render an account thereof in the seuerer iudgement of God. And at length the Cardinall of Arles pronounceth sentence, whereby the minds of the contrarie partie were fore troubled. The Councell had established eight Conclusions, yet with intention to retaine onely the three former: These (saith he) in the name of the

Father,

A Father and of the Sonne, and of the holie Ghost, I conclude. This said, he rose vp cheerfully, and very many struing, kisse the skirts of his garments; it being the common opinion, That this was rather a worke of the holie Ghost, than of him: *Panormitan* being much ashamed, retireth to his lodging, and in his chamber complaineth of his king (the king of Arragon) in that he had compelled him to fight against the truth, and to lose his reputation; and his soule. And the Author addeth, That notwithstanding his protestation, he had seene him oftentimes in his studie complaining of his Prince, that he was carried away with the counsell of others; and the Archbishop of Arles vpbraideth him, that none was more eager in publishing the errors of *Eugenius*, none more readie to the Monitories and suspension, and therefore that he should examine his conscience. Now in the end, the Decree is read and published, and the Hymne *Te Deum* sung according to custome, with the assent of the embassadours of the Princes, yea of the Emperour and of the king of France, notwithstanding the endeouours of the aduerser parties to the contrarie; and they protested by the mouth of the Archbishop of Tours, That what they had moued to the contrarie, had not bene for that they doubted of the truth and holinesse of those Conclusions (for which they were euen readie to suffer martyrdom) but that they might reserue to themselves some way of treating a peace. The same Authour noteth, That the pestilence waxing hot at *Basil*, many of the Prelats departed into diuers places, who at the point of death receiving the Sacrament, said to their friends that stood about them, we are within few houres to appeare before the tribunall seat of God: All ye which be present pray to God to conuert them who acknowledge *Gabriel* (to wit *Eugenius*) for Pope, because they cannot be saved in that estate; testifying euen to the last gaspe, that they will dye in the faith of the Councell of *Basil*. And notwithstanding all this danger, the Cardinall of Arles would not depart till he had fully brought to passe both the deposition of *Eugenius*, and the election and coronation of a new Pope, which was *Amade* Duke of *Sauoy*, called *Felix* the fourth. Then, because he had bene married, grew a question whether he might be chosen; it was determined, That not onely he who hath had a wife, but he which yet hath one, may be admitted: For why else (say they) doe our Doctors dispute, whether one that hath a wife, being chosen Pope, is bound to yeeld the iurisdiction of marriage to his wife, but because also a married man may be reuincid? These haue both also (as you know) Popes in marriage state, neither was *Peter*, the Prince of the *Apostles*, without a wife. Why doe we now obiect these things? It may be it were neuer the worse if many *Priests* did more, *Sacerdotes quam plures vxotari*, because many would be saved in a married Priesthood, which in a barren are damned. Some doe note, That the Cardinall of Arles, to whom the prayse of this whole action is referred; being sent from the Councell into lower *Germanie*, in his returne, verie hardly escaped an ambush which *Eugenius* had layd against him: so that he seemed not without cause to haue said in a certaine Session of the Councell, *Christ was sold for thirtie peeces of silver, but I was sold for a farre greater price, for thirtie crownes of gold; deliuered and payed by Gabriel (sometime Eugenius) that I might be taken prisoner, and presented vnto him.*

It is worthie remembrance, That when *Eugenius* had sent Legat *Julian* Cardinall of *Saint Angelo* to the Councell of *Basil*, & presently after sent him commaundement to dissolue it: *Julian* laied open vnto him by letters, how great an iniurie he should doe himselfe; and brought many reasons against it, among others this, That the *Bohemians*, who had bene called thither, would by good right say, Is not heere the finger of God seene? Behold armies haue so often fled

from
Epist. Julian.
Cardin. Legati
in German. ad
Eugen. Papam.

from before them, and now the vniuersall Church also sicth. Behold they can neither be overcome with armes, nor by learning. Whereas hee alleged his warres, although he most certainly foresaw, that he should lose Rome and the whole patrimonie of the Church; that he ought rather to goe them than breake off the Councell, seeing that the saluation of one soule, for which Christ died, is deerer vnto him than all the temporall detaine of the Church, than the whole world, than heauen it selfe. If not (saith he) *Now is the axe layed to the root, the tree leaneth ready to fall, neither can it long persist.* For the feare also hee was brought into, least the Councell would take away the temporall of the Church; *A wonderfull matter (saith hee) if this Councell did not consist of Churchmen, it might perhaps be doubted: But what Church-man is there, will consent to this determination, not onely because it were against faith, but because it would redound to their owne detrimēt, &c. But I feare, least it happen vnto vs as it did to the Iewes, who said, If we let this man goe, the Romans will come and take away our place and our nation: So likewise we, if we say, If we admit the Councell to be kept, the Lay-men will come and take away our temporallie. But as by the iust iudgement of God it came to passe, that the Iewes lost their place, which would not let goe Christ; so by the iust iudgement of God it will come to passe, That because wee will not let the Councell be called, wee shall lose our temporallie, and I would to God that not also our bodies and soules too.* To that which at last he replied, That the Councell of Basil was not lawfull; Yea rather, answereth he; *it dependeth on the Councell of Constance; if that were a true one then also this. No man hath seemed to doubt, whether that were lawfull, nor likewise of whatsoeuer was there decreed: for if any should say, That the Decrees of that Councell are not of validitie, hee must needs also confesse, that the deposition of Iohn the foure and twentieth, by vertue of those Decrees, was of no force; If they were of force, neither could the election of Pope Martin hold good, being done whilst hee was yet living: If Martin was not Pope, then neither is your Holinesse, who were elected of the Cardinals by him created; it importeth therefore none more than your Holinesse, to defend the Decrees of that Councell.* And let the Reader note the argument of the Cardinall against the Papists, which call into doubt the authoritie of these two Councils, and consequently the vniuersall vocation and succession of Rome; whereas Iulian maintaineth on the contrarie, That there hardly is found any grounded on so manyfold authoritie. And therefore hee defendeth the Decree, whereby is affirmed, That the Councell is about the Pope, by the same reasons and examples, as the Fathers of the Councell of Basil.

It was the ordinarie question of that time; in which besides the decision of the Councell of Basil, the greatest learned men in particular defend the sentence of the Councell. And *Aeneas Sylvius* before he came to the Popedome, in the Historie of the Councell of Basil, which wee haue aboue abridged, had plainly declared his mind. In his Epistle also to *Gasp. Schlicke* the Emperours Chancellour, wherein he approueth the Councell, of king *Charles* the Ieuenth, for the re-union of the Church; *It is lawfull (saith he) for secular Princes to assemble, whether the Clergie will or no, and neuerthelesse an union may be made thereby; for hee should be vndoubtedly Pope, whom all the Princes obeyed. I see no Clergie-men that will suffer martyrdom for the one nor for the other partie; wee all of vs haue the same faith that our Princes haue, if they did worship Idols, wee would worship them also. And wee would not onely deny the Pope, but euen Christ also; if the secular power did urge it, because charitie is waxed colde, and all faith is perished. How euer it be, wee desire peace, be it by another Councell, or by an assembly of Princes, I weigh not, for wee are*

Aeneas Sylvius
Epist. 54. & 55.

not

- A not to consent for the name, but for the thing: Call bread (if thou wilt) a stone, and give it me when I am an hungrie. Let it not be called a Councell, let it be called a Conuenticle, a Congregation, a Synagogue, it mattereth not, provided that schisme be taken away. Therefore that which the king of France writeth pleaseth me exceedingly, and I would sicke to his opinion, for he seemeth to permit to our king (to wit, of the Romans) the assembling of this congregation. How farre is he from them who acknowledge no Councell but that which the Pope is author of? And not without cause truly considering what he writeth of the Councils of his time to *Lopus* of Portugal: *Now the Church is a play, such as we see of the ball, whilst with the strokes of the players it is stricken to and fro. But God beholdeth these things from on high, and although hefeldome insliet on earth deserved punishments on men, yet in his last iudgement hee leaueth nothing unpunished.* But so soone afterwards as he sat on that chaire of pestilence, hee retracteth, yea when first the Cardinals hat touched his head, hee changeth his mind, and declineth to the left hand, as appeareth in his last Epistles. In the same maner spake *Laurence Valla*, a Senator of Rome, and wrot a booke of purpose against the Donation of *Constantine*, at the time when Pope *Eugenius* caused the Emperour *Sigismund* to swear vnto it, and otherwise would not crowne him: and if you aske what was the state of the Church in his time, I say, and exclaime (saith he) that in my time there hath beene none in the Popedome either a faithfull or a wise Steward, so much wanteth it that he hath giuen bread and food to the familie of God, that the Pope maketh warre on peaceable people, and nourisheth discord betweene the chiefest cities: the Pope with his consumeth both other mens riches and his owne. The Pope pilleth not onely the Commonwealth, more than *Verrus* or *Catilina*, or any other robber of the common treasure durst do; but also makes a gain euen of Ecclesiastical goods, and the holie Ghost, which *Simon Magus* himselfe detesteth. And when he is of some men admonished and reproued of these things, he denieth them not, but confesseth them openly, and boasteth of it as lawfull; and by any meanes will haue the patrimonie of the Church giuen by *Constantine*, wrested out of the hands of them that occupie it: as if that being recovered, Christian religion would be more happie, and not rather more oppressed with wickednesse, luxuries, and lusts, if yet it can be any more oppressed, and that there is any place further left for wickednesse, &c. And in the meane time Christ in so many millions of poore dyeth with hunger and nakednesse, &c. There is therefore no more religion, no holinesse, no feare of God, and, which I speake with horror, impious men take the excuse of all their wicked crimes from the Pope. For in him, and in them which accompanie him, is the example of all wickednesse; so that we may say with *Esay* and *S. Paul*, against the Pope and them that are about him, The name of God is blasphemmed because of you among the Gentiles. Yee which teach others, teach not your selues: Yee who teach that men should not steale, yee play the robbers: Yee which teach to abhorre sacriledge, committ the same: Yee which glorie in the Law, and in the Papacie, by preuarication of the Law dishonor God the true high Bishop. And if the Roman people by too much riches lost veram illam Romanitatem, that true Roman heart: if *Salomon* also for the same cause fell, through the loue of women, into Idolatrie, thinke we that the same is not done in the Pope, and in the rest of the Clergie? Yea so farre is he carried, that he saith, Alledge no more vnto mee thy *Dabo tibi clauas*, &c. I will giue thee the keyes, &c. to proue thence thy fulnesse of power: But wilt thou know (saith he) what is that *Tibi dabo* in vertue of which thou mayst chalenge to thy selfe that thy soueraine iurisdiction, read in the Gospell, what *Sathan* saith to Christ, *Tibi dabo*, I will giue thee all these kingdomes, if thou wilt fall downe and worship me, &c. And as for doctrine he complaineth, that it is all euerie where besprinkled with fables: O wonderfull madnesse of men (saith he) which giue credit to

Jdem Epist. 104

Laurentius
Valla de
Donatione
Constant.

Ddd

these

these old wines doting tales! But how long is it since this was done? before the coming of A the Sauour, or since? Nothing of these things is knowne. He may be shamed of their triflings, and more than mimick lightnesse. A Christian man, which calleth himselfe the sonne of Truth and of Light, would blush to utter such things, which are not onely true, but also nothing probable or likely, &c. Christian sinceritie hath no need to be maintained by falsehood; it is of it selfe sufficiently ynough defended by it owne truth and light, without those fained and deluding fables, most contumelious against God, against Christ, and against the holie Ghost, &c. But our fable-tellers bring in Idols speaking, &c. Neither can I be perswaded that these writers were any other than Infidels, who did it in derision of Christians, &c. We discerne false money, reject it, and call it in; and shall we not discern, but retaine, a false Authour? Shall we mixe these fables with good bookes? Shall wee defend them for good? But we had need to set downe here the whole booke. B

Nicholas Cusan, by nation a German, Doctor of Diuinitie, and afterward a Cardinall, the most learned of this age, in his books *De Concordantia Catholica*, consenteth to the Councell of Basil, though *Aeneas Syluius* nameth him that *Hercules of Eugenius*, and bewaileth, That so noble a wit had turned aside to defend that schismaticke. In the first booke he defendeth and proueth these Positions, That all the promises of Christ speaking to Peter, *I will giue thee the keyes, &c. The gates of hell, &c. I haue prayed for thee, &c.* are to be refered to the vniuersall Church, and not particularly to S. Peter, or his successour, especially seeing many Popes haue bene schismatickes and heretikes: That euerie Bishop hath his seat in the Church; according to the priuiledge of the place which he holdeth, and by that reason the Bishop of Rome obtaineth the same degree of Presidencie which Rome had in old time among the Gentiles; and he addeth on an heape, That the Apostles had chosen Peter for their head: but whence doth that appeare? That otherwise, if they should hold place according to the holinesse of him that first sat there, or according to the reuerence of the place, it is not to be doubted but that Ierusalem ought to haue the Primacie, where our chiefe Priest washed his Church with his owne blood; but that Ephesus, the seat of S. Iohn, should be preferred before Alexandria, where S. Marke; and so of the rest: That it belongeth to the dutie of the Bishop of Rome, to assemble a generall Councell of all the Churches of whom he is acknowledged; which dutie if hee should slacke to performe; the Emperor ought to supplie it in his stead, least the Church should suffer damage. In the second booke, That this Councell dependeth not on the Head thereof, but on the consent of all which sit there, who ought to contribute what in them is, to the making of the Decrees; so that no prescription may take place to the contrarie, seeing that the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, euen sitting President, is not greater there than that of euerie Metropolitane in his Prouince: That indeed Peter himselfe hath receiued in no wise greater authoritie from Christ, than the rest of the Apostles; neither was there any thing said vnto him, that was not said equally to the others as well as to him, for as much as they are no lesse Rockes than Peter; so that that which is said, *Vpon this rock, &c.* is to be refered to his Confession, not to his Person: therefore seeing the power of binding and loosing is the foundation of all diuine iurisdiction, it is manifest, that all Bishops, and (perhaps) all Priests, as touching iurisdiction, haue equall power. He restraineth afterwards, not as touching the execution, *quæ sub certis posituius terminis clauditur, which is limited with certaine positiuè bounds*, that is, ordained by mans law; but he addeth, That the cause thereof ceasing, all degrees also of maioritie and minoritie doe cease, so that it returneth againe to naturall right, to wit, to that equalitie. That an

Aeneas Syluius
L. 1. de Gestis
Basilienfis Con-
cily.
Nichol. Cusanus
de concord. Ca-
tholica, lib.
1. c. 11.
Idem. c. 14. 15.
Ibid. cap. 15. 16.

L. 2. c. 2.

Ibid. c. 8.
Ibid. c. 12.

Idem L. 2. c. 13.

A an vniuersall Councell, without all controuersie, is about the Bishop of Rome, whose power if in some places it be said to be of Christ, yet in many other places it is held, That his Primacie is from men, and dependeth on the Canons. Wherfore, as it is held, That his Primacie is from men, and dependeth on the Canons. Wherfore, as he may be both judged and deposed by a Councell, so he cannot abrogat, change, or contrarie the Canons of Councels. For proofe whereof wee read: That the Popes legats haue spoken standing in vniuersal Councels, their letters were wont to be examined: And his Decretals are inferior to the Canons, which if the Pope contradict, hee is not heard. All which positions he proueth verie largely, both by the Decrees, and by the writings of the Fathers themselves. In the third booke he evidently proueth by many arguments drawne from out of Ecclesiasticall antiquitie, That it is false, that *Constantine* either gaue the Empire of the West to the Pope, or could giue it; That it is nothing truer, that Popes haue bestowed the Empire on *Charlemaine*, or to any of his successours, or translated it from the Greekes to the Germans, as they pretend; That it is most false, that the Electors of the Empire, were instituted by the Pope, and in his name did proceed in their election: he maintaineth to the contrarie, That the Emperour doth so depend of God alone, that he hath no need to be confirmed by the Pope, and that he can in no wise be deposed by the Pope: That in his charge the Emperour is the minister and Vicar of Christ, appoynted by him supreme keeper and preseruer of the Faith; by which reason also he himselfe ought to be present in Councell; and euerie Prince in his dominions may vse the same and like right: That the Emperours at all times haue assembled vniuersall Councels, and haue defended their order, as Kings and Princes haue vnderaken the care of Nationall and Prouinciall, yet neuertheless the Emperour and the Pope concurring together; this charging the Bishops to be there, and the other exhorting them to their dutie, and commaunding the Lay-men to be present: And that indeed the Pope chalengeth not the conuocation of them to himselfe alone; but affirmeth, that it ought not to be held without his authoritie; yet so, as that the Emperour in case the Pope bee negligent in it, may and ought to commaund and assigne a Councell, *præceptiuè, with authoritie*: That the Emperour did euer sit chiefe in them, assisted with fiftene or twentie of the greatest Noblemen of his Court, to whom he commaunded place to be giuen; yea he himselfe also and his Lieutenants propounded such things as seemed to make for the peace and profit of the Church: That whatsoener the Church possesseth in temporall things, is come from the benefits of Emperours, Kings, and Princes, who to cloath him haue stripped themselves. And here he exclaimeth, *what doe the temporalties of Churches profit the Commonwealth, what the Empire, what the subiects? Surely little or nothing. Or how was enioyned to giue the inuestitures of Bishops without money. Wee haue scene whether the Pope hath taken away from the Emperour the sole inuestiture, because the Bishop of Rome hath not onely drawne to himselfe the meere inuestiture without receiuing money, but also onely for money: so that throughout all Germanie all complaine that they are not onely grieuously burdened, but euen destroyed. An enraged desire after the earthly possessions of the Church at this day possesseth ambitious Bishops, so that wee see them seeke after those things after they are promoted; as they did before: all their care is for temporall things, none of spirituall. Such was not the intension of the Emperours, their will was not that the temporall things that they gaue them for their further maintenance, should swallow up the spirituall.*

Of the Cardinall de *Alliaco* we haue scene, what Articles of reformation he exhibited in the Councell of Constance: And in the Preface he saith, he hath writ-

D d d ij

Idem ibid. c. 17.
18. 19.

Ibid. c. 20. 21.

Ibid. l. 3. c. 3. 4.

Idem ibid.
c. 6. & 7.

Ibid. c. 8. & 9.

Ibid. c. 15.

Ibid. c. 16. & 20.

Ibid. c. 27.
28. 30.
Dijl. 63. c. in
Synodo.

ten

Petrus de Aliaco in Encomio Theologico. Idem in conclusionibus.

Panormitan, de Electionib. c. signific.

Antonin. part. 3. Tit. 22. ca. 10.

Montrelet. vol. 1. Baptista Manzuan. lib. de vita beata. cap. ultimo.

Nicholaus Harlensis. in Collectionibus.

Antonin. part. 3. Tit. 22. cap. 7. par. 2.

ten more concerning that matter. But in his *Encomium Theologicum*, expounding these words, *Vpon this rocke will I build my Church; vpon Christ and his word*, saith he. As also, in his conclusions, he tieth the Church to the holie Scripture, maintayneth that the Church of Rome may erre, and taketh away the temporall Monarchie from the Pope. Likewise *Panormitan*, though the champion of *Eugenius* in the Councell of Basill; *A prius faithfull man is more to be beleueed, alledging reason or authoritie out of the Scripture, than all a Councell, or than the Pope himselfe, because a Councell may erre, as at other times they haue erred, &c.* Also, hee concealeth not, that the Popes in his age liued in such sort, that they made it euidently appeare, that they beleueed not there was another life after this, resurrection, or judgement. Against the luxurie also, pride and tyrannie of the Pope and his Clergie, is extant a booke of one *Alain Chartier* Secretarie to king *Charles* the seuenth, which saith, That he expected euerie day when a thunder-bolt would fall from heauen on the Roman Church. But *Thomas* of Redon, a Carmelite and famous Preacher, durst doe yet more: he had euer in his mouth the abominations of Rome, which had need of great reformation. He (saith *Antoninus*) when he had for many yeares preached through Fraunce with verie great concourse of people, making good motions vnto good, though not according to knowledge, he commeth to Rome with the Embassadors of the Venetians, by whom he is recommended to the Pope. But by the Popes commaund he was apprehended, at the instigation and instance of *William d'Estouteville* Cardinall of Rouan, then Vice-Chauncellour, and of the Procourer of the order of the Carmelites, and as an Apostate was solemnely degraded and burned. *Montrelet* commendeth his pietie and holinesse. *Mantuan* also, in his Booke *De vita beata*, so that he bringeth him in as a true Martyr of Christ, in whose heart was resident the auncient seruencie of faith, whom enuie by manifest injustice deliuered to the cruel fire. *I make no doubt* (saith he) *but that the flames of this man may be compared to the fire, not of Scauola, but of S. Lawrence.* There are also read verses in his praise, in which are celebrated his holinesse, myracles, and martyrdome; among which are thesethat follow:

Lippis Lux oculis nocuit, non substnuere Vinere tam sanctum, secula Romana cohors.

Their poor-blind eyes could not endure the light, Nor filthie Rome that holie man in sight.

And almost the like had happened a little before to *Manfred* of Verceil. *Manfred* (saith *Antoninus*) a man of venerable life, religious, of the order of Preachers, was learned and feared God: he preaching in the parts of Lombardie, led by I know not what spirit, sold the people; that the coming of Antichrist was neere, and as if he were to be in his time, he brought in for this, his reasons out of the Scriptures, chiefly out of the *Apocalyps*, &c. He gathered together therefore about foure hundred persons of euerie age and sex, and Pope *Martin* would haue dissolued this assemblie, but he could not doe it, because their conuersation had gained a good opinion among all men; though he forbad any thing to bee giuen them, that through need they might be compelled to returne home. They come then to Bononia, Florence, and at last to Rome, where verie many of them died, expecting the manifestation of Antichrist; but (saith *Antoninus*) without seeing him: he should rather haue sayd without knowing him. And *Manfred* some time after died at Rome vnder *Eugenius*, who

A who commaunded Frier *Barnardine*, that monster of superstition, to write against him: And *Manfred* on the other side reprobud his superstitious doctrine in many points.

In our Fraunce, *Charles* the seuenth, in the yeare 1438, commaunded a Councell of the French Church to be held at Bourges, in which, vnder the title of the *Pragmaticall sanction*, was read and approved the acts of the Councell of Basill; and by this the collations of the benefices of Fraunce, and appeales to Rome, were cutt off. Whereunto belongeth an Epistle which we haue in the Councels directed to the bishop of Lauzanne, with which were sent vnto him the decisions of this Councell, by him whom the Councell of Bourges had sent Embassador to Rome:

B He signifieth to the bishop of Lauzanne, that he hath in charge with one consent from the French Church, that whatsoeuer the Pope endeauours to the contrarie, he should in no wise consent to the dissolution of the Councell of Basill; And if any be moued at it, that they are readie to answer, *actum est ne agas*. That hee hath that promise from the Chauncellour of Fraunce; that they had heard that the kings Embassadors, allured with certaine promotions, made great shew, that the king would consent to the dismissal of the Councell, but that they had resolued to resist him to his face. And there we haue a Treatise concerning that matter, written in the yeare 1434, by *Iohn* Patriarch of Antioch, which he caused publicly to be pronounced in the great hall of the Couent of Franciscan Friers in Basill, That a generall Councell is aboue the Pope: It beginneth, *Ad ostendendum*; Where out of the Fathers and by the Decrees, he bringeth it to this, That the Pope is the seruant of the Church, to be chastised by it, if he doe his duetie amisse; and confuteth at large whatsoeuer is alledged to the contrarie. Let the Reader see the booke it selfe in the Councels.

C At the same time, whilst the Popes boasted that the Greekes did acknowledge obedience vnto them, are published two bookes of *Nelus* Archbishop of Thessalonica, against the Primacie of the bishop of Rome. In the first booke he sheweth, That the principall controuersies between the Greeke and Latin Church proceed from this, that the Pope will not be judged by an vniuersal Councell; but contrariwise, as a master among his disciples will be Iudge in his owne cause: whereas he ought to be ruled by the prescriptions of the Councell, and contain himselfe within the Decrees of the Fathers, That the bishop of Rome, hath not the same power ouer other bishops, as a bishop hath ouer his Diocesans, but hath onely the prerogatiue of the first seat to be higher than other. And here hee enlargeth himselfe to shew the commoditie and authoritie of Councels. In the second booke he teacheth, That the bishop of Rome hath not the right of Primacie from Christ, nor yet from *S. Peter*, nor from the Apostles, but that the Fathers for some causes haue giuen vnto him the first seat, That he is not the successour of *S. Peter*, but inasmuch as he is a bishop; by which reason also all other bishops are his successours, That he is not an Apostle, much lesse prince of the Apostles, That in those things which pertain to the rules of faith, they may & haue often erred, That he hath no right to alledge his, *Tu es Petrus*, because that promise respecteth the Church of Christ, and not *S. Peter*, and much lesse him whom they would haue to be his successour, That though we yeeld him to be first in order, yet he is not therefore to beare domination ouer others, this Primacie not inferring an order aboue others, but a co-ordination with others. Moreouer, he rejected these presumptions of the Bishop of Rome, That he is the Iudge of all, & to be judged of none, That he is not bishop of a certaine place, but absolutely bishop, That he alone by his owne right ought to

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Paulus Emilianus Carol. 7. Epist. ad Episcop. Lauzanens. in volum. Concil. in Appendice Concil. Basiliens.

An. 1434.

In 3. vol. Concil. in Append. Concil. Basiliens. ad ostendend.

Nelus Archiepisc. Thessalon. de Primatu.

assigne an vniuersal Councell, and the like; seeing that the Primacie, or rather first A Seat, was granted to him onely, *propter urbis principatum*, because Rome was the first, or chiefest in order among cities.

We need not here repeat, how openly and, as they speake, *formally*, the greatest part of the kingdome of Bohemia opposed themselves, earnestly desiring reformation of the Church, according to the holie Scriptures; exhibiting to this end a confession of their Faith to their King, to the Emperour, and to the Councell, and preaching the same publicly in the Temples, which by publicke authoritie were then granted vnto them. Also after faith was broken with *John Hus*, how stoutly they defended it by just and necessarie armes, God from heauen fighting for the safegard of that poore people, vtterly frustrating all the endeouers of the Emperour and of the Popes against them, as we haue aboue shewed out of *Aeneas Sylvius*: for they haue continued without interruption vntill these our times. But it is worth the adding, That those Waldenses who some ages before had brought this light of the Gospell into Bohemia, abode still in the mountaines of Languedoc and Prouence, and in many places within the Alpes, and there kept themselves safe from the persecution of Popes and Papists. In Lombardie also, as witnesseth *Antonine*, vnder the name of *Fratricelli*, were some knowne to the time of *Eugenius*. But in England especially the seed of *wickliffe* was largely propagated, where, without repeating any thing of *Sir John Oldcastle*, of whom we haue before spoken, we read of verie many to haue suffered martyrdom for the same doctrine: *William Taylour* Priest and professor of Artes in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, in the yeare 1422, and *William White* in the yeare 1428, Author of many Treatises vpon matters controuerted in that time, was burned for thirtie articles which by word and writing he had defended: He taught, among other things, That the Roman Church was that withered fig tree which the Lord had curled for barrenesse of faith: *That the Monkes and Friers were the annoynd and shauen soldiers of infernall Lucifer: That against these, the Bridegroom, when he shall come, will shut the gate, for that their lampes are out.* With the same mind also *Alexander Fabricius* in his Treatise intituled *Destructorium visionum*, wrot many excellent things against the corruptions of the Romish Church, against the antiquitie of which he opposed this saying of *S. Cyprian*: *If Christ alone (saith he) ought to be heard, we are not to attend what men before vs haue thought fit to be done, but what Christ first before all hath done. If Christ had knowne, that man might more easily get eternall life by the lawes of Iustinian, than by the law of God, he would haue taught them vs with his owne mouth, and would haue let goe the law of God till another time, which notwithstanding he hath taught with great diligence, and wherevnto is contained all the doctrine requisite to saluation: Againe, He is a betrayer of the truth, who openly speaketh a lie for the truth, and he which doth not freely pronounce the truth, the Pastors of the Church which refuse to pronounce the truth of the Gospell, and by their euill examples they such as be vnder them, are traytors, and most manifest Antichrists. The Pastors and Prelates of the Church, take great paines in these dayes for the obtaining of dignities, one in the kings kitchen, another in the Bishops Court, another in seruice of his Lord, but none in the Court of the Law of God. Proud Priests and Prebats, against the doctrine and example of Iesus Christ, doe beare dominion as the kings of the Gentiles. Being vniust, they oppresse theirs with superfluous traditions & vniust constitutions. Those moderne Priests doe whatsoeuer flesh and blood revealeth vnto them, therefore are they curst of God. Hypocrites, they oppresse the good, persecute the humble seruants of Christ, imprison and burne them, for that they reprove their voluptuousnesse. Such men murder Christ, the Apostles*

An. 1422.

An. 1428.

A *Apostles and Martyrs, repasing them for heroikes, for that they taxed their sinnes. And indeed the histories of all nations are full of the cruelty which in this age was vsed toward the professors of this truth.*

63. PROGRESSION.

Felix the fourth voluntarily deposeth himselfe, and Nicholas the fifth remaineth sole Pope. Mahomet Emperour of the Turkes taketh Constantinople with the slaughter of many thousand Christians, and the miserable death of the Emperour Palaeologus. Of the pride and corruption of Aeneas Sylvius, called Pius the second, after he became Pope.

NOW after the death of *Eugenius* in the yeare 1447, *Thomas de Szuzana* was created Pope, by the name of *Nicholas the fifth*, whilst *Felix the fourth* yet liued and reigned, vpon which occasion many nations remained in neutralitie, namely, Germanie vnder the Emperour *Frederick the third*, whose Secretarie *Aeneas Sylvius* was, of whom we haue before made mention, one of the most notable defenders of the Councell of *Basil*. Him had *Eugenius*, knowing his excellent wit, endeoured by promises to bind vnto him, but being preuented by death, *Nicholas* continued the same batterie, and that so much the more, for that he had heard that *Frederick* had a purpose to come into Italie, to be crowned at Rome. *Frederick* then by the persuasion of *Aeneas Sylvius*, who had gotten into great fauour with him, vndertaketh that purposed businesse, and fully finisheth it. And *Nicholas* content the Germans, consenteth to certaine agreements, contained in the Bull which beginneth, *Ad sacram Petri sedem*, dated in April 1447. In which namely are the Annates brought to some order, and generally are approued and ratified all the provisions and expeditions of whatsoeuer kind, as well of the Councell of *Basil*, yet continued at *Basil*, as of *Felix the fourth*, also other censures, excommunications, Anathemas, and their releasements, &c. by the Bull which beginneth, *Pro pacis*, dated in Iulie 1449. By which meanes *Nicholas* remained sole Pope, *Felix* voluntarily deposing himselfe from the dignitie, whom hee appointeth his Legat in Germanie: And so was the Councell dissolved. And all this was done by the mediation of the kings of France and England, of *Renard* king of Sicilie, and *Lewis the Dolphine*. The title of this Bull in the volumes of Councells, is, *The approbation of the Acts of the Councell of Basil*. Yet because they hardly approue the same, they set before it this other title, *The Councell of Basil is of little force, &c.* *Summa Constitut.* though it say nothing, that all the things whatsoeuer, which are not expressed in the same Bull, are thereby disallowed, as namely, the sentence whereby the Councell is decreed to be aboue the Pope, and others more of the like nature. Neuerthelesse the force of our argument remaineth still firme, That *Martin the fifth* was created Pope onely by vertue of the like sentence given at *Constantine*, and otherwise had not bene: That *Eugenius* was chosen by the Cardinals whom *Martin* had made, and since *Nicholas* by them which *Martin* and *Eugenius* had promoted, and consequently all their successors after them: Therefore these are not true Popes, nor lawfull Pastors which they haue ordained, vntill these Councells remaine lawfull, vntill their sentences keepe their authoritie.

Nicholas halted to finish this agreement with the Emperour, because of the yeare of Iubilie at hand, the market whereof would be much hindred, otherwise: vnto which was made from all parts so great a concourse, that *Platina* recordeth, *whence*

Monstrelet. vol. 3.

Summa Constitut.

Platina in Nichol. 5. once

once out of the Vatican having seen the image of our Saviour they returned to the citie a certaine male of Peter Barbo Cardinall of S. Marke, was met and stopped, when none of the passengers by reason of the multitude following was able to give place, so that one & another falling upon the mule, it was oppressed of the multitude, and two hundred men and three horses were troden downe and choaked on the bridge of Hadrian. Many also falling from the bridge into the river, perished in the waters. The yeare following, Frederick arriued in Italie, partly for to be crowned, and partly for to marrie Leonora daughter of the king of Portugall: Nicholas in the meane time being in great care and doubt, leaft he mindfull of the auncient authoritie of Emperours, would take vpon him the rule of the citie, fortified the gates and the Towers, the Capitol also, and the castle of S. Angelo; and to content the people with some shew of Magistracie, he appointed thirteene Marshals to command in xiiij. quarters of the citie, to each of which he gaue a purple robe: But Frederick fearing new commotions in Germanie, made no shew of any such thing. At that time, Mahomet Emperour of the Turkes, prepared himselfe to besiege Constantinople chiefe citie of the Christian Empire in the East; and Nicholas made large promises of ayd to Constantine Paleologus, so that he would ioyne himselfe to the Catholike faith, that is to say, make him be acknowledged supream Bishop by the Greekes: and to this end he sendeth Embassadour to him Isidore Bishop of Ruisia, who after the Councell of Florence was ended, had remained in Italie, for a Cardinals hat to that end giuen him; but this businesse alreadie attempted so many ages in vayne, was of greater weight and consequence than could be vpon the verie instant suddenly by tumult determined. So that this Emperour being brought into great extremities, in that verie yeare 1453, in the moneth of May, the citie being taken by force, hee miserably lost his life, with many thousands of men, to the great dishonour and damage of all Christendome. Antoninus who liued then, when the citie of Constantinople (saith he) was besieged by the Turkes, the Greekes sent Embassadors to Pope Nicholas, imploring his succours of men and money; whom Nicholas would not heare, thinking it a thing unworthie, to burthen Italie with impositions, being alreadie exhausted of money for expenses of the warres, especially for that he knew they might helpe themselves with their money, if they would employ it, for the leuying of souldiers. A goodly consideration, as if for lesser causes his predecessours had not often published many a Croisado, euen against Christian Emperours and Princes. But the truth is, he did it of purpose to make a gaine out of his extreame daunger, to get to himselfe a soueraine command ouer the Greekes, which is more than Antoninus durst say. In the meane time, that hee might turne the destruction of the Greekish Church to his owne commoditie, he createth Bessarion (a Greeke bishop of Nice, whom Eugenius had made Cardinall) Patriarke of Greece, on condition that he should depend vpon him; though the Greekes had chosen Gennadius Scholarius, who in the midst of those calamities exercised that dignitie. Bodin alledgeth out of the booke of Iacob Sprenger Inquisitour of witches, a strange dispensation of this Nicholas. A certaine German bishop was sicke, whom Nicholas greatly loued, he vnderstood by a witch that his sicknesse came of witchcraft, from which he could not be deliuered but by a contrarie charme, by which the witch herselfe that had bewitched him must die: He therefore sendeth in post to Nicholas, entreating leaue of him to be cured by the witch; which dispensation Nicholas granteth, with this clause, Of two evils auoyd the greater. The Bull being receiued, the witch, vnder the Popes authoritie, and at the Bishops entreatie, setteth her hand to the businesse: about midnight the Bishop was restored to health, and at the verie

Antonin. part.
3. tit. 22. c. 13.

Bodin. in Demo-
nomania.
Jacob. Sprenger
in mallo male-
ficorum.

A verie same instant the disease passed into her that had bewitched him, whereof she dyed. And they would make vs beleue, that this Pope dyed of griefe for the losse of Constantinople, but his denying of succours to the Greekes perswadeth vs to the contrarie. From this shipwracke he gathered about him some learned Greeks; but that was properly to build vp the sepulchres of the Prophets, whom before he had suffered to be murdered. But Alphonsus Borghia, who succeedeth him by the name of Calixtus the third, made a shew of repairing that faule, and presently denounced warres against the Turkes, saying that hee had made a vow to that end a long time before; knowing (but whence had he this propheticke?) that he should be Pope: and shewed written and subscribed with his owne hand in a certaine booke, these words following, *I Pope Calixtus make a vow to almighty God, and to the holie indiuisible Trinitie, That I will persecute the Turkes, most cruell enemies of the Christian name, by warre, cursings, interdictions, excommunications, and to conclude, in whatsoeuer manner I can: and yet was he alreadie decreit with age. He imposed therefore a tenth on all the Clergie, and publisheth a Croisado throughout all Europe, according to custome, granting full remission of finnes to all that contributed to it, so that once in his life, and once at his death, he were confessed: yea and giuing authoritie to whomsoeuer would giue five ducats, to absolue and dispence in many cases. And there were set forth to sea onely fixteene gallies, vnder the charge of the Patriarch of Aquileia, Alphonsus king of Naples, and Philip Duke of Bourgondie, were admonished to crosse themselves for those warres, which they made shew of; But as the businesse was thus begun, with great earnestnesse stirred forwards, so also it easily rested: And then (saith Platina) ad Pontificia negotia animus adiciens, Applying his mind to the affaires of the Popedom, he began to canonize Saints, one Edmund in England; one Vincent in Spaine; and others. Which Bessarion seeing, especially how rashly and indirectly the same was done, These new Saints (saith he) make me doubt of the old. But it behoued them also in this to imitat the chiefe Bishops of the Pagans. Moreover, for a supplic, in stead of yeelding succours to the Greekes, he ordaineth a bell to be tolled euerie day betweene noone and euening, at the sound whereof whosoever did on their knees mutter ouer three Auenaries, and Pater-nosters, should haue three yeares, and three fortieth parts of Indulgences. Also hee appointed a generall Procession or Letanie euerie first Sunday of the moneth, in which whosoever assisted, should obtaine seuen yeares and seuen fortieth part of Indulgences: besides a prayer in the Masse, for victorie against the Infidels, which who so sayd, should also merit three yeares of Indulgences. In the meane time, if the safetie and good of Christendome had bene seriously thought vpon, there was offered a verie notable occasion; for John Vainode in that verie time ouercame Mahomet in that famous battell neere Belgrade, whom, his forces being diminished, and he left of our men, he could not follow. But Calixtus howsoeuer forgot not to looke to his owne affaires, and therefore Alphonsus king of Naples being deceased, and Ferdinand his bastard hauing obtained his place, he presently provided for the chiefeft Bishoppricks of the realme, which he durst not doe in the kings lifetime: And which is more (saith Antoninus) by Bulls he declared, that the realme of Naples vacant pertained to him alone, as a foffee of the Church, commaunding Ferdinand to forgoe it, and that neither he nor any other whosoever, vnder paine of excommunication, should call himselfe king of that kingdome: but that if any presented there any right, the businesse should first be discussed by him, who dissolueh all oathes of fidelitie or homage which any had yeilded vnto him. He likewise wrot to the States of the kingdome,*

Platina in Calixto 3.

Gulielm. Lan-
geus in Praefat.
Iue Bis.

Antonin. part. 3.
tit. 22. c. 14.

Antonin. part.
3. tit. 22. c. 16.

dom, That *Ferdinand* was not the sonne of *Alphonso*, but one supposed. And this he did that he might transerre the kingdome to *Ligni Borgia*, his nephew, or his sonne. From which sentence *Ferdinand*, moued with anger, appealeth. *Franco Sforcia*, Duke of Milan, his father in law, was also grieuously offended, protesting to leaue nothing vnattempted, whereby the state of his sonne in law may be defended. But thereupon *Calixtus* dieth, who a little before had framed the office or seruice of the Transfiguration, with the like Indulgences as hath the feast of *Corpus Christi*. For it was meet that the Popish religion, being merely humane, should from day to day encrease with humane inuentions.

Pandolf. Cole-
nuc. lib. 5.
Donatus Bossus.

An. 1458.

Platina in
Pio 2.

Aeneas Syluius, called *Pius* the second, a man of great knowledge, I would hee had bene of like conscience, succeeded this *Calixtus* in the yeare 1458: but the Papall chaire soone discovered what a manner of man he was. He had bin Scribe in the Councell of Basil, Register of the Apostolike letters, one of the twelue which were ordained Censors of the Councell; yea had many times sat chiefe among those that had bene deputed touching matters of faith, and was twice chosen amongst them which conferred benefices: and if any thing of moment were to be determined by the nations, he was euer chosen chiefe for Italie. He was moreouer appointed embassadour in the Councels name, thrice to Strasbourg, once to Trent, twice to Constance, once to Franckford, and twice into Sauoy: author or furtherer of all things that were done in this Councell, the Acts whereof he writeth downe in two bookes, out of which his opinion thereof is manifest ynough: In so much that when *Eugenius* was deposed, and *Felix* set in his place, he was sent by *Felix* embassadour to the Emperour *Frederick*, to declare vnto him the iust causes of his election, on which occasion, admiring the dexteritie of his wit, he drew him to his seruice. He being sent to Rome by *Frederick*, to deale with the Pope about his coronation, was enticed with the delights of the Court of Rome, and in fauour of *Nicholas*, sold the renunciation of *Felix*: Whereupon he was first created Bishop of *Trieste*, and after Cardinall, by *Calixtus*, and by degrees, according to the encrease of his dignities, he changed his stile, as appeareth to whomsoeuer readeth his Epistles, which hee himselfe hath distinguished by degree: Till at length being made Pope, he thought nothing better than to reuoke his former and more laudable Acts, by his Bull set forth concerning that matter, bearing the title of *Retraction*; and the things which before he had seemed to detest in other Popes, hee himselfe now both prayed and advanced forward. This is manifest by the Bull which beginneth *Execrabilis*, dated in the second yeare of his Popedom, whereby he forbiddeth to appeale from the sentences of the Pope to the future Councell; pronounceth all such appeales of Emperours, Kings, Bishops, &c. to be voyd, vaine, execrable, and pestiferous, excommunicateth such as haue appealed, not to be absolved but at the poynt of death. He also subiecteth Vniuersities, Colledges, and other corporations, to the Interdict, and inflicted vpon all the punishments of high treason and heresie, and the Notaries or letter-carriers, witnesses, and others which were at those Acts, &c. In another Bull also which beginneth, *In minoribus agentes*, directed to the Vniuersitie of *Colonia*, in the yeare 1463, hee professeth, That it repented him that hee wrot the Dialogue and other bookes for the authoritie of the Councell, saying that he had persecuted the Church of God ignorantly, as did *S. Paul*: contrariwise affirming the authoritie of the Pope to bee aboue the Church, by the same texts, which before he had expounded in a farre other sence. Wherefore hee declared, That the Pope is the soueraigne Monarch of the Church, whose finnes are left

An. 1463.

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to the judgement of God, so that no man may take knowledge of them: And neuertheless at the end hee reuerenced (saith he) the Councell of Constance, which had decreed the contrarie. But here *Bellarmino* inuenteth a notable distinction, That the later Sessions are approued, not the first; because in the first the Councell was placed aboue the Pope: and yet notwithstanding in that Councell *Martin* the first had bene chosen, and what hee had caused to be ordained in the later, rooke force and vigour onely from the first Sessions, whereby it was judged, That the Councell may iudge the Pope, arraigne him, condemne, depose, and punish him, and chuse another in his roome; all which they had practised on *Iohn* the fourth and twentieth, *Benedict* the thirteenth, and *Martin* the first, deposing the two former, and electing the third: and both the Sessions, former and later, proceeding from one same spirit, and from one and the same authoritie. But it troubleth them that they know not which way to turne their selues, when they are demanded what was the vocation of *Martin*, *Eugenius*, and others, which hath no ground but on the onely decision of this Councell and the Councell of Basil. And here we might set before the eyes of *Syluius*, what he hath said of this Councell, and that of Basil, which now he condemneth, and that not being a young man, as he said, but a man of perfect age, and honoured with principall dignities: *where is there in the world such a companie of Fathers? where so great light of knowledge? where the wisdom? where is the goodnesse that can be equal to the vertues of these Fathers? O most perfect fraternitie, O true Senat of the world, &c.* So that these things may not honestly now be denied. But as the eye of reason is other than the eye of passion, so is the judgement of an vpright mind other than of corrupt desire; of *Syluius* sitting in that most honourable assemblie, which he describeth vnto vs, than of *Pius* the second reigning in that contagious chaire. And he had cast out a speech of an expedition into Asia against the Turkes, in the assemblie of Mantua, whither the embassadours of many Princes were come from all parts, and vnder pretence thereof had imposed a tenth on the whole Clergie, yea euen vpon all the profits of the Roman Court: but he could not bring it to effect, perhaps because he arrogated too much to himselfe with the Princes which were of greatest power: For (saith *Stella*) for the augmentation of the Papall Maieste, he feared neither Kings nor Dukes, neither peoples, nor tyrants; but if they saw any offending, that is to say, not obeying in all poynts his desire, he persecuted them so long both by warre and by censures, till he perceiued them to be recovered. And for this cause became he an aduersarie to *Lewis* King of France, who went about to diminish the libertie of the Church in his kingdome; to *Borsio d'Este*, because he fauoured *Sigismund* *Malatesta*, and the affaires of France, against *Ferdinand*; He persecuted with terrible excommunications *Sigismund* Duke of Austria, for that he had chastised the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad Vincula*; Hee deposed also the Archbishop of *Mentz*, iudging ill of the Roman Church, and set up another in his roome; He deposed likewise the Archbishop of *Benedict*, for attempting new matters a gainst his will, and for that he would betray *Benedict* to the Frenchmen: And he brought many townes of *Campania* into the power of the Church of Rome. Neither doe histories conceale, that he confirmed the kingdome of Naples to *Ferdinand*, reuoking the Bull of *Calixtus* the third, and that in fauour of the marriage of *Anthonie Piccolino*, *mini*, his nephew, with the sister of the wife of *Ferdinand*, whose dowrie was the Earledomes of *Maldeburg* and *Celano*: Whereby hee began to set himselfe a gainst the rights of our France. *Monstrelet* addeth, That it was commonly thought that *Ferdinand* had giuen *Pius* a verie great summe of gold, partly to be absolved of his crimes, and partly that he might peaceably enjoy his kingdome. But his ambition can not

Bulla que incipit. Quoniam ut proxime in Summa Constitution. Iohan. 5. Stella in Pio 2.

Monstrelet. vol. 3.

not better be knowne than in his 396 Epistle, where hee offereth and promiseth A
the Empire of the Grecks to *Mahomet* king of the Turkes, if he would become a
Christian, and succour the Church, that is to say, his faction, that hee might the
more easily rend Christendome, which he vexed with continuall warres, presu-
ming to persuaide him that that Empire depended on him, and was in his gift, and
that so his predecessors had giuen the Empire of Germanie to *Charlemaine*. It seemeth
that to him also is to be ascribed, that extraordinarie pompe of *Corpus Christi*
day: for that which is commonly boasted of the Temple of *S. Peter*, very fitly
agreeth with the Roman superstition, which neuer is brought to his full height.
Antoninus Campanus, Bishop of *Arrezzo*, in the life of *Pius*, saith, He celebrated at
Viterbium the feast of the *Eucharist*, with an vnaccustomed brauerie, the citie being vnder
foot spread with scarlet, ouer head covered with linnen, in which starres of gold shined
as in the firmament, so that the procession went, not seeing the skie, betwene flowres
strewed an ychthick on either side, with musick of diuers sorts. There were seene also wild
men covered with imie, which with a wonderfull art seemed to meet with Lyons & Bears,
&c. all the Temple being likewise spread with scarlet. He also canonized *S. Katherine*
of *Sienna*. *Platina* noteth this among his Apophthegmes, That marriage had bene
for great reason taken away from Priests, but that for greater reason it should bee restored
to them. But *Onuphrius*, according to his ordinarie custome, riced this out of his
edition, and others after him: but we find it in the first edition of *Platina*, printed
by *Iohn de Colonia* in the yeare 1479, and in many others, how he is prayed by ma-
ny. *Volateran* writeth, That his vnmeasurable ambition stayned all his vertues. C
Kliberius his Epitaph was this:

*Frigida membra Pij retinet lapis iste loquaci,
Qui pacem moriens attulit Italia, &c.
Vendiderat pretio Gentes & crimina multa
Virtutis spece gesserat ille Pius, &c.*

Here doe the bones of talking *Pius* lye,
Who by his death brought peace to *Italie*, &c.
Nations he sold, and many crimes vnfit
He vnder shew of vertue did commit.

And he presently addeth the reason, *Nam scelus orbis erat, For he was the wicked-
nesse of the world.*

Now in the yeare 1494 *Peter Barbo*, a Venetian, the sisters sonne of Pope *Euge-
nius*, is created his successor, by the name of *Paul* the second. Hee was no sooner
entred into the Popedome, but in recompence of the benefits hee had recei-
ued of *Pius* the second, hee putteth downe all the Abbreuiators by him created,
without hearing them, and vnder pretence of ignorance, whom *Pius* for their
learning had drawne vnto him out of all parts of the world, vtterly depriv-
ing them of their office, without the repayment of any money. Some tried him by sup-
plication, beseeching him to referre their cause to the Auditors of *Rota*; and *Platina*,
who was one of them, spake for all: but he answered, *Doest thou thus call vs
vnto Iudges* (saith he) *as if thou knewest not that all lawes are lodged within the closet
of our breast: Thus is our sentence, Let them void the place, let them goe whither they
will, I passe not for them, I am Pope, and it is lawfull for me to disannull or approue the
acts of others according to my owne pleasure.* *Pius* the second, who reduced the
whole

A whole Church to one only man, and they also that haue subiected the holie Scrip-
ture vnto him, to wrest it into whatsoeuer sence he pleaseth, may perceiue into
what danger they cast vs, when these men after their owne lust destroy each other,
and either for pleasure or hatred ouerthrow all things both diuine and humane.
They sollicit night and day, that at least they may be heard, and being reiected they
haue recourse to a letter: *Being reiected of thee, and disgraced with so notable cantu-
melie, we wil disperse our selues to the Kings & Princes in all parts, & will exhort them to
call a Councell, wherein thou mayst be constrained to render a reason, why thou hast stripped
vs of our lawfull possession.* And this had *Platina* himselfe both written and signed.
But he was presently cast into prison, fettered with yrons, and declared guiltie of
B high treason for hauing sowed a slanderous libell, and made mention of a Councell. *Platina*
defendeth himselfe, That a libell hath no name set to it, but to this on the con-
trarie he had set his name: That he thought not that it was a crime to speake of
a Councell, seeing that Councells are in all ages instituted by the holie Fathers, as
in time past the Censorship among the Romans, least iniurie should be done to a-
ny. But he was so much the more traitly kept, and sharply vsed, vntill at the end of
four monethes, by the entreatie of Cardinall *Gonzaga*, he was deliuered, on con-
dition that he should not stirre out of the citie. *Paul* had for competitor vnder
Eugenius, whilest he was in *minoribus*, the Cardinall *Aloisio* of *Padoua*, whose grace
and fauour did much offend him: he died, leauing great wealth behind him, which
he bequeathed by testament, with the consent of *Paul* himselfe, to the *Scarampi*,
C his brethren. He seized vpon all for himselfe, and retained the *Scarampi*, till the
things which had bene transported to *Florence* were brought backe to *Rome*.
Out of these particular actions may be judged, what was the conscience of this
man, on whose will they will haue the commonwealth depend. *James Picinin*, a
famous captaine, retained king *Ferdinand*, yea and *Paul* himselfe, in their duetie.
Francis Sforza, Duke of *Milan*, his father in law, sendeth him to the king, vnder
faith giuen, That whensoeuer he would he should returne againe safe. *Ferdinand*
casts him into prison, with his sonne, and a while after put him to death, saying,
That he falling downe in the prison it selfe, brake his leg, whilest he beheld at a window,
D more attentiuely than heedfully, the kings gallies returning with victorie from *Ischia*. It
was thought of some that *Paul* had a hand in that treacherie, seeing that in those
dayes the Bishop of *Milan* went verie often to and fro betwene the Pope and the king, and
Paul himselfe said, when he heard of his captiuitie, That the Iudge of *Appelles* was ta-
ken out of the way. A while after he entred into a conceit, That one *Callimachus*, a
Roman, had conspired against him: whereupon, as his fantasie led him, he taketh
hold of all that stand in reach, & committeth them to prison, and that so much the
more eagrely, for that it was told him that *Lucas Tortius*, a gentleman of *Rome*,
banished to *Naples*, was seene thereabouts with some troupes: And *Platina* him-
selfe came into his mind, taking a felicitie in his suspitions, whom being apprehen-
ded, he commanded should presently be put to the rack. Although a few dayes af-
ter he vnderstood that this *Lucas* had not stirred one foot, and certainly knew that
E this pretended conspiracie was altogether vaine, and without ground. Yet he would
needs make shew, that there was some hidden cause, least he should be accused of lightnesse.
Wherefore many in the midst of their torments died, men of good note, whose
names and dignities the Author setteth downe: twentie within the space of two
dayes were called in question, and sitted to the vtmost, *Platina* among others, whi-
lest (saith he) I did hang in these torments naked, rent as a theefe and murderer, *Vianen-
sius* handling the bracelets of *Sanga de Cioggia*, his companion, asked him what wench had
giuen
E c c

giuen him that for a fauor. He sitteth as another Minos on spread carpets, as if he were at a wedding, or rather at the supper of Atreus and Tantalus. Speaking of loue, he turneth to me, urging me to unfold the order of the conspiracie, or rather fable, invented of Calmachus. Consider here, in so seueren an act, the grauitie of this man, of a Churchman especially, whom the sacred Canons forbid to be present at such executions, least if death should follow, he should become irregular and impiou. He asketh him about all, Whether he had not written to the Emperour, or to some Prince, either for to raise a schisme, or procure a Councell; for this was it that principally stucke to his heart, and presently againe renewed the tortures. At length Paul being wearie that hee could wring out nothing with all those exquisite torments, commaundeth Christopher de Verona, his Physitian, to tell the poore men, that they should bee of good courage, for they should straight be deliuered; who notwithstanding, as he was a man of a free spirit, plainly said to him in the presence of many, *That this could not so soone be done, lest the Pope should be argued of lightnesse and crueltie, so soone to let goe as innocent, them whom he had taken and tortured with so great tumult.* Some time therefore passed, that he might not seeme to haue done any thing rashly, and without cause. In the meane time he himselfe came to visit them in the castle, and when all other accusations failed him, he chargeth them with heresie, That they had disputed of the immortalitie of the soule out of the opinion of Plato, which Saint Augustine affirmed to come neere to the opinion of a Christian; and for that they prayed the ancient Accademie, and condemned the new, he pronounced them heretikes, which either in earnest or in iest should from thenceforth any more make mention of the name of an Accademie. So that if Lelius de Valla, a Roman citizen, and an Aduocat in the Consistorie, had not taken their cause in hand; they had vndergone the punishment of heresie. At length wearied with the entreaties of the Cardinals, he setteth them at libertie, but yet in such a sort, as that hee euer watched ouer their steps, so that they judged not themselves to be free til after his death; Death which rooke him by an Apoplexie, when he had ordained that the Iubilie should be celebrated euerie twentie five yeares, which falling in the yeare 1475, filled his mind with hope of excessiue gaine. There be some which say, That hee was in the night by the diuell strangled in the verie act of venerie. And Platina noteth, *That he hated and contemned so the studies of humanitie, that he called the students thereof by the name of Heretikes. For this cause he exhorted the Romans, not to suffer their sonnes be any longer at the studies of learning, that it was ynough if they had learned to write and read.* Therefore Genebrard calleth him *The enemy of vertue and learning.* Fearing without doubt, that if learning once came to be restored, the abuses lying hid vnder the mists of ignorance, would bee discovered. And thus much abundantly sufficeth to make knowne both his conscience and his knowledge. Moreover, all offices generally were set to sale in his time; neither was he wont to bestow Bishopricks saue onely on them that possessed other offices, by the sale of which they might come by money to giue to him. As also this was he that extended the Bull of cases to be referred to the Pope, so farre as might be, referring to himselfe thereby so much the larger pretence of drawing money to himselfe from all parts. The most memorable thing that he did for the good of the Church, was; That he bought, at any price whatsoeuer, all the most exquisite precious stones hee could get, for to enrich the Papall Myter, and tooke a pleasure to be looked on and admired of all men in that brauerie; for this cause he sometime retained strangers in the citie, omitting the custome of shewing the Sudarium, that he might be scene of more people at once. Moreover, he commaunded by

Gaspar. Pen-
cerus.

Chronie. Ge-
nebr. part. 2.

Bulla cuius ini-
tium ineffabilis
providentia in
Summa Consti-
tut.

by publike Decree, vnder a penaltie, That none should weare scarlet caps but Cardinals, and the first yeare of his Popedome he gaue them cloth of the same colour, wherewith to couer the horses and mules when they rode, that the Church of Rome might at length be brought to the perfect similitude of that Whore described vnto vs in the Apocalyps. And Platina, of this Paul, in the life of Hadrian the first, saith, *He was so delighted with these effeminate delicacies, hauing bought at a high rate precious stones from all parts, and almost emptied the treasure of the Roman Church; so that whensoever he went forth in publike; he seemed some Phrygian Cybele with turrets on his head, rather than a myter. Hence I thinke came, through the sweat of his very fat bodie, and the weight of the precious stones, that Apoplexie whereof hee so suddenly dyed:* Which hee had noted also before to haue happened to Leo Augustus the sonne of Constantine Copronymus. But all this hath Omphrius rased out, which in the oldest editions are read at large. The like things we read also in James Cardinall of Pauia, in his second booke of Commentaries. And here Platina endeth his historie of Popes. There is extant an Epigram of him, made by John Pannomius, Bishop and Poet of those times.

Platina in Ha-
driano primo, in
Vetustioribus
Editionibus.
Vide eam que
prima omnium
prodiit. Colonia
Ann. 1479. Ty-
pis Iohannis de
Colonia & Iu-
hanni Marti-
tion de Ghe-
rengem.

*Pontificis Pauli testes ne Roma requiras,
Filia, quam genuit, sat docet esse marem.*

Pope Paul's a male, Rome need no further triall,
He gat a daughter makes it past deniall.

And indeed Stephen Orichonius, Bishop of Ruffia, telleth vs, when shee was knowne of all men to bee his daughter, he often detested single life, whereby hee could not see without thame, her whom he might haue lawfully begotten: But which is worse, there want not some that accuse him both of Magicke and Sodomie, which I here willingly omit.

OPPOSITION.

Pius the second, as we haue seene, hauing ouerthrowne his first and best writings, was the first that decreed, That the Pope is aboue a Councell, and that it is not lawfull to appeale from him to a Councell; against the Decrees both of Constance and Basil, which had bene with so great solemnitie both determined and published: but notwithstanding his retraction, he was not presently beleued. Contrariwise the Vniuersities of Paris, Colonia, Prague, Cracouia, Oxford, and others, the most famous of Christendome, constantly retained the Decrees of the said Councells; and not without cause, seeing that (as Bellarmine witnesseth) they had bene confirmed by the Suffrages of a thousand Fathers, among whom, at Constance, were three hundred Bishops; at Basil also, by the testimonie of Pius the second in his Retraction, with the consent of all the Vniuersities, and with the applaue of all which spake publikely, of Nicholas Panormitan, and Lewis Pontanus, who (saith he) were accounted the two starres of the world, or the two chiefe and most famous lights of the Canon and Ciuile Law: Yet neuertheless they approved by words and writings the Acts of the Councell, condemned the doings of Eugenius, neither was there any which either would or durst confute their sayings; although, as he himselfe witnesseth, they were well affected towards the person of Eugenius. On the contrary, All (saith he) with one voyce preferred the Councell before Eugenius, and it was

Eneas Syluius
in Bulla Re-
tracti.

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held

held for a crime of heresie, once to mutter any thing against the dignitie of the Councell. A

Now in the time of *Nicholas* and *Calixtus*, after the neutralitie of Germanie was taken away by the meanes of *Aeneas Syluius*, for which good seruice hee had bene first made Bishop, and after Cardinall, the Germans were offended that the conditions agreed vpon with the Emperour were not obserued: Wherefore by the authoritie and conduct of *Diether* Archbishop of Mentz, they had instituted a certaine *Pragmaticall sanction*, whereby they would prouide for themselves against the grieuances of the Roman Church; and partly decreed of the election of Prelats, collation of benefices, hearing of causes, granting of Indulgences, exaction of tenthes, and the like; partly they defended themselves also by way of Appeale, against the Pope, if he ordained any thing against them; and moreover, fortified this with a strict league of the Princes. Hence it is that *Syluius* is so vehemently moued in his Epistle of the manners of Germanie, which he wrote in answer to *Martin Mayer*, Chancellour of the Archbishop of Mentz; for note, hee was newly made Cardinall of Sienna. This *Mayer* was a man famous in that age, euen by the testimonie of *Syluius* himselfe, and had complained in his Lords behalfe, That the Decrees of Constance and of Basill were not obserued: That *Calixtus*, as if he were not tied to the couenants of his predecessor, exhausted and soaked Germanie, euer and anon reiected the election of Prelats, and referued the benefices and dignities of whatsoever kind, for his Cardinals and Protonotaries: For (said he) *expectatiue graces are granted without number, Annates or first fruits are exacted without any delay of time, openly also extorting more than is due. The gouernement of Churches are not committed to them that deserue best, but to such as offer most, and new Indulgences are daily granted for to rake in money. Exactions of tenthes, vnder colour of the Turkes, are commaunded to be made, without taking aduise of our Prelats. Causes which had bene handled and determined in the countrey, are confusedly drawne to the Apostolicall Seat, and a thousand new meanes are inuented, whereby with a subtil wit to draw money from vs, as from Barbarians. And you, vnder this forme, hitherto vnusuall and unheard of, haue obtained reseruatiou to three Prouinces of Germanie. And in conclusion, That the Princes being awaked out of their sleepe, were resolved to shake off that yoke, and to take againe their former libertie, not without great dammage to the Court of Rome. Wherefore, though hee congratulated with him his new dignitie, yet hee tooke it ill that these euils happened in his time, and seriously exhorted him to procure a remedie betimes. But it may be (saith he) the mind of God is otherwise, and his sentence will preuaile: Giuing vs in these few words, more to thinke of than hee expresth. What then doth here the new Cardinall? You may see he hath straight changed his stile, so that to a friend writing friendly, at the verie beginning in an angrie manner, he saith, *Thou hast mixed amara & rancida, vsauorie and bitter things in thy letters*: So much was his taft then alreadie altered; for afterwards there was nothing so vniust which he defended not, nothing so absurd which he vttered not, neither feared hee to establish the Popes tyrannie, by those verie places which before he had proued to be wrested into a wrong sence. To conclude, nothing was with him more execrable than the *Pragmaticall sanction*, which before he had pronounced to be sacred and Canonically. Hee vpbraided the Germans, That they were too rich, and ingratefull to the Church of Rome, which of Heathens had made them Christians, of Barbarians Latines: Whereas indeed the Germans had Christian Churches, which *S. Irenaeus* commendeth for their notable constancie, before the name of Pope of Rome was once knowne, when they which ruled the Church were onely called*

Priests

A Priests. Neither had hee any mind to seeke so farre, seeing hee could not conceale, That before the Councell of Nice sibi quisque viuebat, euerie Bishop liued to himselfe, that is to say, gouerned his Church without taking law from Rome, to the great dammage of the Church (saith he:) who on the contrarie ought to haue added, That by the Decree of that Councell, the Bishop of Rome had no right of superintendencie ouer any other Churches, but only in suburbicariis, ouer the neighbour Churches about Rome.

About this verie time, flourished *Gregorie de Heimburg*, Doctor of the ciuile and Canon law, a man of great estimation euen at Venice: *Syluius* calleth him the chiefeft of the Germans. When *Pius* entred into the Popedom, hee excommunicated *Sigismund* Duke of Austria, for that hee could not endure the sawcinesse of

B his Legat, but hee by the aduise of *Gregorie de Heimburg*, appealed to the Councell, and published his Appeale at Rome, wherof *Pius* vnderstanding that *Heimburg* was the Authour, he likewise communicated him. And because hee dwelt at Norimberg, being Syndicke or Aduocar of the citie, hee writeth an Epistle to the Burg-master and Senat, in which he calleth this forme of appealing from the Pope to a Councell, *A new heresie and inspiration of the Diuells; seeing that men appeale frivolously and by way of mockerie to a Councell, or to that which is no where; and which they purpose to auoyd and hinder by all meanes possible.* Hee therefore signified vnto them that hee had excommunicated *Heimburg*, as guiltie of high treason and heresie, and commaundeth them that they should expell him the citie, confiscat his goods moueable and vnmoueable, and inflict vpon him all the punishments appointed for heretikes. But, from this excommunication also *Heimburg* againe appealed to a Councell, yet is constrained to depart into Bohemia, where he married a wife and made his abode; vntill *Diether* Archbishop of Mentz of the familie of *Heimburg*, being vexed by the Pope, called him vnto him; whereby we may gather that *Diether* did not greatly dislike his doctrine. In the appeale of *Sigismund* that he framed, after hee had layed open the equitie of his cause, against the vnjust proceedings of the Pope, hee appealed not from the Pope ill informed, to the Pope better informed, because he knew his eares to bee stopped,

D but eyther to his successour, or to a generall Councell to be celebrated, according to the Decrees of Constance and Basill, and in default thereof, to Iesus Christ Sauour of the world. In his owne also, when *Pius* the second had excommunicated him, he protested the verie same; but moreover, examining his Bull and his letters which he had written to them of Norimberg, *Our Sauour* (said *Pius*) substituted *Peter* Prince of the Apostles, to the gouernement of the Church, who knoweth not, answered *Heimburg*; *That Iesus commaunded all the Apostles, That they should goe to preach faith, baptisme and saluation through the world? Who knoweth not, That the promise was made to all, That whatsoever they did bind on earth should be in heauen?* In which words hee plainly taketh away the Popes Primacie, Inso-

E much (saith he) that to this day the Catholike Church prayeth to be kept by the continual protection of the Apostles, whom our Sauour himselfe hath appointed to rule Pastours and Vicars of so great a worke. And therefore, who doubteth but that the holie Councels represent the place of Christ, which haue succeeded the assemblee of the Apostles? seeing that the world is greater than a citie. *Pius* said againe, *That it is a vaine thing to appeale to a Councell, which is not, and which cannot bee about the Pope.* To which hee replieth, *The assemblee of the Apostles was about S. Peter; and like as appeale may bee made to the Apostolike seat vacant, so to a Councell not yet gathered, &c.* This is a flauish seruice which hee exacteth of vs, and not a filiall reuerence, &c. He calleth me be-

Ecc ij

retike

Aeneas Syluius
commentat. l. 3.
Wimpfel. in
Protest ad illu-
stres viros
Germ.
Tritheimij Anti-
logia excusa
Basiliae an. 1551
ubi appellatio
vtraq.
Kranzius l. 10.
Wandal. c. 24.
Epist. 400. ad
Norimbergens.
Tritheim. Chron-
ic. vol. 2. sub
annum 1460.

retike, because I say, That a Councell of all Christendome is about the Pope; but I say, A
 The Pope is an heretike, who holdeth the contrarie, &c. He commandeth my goods to be
 confiscated and giueth them to whosoever will enter upon them, willing them therein to doe
 the worke of Catholike men. This word were varie dangerous, but that the Popes fond
 trifling is before alreadie well knowne vnto vs, when he made at Mantua so large and
 so loud a discourse in the behalfe of incestuous embracements, and vices enemies to pub-
 lique honestie. Lastly, Pius sayd, That the Church is not assembled: Hee answereth,
 it is he that hindereth and disturbeth it by his factions; in me is no let, not any fault,
 &c. One Theodore bishop of Feltré, answered him in the behalfe of the Pope,
 heaping together all the places and reasons, whereby the Canonists are wont to
 defend that fulnesse of power, which Popes doe arrogate to themselves. And B
 this againe Gregorie de Heimburg confuted from point to point, in an Apologie
 made expressly against the detractions and blasphemies of Theodore. In this particu-
 larly he reproached him, That Pius after he had exhausted Christendome by his
 Iubilie, would in the Councell of Mantua wring out the verie last drop, by for-
 ging new exactions, vnder colour of making warre against the Turkes; And that
 he and his Cardinals laughed at it, when he propounded vnto them, what great
 prouisions were needfull for such a warre; because hee had another thing in his
 mind. And hence is that wrath of Pius, which hee now vomiteth forth against
 him: Wherefore (saith he) Your money vnder colour of a militarie expedition against
 the Turke, shall be conuerted into a wicked and damnable use, in succour of Ferdinand,
 conceiued by the damnable embracement of Alphonsus sometime king of Arragon, against
 Renatus lawfull heire of the kingdome of Sicilie, and that noble Duke of Calabria, the or-
 nament and inimitable patterne of Christian nobilitie, and of militarie glorie: And
 therefore saith the Pope that Gregorie de Heimburg was borne of the Diuell, because hee
 is not of the damnable seed, but lawfully begotten, for the Pope is a hater of such a fauou-
 rer of bastards, in whose fauour he made a verie large Oration almost thre houres long,
 and made all Mantua ring with the praises of the bastard Ferdinand. But as touching
 the question of the Popes Primacie, I entreat the Reader to peruse the Apologie
 it selfe. In another Treatise of his also against the Primacie he calleth the Roman
 Synagogue Babylon and the Harlot. And after he had proued that it hath no ground
 in sacred Scripture, nor in the writings of the Fathers, yea that all these things
 are of meere vsurpation, contrarie to the institution of Christ, and against the
 commoditie of the Church, he pronounceth that such tyrannie is not to be en-
 dured; and exhortheth euerie one, as it is commaunded in the Apocalyps, to de-
 part from it: Which, that it might be more easily be discerned, he framed a most
 exquisit antithesis of Christ and the Pope; whereby he manifestly sheweth him
 to be Antichrist. He accuseth also the Doctors, who either for hope or feare not
 daring to contradict his errors, confirme him the more by their silence. At last
 he bursteth forth into this, That for these many yeares it is more free for a man to dis-
 pute and call into doubt the power of God, than of the Pope. For men (saith he) are drunken
 with the wine of the said harlot, and inspired with the sweetnesse of this woman; they
 flatteringly expounded the Scriptures, wresting it for confirmation of error. And be-
 cause that Emperours and Kings, either through ignorance for want of accustomed
 themselves to studies and sciences, or by reason of too much worldlie vanitie that possesseth
 them, haue not bene able to see it, they haue bene brought to so great a seruitude, that
 they are compelled to beleue, for a points of faith necessarie to saluation, That Christ
 hath giuen the Pope such a fulnesse of power, that he may dispose of all things which
 are on the earth after the pleasure of his owne will, neither shall any dare to say vnto him,
 why

Gregor. Heim-
 burg, in tractat.
 de Primatu ex-
 ciso Magde-
 burgi & in An-
 tilogia Basil.
 1555.
 Item Franco-
 furti apud Wol-
 fang Riebelle-
 rum, an. 1607.

A why doest thou so, seeing that the Pope himselfe hath power to commaund the Angels?
 In this our age there could hardly be said any thing more cleerely. But the con-
 trouersie of Diether of Mentz troubled all the Empire: Hee had bene chosen
 Canonically by the Canons, yea his election confirmed by Pope Pius himselfe;
 but he was not found verie readie in buying his Pall, or in paying his Annates,
 but the principall clause was, That he opposed himselfe against the Popes exaci-
 ons of money, vnder colour of the holie warres; whereupon being vexed by Pi-
 us, he appealed to a Councell, saying he loued better the wealth of the Germans,
 than the defence of the Faith: Further, he refused to sweare to the Pope, That
 he should neuer assemble the Estates, nor the Electors of the Empire, without
 consulting first his intention, either for the election of a new Emperour, or for to
 obtaine a Councell, or for any other affaie of importance. He therefore reuoked
 his confirmation, and transferred his Bishopricke to Adolfe of Nassau, his com-
 petitor, and excommunicated Diether, and Frederick the Palatine, his fauourer.
 Hereupon the friends of both parties take armes, Frederick (sumamed the Victo-
 rious) and Lewis Duke of Bauaria, for Diether; Albert Marquesse of Brande-
 burg, Charles Marquesse of Baden, John Bishop of Metz, his brother, Ulric Earle
 of Wirtemberg, and Lewis Niger of Bauaria, for Adolfe. The battell was fought,
 wherein Diethers part had the victorie, most of the Princes being taken prisoners
 by the Palatine: whereupon they fell to this agreement, That Adolph should pos-
 sesse till his death the places which he had surprisid, and that Diether should peace-
 ably enioy all the rest, and also should succeed Adolfe, whensoever he should de-
 cease, which happened six yeares after. And this was the fruit of overthrowing
 the Pragmaticall sanction, which Pius said would be so profitable to the Church.
 Neither was France better contented with the Decree of Pius the second than
 Germanie, and so much the lesse, for that Pius, to gratifie Ferdinand bastard
 of Alphonsus, had troden vnder foot the right of the Frenchmen in the kingdome
 of Naples. He therefore sent a Legat into France, for to abolish the Pragmaticall
 sanction, which was there obserued by vertue of the Councell of Basile, and mo-
 ued the king by letters in these words: If thou be the forme of obedience, wherefore
 doest thou hold and defend the Pragmaticall sanction? Eugenius warned thee to keepe it,
 as not being according to God: the same did Nicholas and Calixtus, as the cause of great
 euill and discord in the Church, and yet thou wouldst neuer heare the voyce of the Church.
 And the king was somewhat moued with these words. But the Court of Parlia-
 ment of Paris came to him, and earnestly declareth vnto him of how great impor-
 tance it was for the Christian Commonweale, the want whereof would most cer-
 tainly bring foure principall inconueniences; First, A confusion of the whole Order
 Ecclesiasticall: Secondly, The depopulation of the subiects of the kingdome: Thirdly, An
 emptying the kingdome of money: Fourthly, The ruine and totall desolation of Churches.
 All which they at large lay open vnto him from point to point. This their admo-
 nition may be seene at large, recited by Iohn Cardinal of Arles, comprehended
 in 89 Articles in the workes of Peter Pithau, which is worthe the Readers per-
 using. There, among other things, they declared vnto him, out of the holie Scrip-
 tures, the practise of the Primitiue Church, Canons of Councils, Decrees of the
 Fathers, ordinances of Popes themselves, and by the lawes of Christian Empe-
 rours and Kings, especially of ours, That the Election of Bishops, Abbots, and
 other Prelats of the Church, doth no whit depend; and neuer haue depended of
 the Bishop of Rome. That such was neuer the intention of Charlemaigne, Lewis the
 Mecke, Philip Augustus, S. Lewis, Charles the Wise, and others, who haue ever or-
 dained

Krantzius in
 Saxon. l. 12. c. 7.
 Naucler. vol. 2.
 Gener. 49.

dained and maintained Canonically election: so that whatsoever things are done otherwise, is by mere usurpation. Then they come to speake of the pillages and buying and selling of the Court of Rome, which in France alone doth amount to many millions of gold, of which they set downe examples, draw a roll of them, and cast vp the particulars. For what doe they say? that in one onely Diocesse, in one yeare, the expectatiue graces are found to bee in number six; hundred, &c. Whereupon the Pope was moued, that (as James Cardinall of Pavia writeth to king Lewis) when he heard of a refusal, he cried out, *Guerra, Guerra usque ad capillos*. But knowing wel that this king was diuersly intangled with many affaires, and hauing found out his easie disposition, & that he would do all things of his own head, he could warily obserue him; that thus had Constantine the great, the two Theodosius, Charlemaigne, and many other of his predecessors, gotten themselves an immortal name and a neuer-fading glorie; to wit, by abolishing the Pragmaticall sanction. And what can be farther off from the truth, and therefore what more vnworthie? But principally because he heard his humor was in many things to goe contrarie to his fathers doings, and would be absolutely obeyed in what he pleased, he there taketh hold, and tickleth him in that: *We commend (saith he) this, among other things, that without the assemblie and consultation of many, thou hast resolved to take away the Pragmaticall. Surely thou art wise, and shewest thy selfe to be a great king, which art not gouerned, but dost gouerne, &c. Thou dost that which is meet for thee, knowing that the Pragmaticall sanction is without God, thou hast decreed to banish it out of thy kingdome, and wilt not enter into deliberation whether those things ought to bee done or no, which thou knowest are to be done: This is to be a king, and a good king, whom good men loue, and euill doe feare, &c. Retimes make knowne thy wisdom, as to vs it is; so to the whole world, to the end that none may say, he was a long time vnrwilling, because long in deliberating. And if the Prelats and vniuersities require any thing of vs, let them haue recourse to vs, and make thee their Mediator. Knowing without doubt, if the matter once had come to deliberation, he should surely haue had againe the repulse. And he addeth, Neither do we doubt, but that when thou wert exiled (namely, when he was out of his fathers fauour) as it were out of the kingdome, thou wouldest often say with thy selfe, O, if I one day sit on my fathers throne, I will doe many acceptable seruices to thee O God. Surely I will not suffer thine inheritance to be spoyled by the furie of the Turkes, &c. But what doth he conclude of this? Now shew thy selfe gratefull to his diuine goodnesse, seeing he hath made thee his sonne king, and hath restored the kingdome with great glorie, and for so great benefites doe this againe for him, take away the Pragmaticall sanction, as thou hast promised our embassadour to doe, and that done, which is no hard thing to doe, adresse thy selfe wholly to the succouring of Christian religion against the Turkes, &c. Thus to abrogat this law, which respected onely the Canonically election of Bishops, and the restraint of the pillages of Rome, was a matter of greater importance with him, than the purpose or vow of making warre against the Turkes. So then Lewis resolved to disannull it, vnder colour that it had bene published in the time of schisme, although he concealed not, to encrease the benefit, that it had bene concluded in a great assemblie of Prelats, and with great deliberation of time, and was now hardened and had taken firme footing. But to what purpose he so eagerly pursued this businesse anon after appeared: whereof wee haue a shew and example in the letters of James Cardinall of Pavia, to Francis Spinola: William Cardinall of Hostia (saith he) told vs a storie of an Abbie in France, famous for wealth and religion, of which there was an Abbot old and decrepit, who seeing himselfe vnprofitable in his charge, for conscience sake would leaue the administration of the same. I know*

Jacob. Cardin.
Papiensis in Epistolis.

Aeneas Syluius
Epist. 37. data
Romae 26. Oct.
1461.

A know not what Bishop, whose Church was farre thence, requested that the Abbay should be given him in Commenda. The Abbay as we haue said, was of great fame in France, hauing no ill in it for which it had need to be commended. It was apparant, that hee required it not for desire of good worke, but for conuouissance. In comming therefore to speake their opinions, the Cardinall de Porto, who was next to the Cardinall of Hostia, I feare, Holie Father (saith he) that verie shortly we shal heare that at the Abbayes in France will be in Commenda, so that there will not any remain that hath an Abbot; for whatsoever we ordayne there, is nothing else but Commenda's. That kingdome will one day, when we least looke for it, rise against vs, and not being able to endure our vnprofitable ministerie, will attempt some great matter against thy seat. The Pope approued his iudgment, and added, That from the Popedome of Calixtus till that day, he thought there were more than five hundred Monasteries giuen in Commenda; that is, in lesse than nine yeares. And yet in his Epiraph among his triumphes is obserued this exploit, Pragmaticam in Gallia abrogauit, hee abolished the Pragmaticall sanction. Wherefore Pius being dead, who in foure yeares space, had taught France sufficiently what great damages would ensue thereupon, complaints for the Pragmaticall sanction are redoubled: whereupon, the king commaunded his Court of Parliament to set downe vnto him in writing the causes of this complaint, which it did, and deliuered them vnto him againe in eightie sixe Articles, vnder this Title, For the libertie of the French Church against the Court of Rome. The principal Articles are the 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, in these words: Whereas many things had bene decreed in the holie Councils of Constance and Basill, consonant or agreeable to the auncient Canons, and to the royall ordinances aboue sayd. King Charles the seuenth the king, who then was Dolphin, being present, together with the Prince of the blond Royall, the Prelats, and the Colledges Ecclesiasticall and Scholasticall, and in the hearing of the Embassadours both of the Pope of Rome, and of the holie vniuersall Councell; at length hee received those Decrees, and confirmed them by his Edict, which commonly wee call Pragmaticall. And these things were done at Bourges in the yeare 1438. This sanction therefore was ever held to be of so much the more authoritie, because it had the originall from the holie Councils, in which the Pope, or his Legat sat President. For there had bene neuer any law made in France before that time, which had authoritie and force from the vniuersall Church. 16. From that time forth the kingdome better prospered, and had greater authoritie and glorie than euer before, and more plentie and abundance of all things. Guienne and Normandie can witnesse, what terrour it was to the enemies, out of which places they were expulsed and cast out. 17. The obseruation of this sanction dured the space of twentie and three yeares, and now since hath ceased these foure yeares: When in the meane time men of excellent probitie and grauitie haue gouerned and ruled the Churches without molestation and disturbance; of which some for the singular sanctitie of their liues, after their decease were had in reputation for miracles, as Michaell Bishop of Angers, the Archbishop of Arles, and many others. 18. Contrariwise, of the abrogation of these Canons, Decrees and Constitutions, innumerable inconueniences would arise, which seeme may be referred to foure kinds: Those same which were obserued in the admonition afore mentioned. But the king being troubled either with continuall warres, or with suspicions, from time to time put off the businesse to a generall assemblie. Yet (saith Monstrelet) in the yeare 1467, Paule the second being Pope, the king graunted his letters to his Legat being come from Rome, in the moneth of September, for the abrogation of the Pragmaticall sanction, which were exhibited and published in the Chastellet of Paris, without any contradiction or disturbance. But he addeth, on the first day of October following, M. John Balne (who after

Platina in Pio 2

Monstrelet in
Chronologiquis.

after was Cardinall) came to the hall of the Palace royall at Paris, to procure the publication of the same in Court: where he findeth *M. Iohn de Saint Romain*, the kings Attourney generall, who verie stoutly opposed himsef against the execution of the said letters, whereat *Balue* was verie much displeas'd. *Balue* threateneth him, That the king would not be well content with it, and would displace him from his office: But he despising his threats, answered, That the king might take away his office from him, yet neuer thelesse he was resolu'd rather to lose it, than he would either doe or suffer to be done any thing against his conscience, or to the detriment and dishonour of the king and kingdome. And to *Balue* he said, That he might blush for shame, for hauing undertaken the dispatch of such a businesse. And after that the Rector of the Vniuersitie of Paris, and the Deputies of the same, came to the Legat himsef, and appealed from him and from the effect of his said letters, to the Councell, and in whatsoeuer place it should be made. They also went to the Chastlet, where they requested, that their opposition might be unregistred there. These are the words of *Monstrelet*: and it is not to be omitted, That this *Iohn Balue*, being Bishop of *Eureux*, was made a Cardinall, and a little after convicted of treason against the king and kingdome. The yeare following, one *M. Iohn Loyre*, by vertue of certaine Bulls from the Pope, interdicted the citie and Diocesse of *Niuers*, vsing the authoritie of the Officiall of *Besanson*: But by the sentence of the Court it was decreed the twelfth of December, at the suit of the kings Attourney generall, and of *M. Peter Chartres*, Doctor and Professor of Diuinitie in the Vniuersitie of Paris, That notwithstanding the Interdict the Diuine Seruice should be continued, and the Churchmen compelled vnto it, being by the kings power set into their temporalities: That also the said *Loire* and Officiall should be layd hold on, and be held to procure at their owne charges the abrogation of the Bulls.

Neither wanted there in all places some, who in the middest of the tyrannic powred forth their sighes euen before the Popes. *Dominicus* Bishop of *Brescia* in *Italie*, wrot a Treatise which he directed to *Pius* the second, and intituled it, *The Reformation of the Court of Rome*; truly mild ynough according to the times, and yet sometime not without a sting: If (saith he) we consider the former Popes and their Acts, the Cardinalls, the Bishops, Prototonaries, and other Prelats, Penitentiaries, Subdeanes, Auditors, Clerkes of the Chamber, Acolythes or vnder ministers, Chamberlains, Advocates, Proctors and others appointed in diuers degrees and offices, wee shall surely weepe with *Jeremie*, Oh, how is the gold become so dimme! the most fine gold is changed, the stones of the Sanctuarie, that is, the Prelats, are scattered in the corner of euery street, that is, of the broad wayes, which lead to destruction, in the corners whereof they are, as *Gregorie* expoundeth it. Her *Nazarites* were purer than snow, and whiter than milke, more splendent than precious stones, or polished Saphires; but now their face is blacker than a coale, and they are not knowne, to wit, for good, &c. By this deformation and spot of the Court, and of Clergie-men, especially of the Prelats, Ecclesiasticall censures seemeth to be weakened, and obedience diminshe'd. Why is this, but for the contemptible life and workes of Prelats, because they seeke their owne, and not what is *Iesus Christs*. But the reformation and amendment hereof belongeth to the Pope, who as head of the rest ought to performe it, and diligently looke to it. But he that would correct others, ought first looke to himsef, and them that be about him: Because the life of the Pastour is an example to others. And if the head languish, the rest of the members are infected, and when the Pastour is wounded, who will applie the medicine to cure the sheepe? Whereupon, when the Physitian is sicke, it will be said vnto him, Cure thy selfe, &c. And to this purpose he bringeth many Canons. Of Indulgences: So often as (saith hee) the

Lament. A.
De Censi Rom.
l. 6. c. 7. cum
Pastoru 6. q. 1.
ex merito l. q. 1.
Fertur. ver.
Hinc igitur.

Pope

A Pope went forth in publike on some feastiull day, was giuen a plenary Indulgence, against the custome of auncient Popes: not withstanding that by such vndiscreet and superfluous Indulgences the keys of the Church are contemned, and penitentiall satisfaction weakened. De poenis & remiss. c. Cum ex eo s. Ad hæc. Out of this consideration it followeth, that about giuing of expectatiue graces greater consideration ought to be had, and not thus giuen euery where on all sides, and indifferently: because by so great a multitude and confusion for the most part, benefices are granted to persons unworthie, & great matter of contention ariseth thereby. Againe, By the euill example and scandall which they giue to Lay men, they seeme that they are come to this that *S. Bernard* speaketh in his sermon vpon these words of the Gospell, I am the good shepheard. And because it is verie long,

B let the Reader take the paines to see it in the booke it selfe, wherein he discourseth of all the corruptions of the Roman Church in his time. At *Padoua* taught *Anthonie Rozel*, a famous professor of the Ciuile Law, who in his booke of *Monarchie* affirmeth, That the Pope is not Lord of the world, That he hath no power ouer the Emperor, no temporal sword, neither any authoritie aboute other Bishops. There is extant besides, other Treatises of the same Author, *Of the power of the Emperor and of the Pope, and of both the swords, and of the authoritie of Councils*, printed at *Venice* in the yeare 1487.

C Neither feared also *Roderick Sanchio*, a Spaniard, Bishop of *Zamora*, and Rectorarie of *Paul* the second, to say in his booke *Of the Myrrior of mans life*, That the Pope doth not applie himsef to wisedome, nor to laudible studies, neither for the peace and quiet of Christian people, but onely vnto earthlie things: That the Prelats doe not, neither can teach, for that they are altogether vnlearned, giuen to their bellie and to whoredome; and yet bind on the backs of poore Christians, diuers insupportable burdens of traditions, which in the Primitiue Church either were not at all, or were left to mens libertie. In the Primitiue Church (saith he) the faithfull were not bound with the commandements, censures, and pains of so many Canons & Decrees. Neither were there then so many snares of laws & constitutions, of excommunications or censures, from which the faithfull, though neuer so careful & fearful, can by no means be safe or warrant themselves. There was not so many fasts commanded, nor vigils, nor sines, nor

D Diuine Seruice for day and night, enioyned daily to be said. Lastly, there was not so many feasts to be kept, nor so often confession, and communication of the bodie of *Christ*, nor so many obediences to be yeilded, &c. So that of the Prelats of the Church may be rightly sayd that of *Christ*, which bind vsupportable burdens, &c. Whence (saith he) if any of the like things were obserued in the Primitiue Church, it was onely voluntarie, which as then was no sinne to transgresse, because it was not then forbidden. And yet notwithstanding this same wretch was not ashamed to flatter *Paul* the second in the same booke, That the Pope is not onely ordained to humane principalitie, but to diuine; neither

E to commaund onely ouer men, but also ouer Angels; not for to iudge the quicke onely, but the dead; not in earth alone, but in heauen also; not to rule ouer the faithfull onely, but ouer Infidels: Aduanced (saith he) to that verie same dignitie, to the same iurisdiction and power, and to the principalitie ouer the whole world. So that hee bludgeth not to applie vnto him the places of the Prophets, and of the Psalmes, which the holie Ghost hath onely spoken and meant of the onely Sonne of *God*; and he most highly extolleth him aboute that stammering *Moses* and his brother *Aaron* both together. So that truth and flatterie, two contraries, proceed out of one and the same mouth. In *Germanie* *Herman Ried* wrot a booke, wherein he represented the corrupt maners of the Clergie, by a comparison of what they ought to be, and what in his times they then were: There are (saith he) many Clergie-men, who sell

Roderic. Zamoren
in speculo
vite humane
exculso Argen
torati apud Io
han. Prif. An.
1507.

Jdem cap. 1. l. 5.

Herman. Ried.
de vita & ho
nestate Cleri
corum.

low

Hierome de norma uiuendi c. 5.

Stephan. Brulifer. de timore seruilis de paupertate Christi cum sermonibus varijs apud Andream Bocord. Paris an. 1500. Idem in 4 lib. seruent. Bonavent. Basil. per Jacob. de Pfortegim 1501

Platina in Marcelino.

low not the counsell and sentences of the Fathers, receive not the holie Scripture, but despise the canons of the holie Fathers. These are they which hate and deride understanding and Catholike men, who weigh the grienousnesse of the crimes of the Clergie, and endeavour with watchfulnesse to crie out against their false dealing: Yea, they affirme them to be fantastickall men, disturbers of the peace, hauing corrupt and polluted consciences, &c. And so is verified of them that saying of S. Hierome, There is not a crueller beast in the world, than an euill Clergie-man or Priest; for he suffereth not himselfe to be corrected, neither will he euer heare the truth, &c. Such and the like are by their Prelats permitted publikely so to line: Provided, that they giue euerie yeare a certaine sum of money to their Officials. Moreover, how many are there publikely tainted with Simonie? insomuch, that not being able to conceale their simonie, to shift it off, they expresse it with other tearmes, & perswade themselves that so the word simonie be not heard, it will not be perceived: It is (say they) an ordinance or statute of the Church. Others more subtilly to shift it off, doe say, That the Pope doth it by his fulnesse of power, who may in such things dispence, admit and ordaine: And that then it is simonie and sinne, onely when the Pope did forbid it, or ordaine to the contrarie; but let that saying cease, which is verie erroneous to affirme. The state of the Church was neuer in so great daunger from the beginning of the world, as it is to be seene at this present. There haue been indeed greater persecutions and vexations of the Church, but there were euer holie and deuout men, who endued with the grace of the holie spirit, comforted the faithfull, instructing and strenghtening them. And now the Church seemeth to be set in securitie; but such holie men are nowhere to be seene. Therefore the Church decreaseth in faithfull men and in kingdomes, it pineth away in persons, notwithstanding the libertie it hath. And before, when it enjoyed not so great libertie, but was furnished with those holie men, it dayly increased and augmented, as to him that will search the Histories will plainly appeare. These things Saint Barnard partly noted in his time, in his soure and twentieth Sermon, and upon the 72 Psalme, They are the Ministers of Christ, but serue Antichrist. Which places, because we haue aboue coted them, is needlesse here to trouble the Reader withall.

In Fraunce, Stephan Brulifer, Doctour of Sorbonne, of the order of Franciscan Friers, whose bookes were Printed at Paris and at Basill, in the yeares 1500 and 1501, taught publikely in lectures, in disputations and by writings, That neither the Pope, nor a Councell, nor the Church can prescribe an Article, statute, or ceremonie, which bindeth the conscience of a Christian: That their power consisteth onely in this, to take care that the commaundements of God be kept, to preach his word, to administer the Sacraments so as hee hath instituted them, taking heed that they bring in nothing besides that which hee hath commaunded: As touching justification, which is attributed to merits, that it is a diuclish doctrine; seeing that the Lambe sacrificed hath satisfied Gods iustice for vs, of which S. Iohn crieth, Behold the Lambe of God, which taketh away the sinnes of the world. But when the Sorbonne would not endure him, he committed himselfe to the protection of Diether Archbishop of Mentz. And what shall wee say of Platina, that famous Historiographer of Popes, not speaking of Paule the second his Master, which perhaps might be imputed to some hatred, but of the Popes and Church in his time, plainly without spleene. In the life of Marceline (speaking of the persecution of Dioclesian) Eusebius (saith he) sheweth, That God permitted that calamitie, which they suffered, because of the maners of Christians corrupted by too much libertie and indulgence, principally of the Churchmen, whose perversnesse the iustice of God would bridle by this persecution, seeing dissimulation to be in their

A their countenance, guile in their heart, and deceit in their words. For these, striving who should excell each other in enuie, pride, enmities, and hatreds, seemed to fauour rather of tyrannie than Priesthood, being altogether forgetfull of Christian pietie, and prophaning rather than celebrating the diuine mysteries. But what thinke wee shall become of our age, wherein our vices are increased so exceedingly, that hardly haue they left any place of mercie for vs with God? How great is the conetousnesse of Priests, and chiefly of them which haue soueraigne power, how great their lust appeareth euerie where, how great their ambition and pompe, how great their pride and sloth, how great their ignorance both of themselves and of Christian doctrine, how little their religion, and rather in shew than in truth, how corrupt their manners, which euen in prophane men (whom they call seculars) were detestable, there is no need to speake it: They commit sinnes so openly and in sight, as if they sought prayse thereby. There will come (beleue mee) there will come the Turke, the enemy of the Christian name, more violent than Diocletian and Maximian: he already knocketh at the gates of Italie. We, negligent and sleepe, attend a common destruction, providing rather for priuat pleasure than for common vtilitie. In the life also of Stephen the third: Pietie and religion is now become so cold, that they will not pray to God, I say not bare-footed, but hardly in their hose and buskins. Speaking of a certaine procession from Lateran to S. Peters: They weepe not as they goe, or during the time of Diuine Seruice, as those holie Fathers, but laugh, and that impudently (I speake euen of them whose scarlet robes makes them more obseruable;) They sing not hymnes, for that seemeth to them seruile, but iests and tales they tell among themselves, to stirre up laughter. What need many words? The more talkatiue any is, and the more wanton, the greater prayse he deserueth thereby in that corruption of manners. This our Clergie feareth seuerely and graue men; why so? because they had rather line in so great licentiousnesse, than obey him that admonisheth them, or constraineth them to doe well: and for this cause Christian religion groweth daily worse and worse. The like wee read in many places, whereby he left inregistred what he judged of his times; not daring so freely to doe it in the liues of them that then raigned, or had left after them their creatures, as they call them, of whom he might receive iniurie. Let vs adde Anthonie de Rosellis, a Tuscan, a famous Doctour both of the Ciuile and Canon law, who in his learned bookes concerning that matter, teacheth, That no temporall iurisdiction belongeth to the Pope, and in spirituall he subiecteth him to a Councell: Which bookes were printed at Venice in the yeare 1487; but by their Index Expurgatorius, they haue caused them to be rased out.

It remaineth to say something of them that spake openly, being sequestred from the Pope. Platina, in the life of Paul the second, telleth vs; That in the towne of Poli, neere Rome, were detected many heretikes, and the Lord of the place with eight men and six women was taken, who being brought to Paul, were verie ignominiously vsed. And behold the heresie: They were (saith hee) of that sect which wee say is of a peruerse opinion of mind, for that they sayd, That none of them which haue beene since Saint Peter, was truly Christs Vicar, sauing onely they who haue imitated Christs pouertie. Let the Reader note here the stile of Platina, which sheweth that he speaketh out of other mens judgement. And as for the Bohemians, in the beginning of the Popedome of Pius the second they set forth their Apologie and Confession of Faith, against the calummies wherewith they were traduced among the people, which were too long here to be inserted: But they are conformable to the doctrine of the reformed Churches of this kingdom, and are defended by the same places and reasons both of the holie Scriptures and Fathers. But this fell out well for them, that after diuers miseries, was chosen

Platina in Stephen. 3.

king with common consent of the States, *George Prodebraccius*, a great captaine, A
and a professor of their religion, who restored the condition and sliding state of
these Churches. And as he constantly persevered therein, notwithstanding the
threats of the Emperour and Pope, hee was excommunicated by *Paul* the
second, and his Estate exposed to the first invaders thereof. *Matthias* king of Hun-
garie tooke vpon him the conquest of this Prouince, by the instigation of *Rodolfe*
the Popes Legat, with the approbation of the Emperour *Fredericke* the third,
and by the fauour of many of the great men of the kingdome. But after many
battels fought with variable successe, he could not bring his purpose to passe. And
in the meane time this valiant Prince was thereby hindered from the necessarie
warre, which he had prosperously made against the Turkes, being accused of in-
gratitude, for that he had set vpon *George*, to whom he was verie notably obliged, B
for hauing generously set him free out of prison without any ransome, and also
giuen him his daughter in mariage, when he was chosen king of Hungarie. In
hatred of which fact, euen after the death of *George*, when *Matthias* was declared
king by the Pope, the States of the kingdome of Bohemia would neuer giue their
consent vnto it, but preferred before him *Vladislans* sonne of *Casimir* king of Polo-
nia, who, although he was oftentimes instigated by the Pope against *George*, yet
would neuer be persuaded to take armes against him, judging it a thing vnworthy,
vnder pretence of the Catholike Faith to violat the faith giuen to each other. And
this bringeth vs to the year 1470. C

64. PROGRESSION.

*The Atheisme of Sixtus the fourth, and his abominable and wicked life, whom Inno-
cent the eighth succeeded both in the Popedome and in all impietie. Of Alexander the sixth,
by what diuellsish meanes he attained the Popedome, and of his abominable incestu-
ous life, and miserable death. Charles the French king passeth into
Italie with a mightie armie, and of his vali-
ant proceedings there.*

NOW it was thought that the Popes were come to that height of impietie and
tyrannie, that they could hardly ascend to a higher step; and yet by that
which followeth we shall easily perceiue, that they found meanes to adde both
a ridge and pinnacles to that building. It is beyond all beleefe, especially we re-
porting it, had we not their owne Authours to witness it against them. In the
year 1471 *Francis de Rouere*, borne in Sauoy, Generall of the Franciscans, got the
Popedome, who was called *Sixtus* the fourth. Of this man *Onuphrius* giues this
testimonie, That for his great learning, as long as hee was Cardinall, all questi-
ons that concerned matter of Faith were committed to him. Where let the Rea-
der note from that which followeth, vpon whose faith the Catholike Faith de-
pended. At the first onset he made shew of calling a Councell at Lateran, vnder
a twofold pretence, The reformation of the Church, and The holie Warres. The
causes were both verie plausibile, both for the allaying of the grieuous gronings
of good men, and the freeing them of their feares. But the place was not thought
so fitting, being that, out of which there neuer came any thing profitable to the
Church. The Emperour *Frederick* desired that it might be in the borders of Ger-
manie, and at the instant request of the Archbishop of Carnie, who gaue his best
assistance to forward the Reformation, the Emperour and Princes called an as-
semblee D

Asemblee of many Bishops at Basil. But *Sixtus* hearing thereof, sent *Adrian* the
Bishop of Stieffe to the Senat of the citie, threatening to interdict them, if they
sent not the Archbishop to Rome bound hand and foot, & accounted not the rest
of the Bishops that were with him for excommunicat persons. But the Senat of Basil
not enduring that so great a wrong should be offered vnto them in a free city, the Le-
gat excommunicating them, departed in choler. *Frederick* neuerthelesse persued in
his purpose; but yet the better to pacifie *Sixtus*, he desired that the Council might
be called at Vtina in Friuli a countrey in Italie; but that pleased him not neither.
This difficultie, so soone as he saw he had overcome, & withall established his seat
with the mutuall Legations of Princes, hee bent all his endeouours to the encrease
of the honour and greatnesse of his friends and kindred: *Volateran* and *Onuphri-
us* say in expresse termes, That he was accounted by the iudgement of all verie louing
and indulgent towards his kindred; for whose sakes hee had done and granted many
things, præter fas jusque, against all lawes humane and diuine: Hee created there-
fore two Cardinals, and that not without a mysterie, *Peter Riere*, whom hee had
brought vp from a child with his brother *Ieronimo*, and *Julian* his brothers sonne,
who was afterward *Iulius* the second: *Peter* being in a short time strangely irri-
ched, became so sumptuous, that he seemed to be borne to spend money; for he consu-
med in those two yeares wherein he liued a Cardinall, two hundred thousand crownes in
his ordinarie household expence, left fortie thousand crownes in debts, and other infi-
nit riches and mouable goods. He died weakened, and worn out with pleasures. But
C neuerthelesse a Legat (a mad choyce it was) in Italie: It is he whose prodigious
prodigalitie *Baptista Fulgosius* describeth to be such, that hee vsually gaue to *Tire-
psia* his harlot pantofles wrought all ouer with pearle; of whom likewise *Bap-
tista Mantua* writeth these verses, wherein *Iupiter* thus saluteth him in hell:

*At tu implume caput, cui tanta licentia quondam
Femineos fuit in coitus, tua furta putabas
Hic quoque prætextu mitra impunita relinquit?
Sic meruit tua fæda Venus, &c.*

D But thou, O Bauld-pate, who once mightest freely
Glut thy desires with womens companie,
Thinkst thou thy Myter can here thy thefts defend?
Such hath the desert of thy leacheries been, &c.

To the reproach and ignominie both of Pope *Sixtus* and himselfe. Of *Julian* we
shall speake hereafter in his place. Having provided for these two that were nee-
rest vnto him both in blood and affection, he bent his endeouours to the promoti-
on of the rest of his kindred. He made therefore his brother *Ieronimo*, brought vp
E with him, the Prince of Forlie and Imola, whether by right or wrong hee regat-
ded not; whom he married to *Catherina* the bastard daughter of the Duke of Mi-
lan, hauing first bestowed a hat vpon *Ascanius* the Dukes sonne, to get his fathers
consent. Presently after he raised *Leonard* his brothers sonne, whom he married
a bastard of king *Ferdinands*, and made him Gouverniour of Rome. He made *Iohn*
also, the sonne of Cardinall *Iulian*, Prince of Sorra and Senogallia, who married
Joan the daughter of *Frederick* of Montefeltro, Duke of Vrbin, from whom came
Franciscus Maria, who (his vnclie dying without heires male) obtained the duke-
dome: and in this manner did he exalt diuers others. He was so liberall (say the
Fff ij writers

Stumpfius in His-
tor. Heluetia.Volateran. &
Onuphr.Baptista Ful-
dit. & sahor.
memorab. l. 9.
Baptista Man-
tuanus in Al-
phonso l. 4.

writers of those times) that many times hee gaue one and the same thing to A
 diuers; from whence rose many dissentions. Such art hee had in the rayning of
 troubles and tumults, that, whether by right or wrong, he made warre against the
 whole world; against *Vitellius*, the Florentines, the *Columni*, *Ferdinand*, and others,
 though, for the most part, with bad successe. Neither doe these writers conceale,
 that by reason of a grieffe he conceiued, for that peace that was concluded betwixt
 the Venetians and the Duke of Ferrara, he died, notwithstanding that this warre,
 by reason of the multitude of confederats on both sides, had set all Italie on fire.
 Heare what his Epitaphs say :

*Non potuit sanum via vlla extinguere Sixtum :
 Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.*

All force cruell *Sixtus* defied,
 Yet heard the name of peace, and died.

Againe,

*Dic unde Aleſto pax ista refulsit, & unde
 Tam subito resciscunt praelia? Sixtus obit.*

Tell me *Aleſto*, whence is this our peace?
 Pope *Sixtus* is dead, and therefore warres cease.

Againe,

Pacis ut hostis eras, pace peremptus obis.

As peace thou defiedst, so by peace thou diedst.

But where he wanted force, there he practised treacherie; and therefore saith
 the Epitaph,

*Francis dolique Magister,
 Et sola tantum proditiome potens.*

A Master of fraud and deceits,
 And onely powerfull in working treacherous feats.

For, to aduance *Ieronimo* he endeouored to make himselfe Lord of Florence;
 but *Laurence* and *Julian de Medicis* withstood him, against whom he stirred vp *Francis*
Pazzi, a Prince of the contrarie faction, to giue an attempt against their liues:
 And to manage that businesse with better safetie, he sent *Raphael Riere*, the Cardi-
 nall of *S. George*, a young man, and nephew to *Ieronimo*, to Florence, to giue heart
 to the conspirators; who on a day, in the Church of *S. Reparade*, and in the mid-
 dle of Diuine Seruice, assaulted the *Medices*, killed *Julian*, and wounded *Laurence*,
 who being received by the Sextens into the vesterie, escaped. The rumor here-
 of spreading it selfe through the citie, the people arose, and the Archbishop of
 Pisa, of the house of the *Salmiati*, *Jacobus Poggius*, and diuers others of the conspi-
 rators, were apprehended, and presently hanged out at a window, the Archbi-
 shop himselfe in his Pontificall habit; *Pastio*, *Anthony Volateran*, and one *Stephen* a
 Priest, were likewise executed. The Cardinall of *S. George* was taken prisoner, and
 the whole plot in such sort discovered by *Montescico*, the contriuer thereof, that it
 easily appeared that Pope *Sixtus* was the chiefe of that conspiracie; to whom ne-
 uertheless, least they should prouoke him too farre, they redeliuered his Cardi-
 nall:

A nall: But he, for as much as they had put the Archbishop to death, though ap-
 prehended in a manifest and apparent offence, and had layd hands vpon the Car-
 dinall, interdicted the Florentines, and denounced warre against them. But *Laure-
 nce* being verie wise, found a meanes to appeale *Ferdinand* king of Naples, and
 to alienat him from the Pope; who, had not the Turke at that time; by the taking of
 Otranto, troubled all Italie, had prepared himselfe for a reuenge. At the last be-
 ing disappointed of his enterprize touching Florence; hee made peace with the
 Venetians, against *Hercules* Duke of Ferrara, with this purpose: That by his ru-
 ine he might increase the power of *Ieronimo*: But presently after, watching his
 best aduantage, he turned his furie against the Venetians themselves. Hee spent

B a great masse of money in these warres, for the present supplie whereof he deu-
 sed many meanes: Writers therefore doe note, that he instituted new Colledges
 for money, whereby the Roman robberies were much multiplied; These were
 the Registers *minoris presidentie*, Solicitors, Recorders, Ianizaries, Stradiots, Ma-
 meluchi, which he ordained for a certaine summe of money. Likewise nine No-
 taries of the Apostolike Exchequer, &c. By which meanes (saith *Onuphrius*) the li-
 bertie of the Roman Court being as it were cast into fetters, all the diligence of industri-
 ous and painefull wits was taken away, those offices being now sold for money onely, which
 were wont to be freely bestowed vpon learned and honest men. Hee was likewise the first
 that sold the offices of the Procuratorship of the chamber, of the Notariaship Apostolike, of
 the Protonotariaship of the Capitoll, of the Notariaship of the Colledge, of the measuring
 of salt, of the Chamberlainship of the citie. He deuised new imposts, augmented the old,
 exacted diuers tithes of Ecclesiasticall persons, not without great note of auarice; and all
 this out of an immoderat desire to enrich his kindred. He celebrated likewise the
 Iubilie in the yeare 1475, which was reduced by his predecessor to the five and
 twentieth yeare, who prepared for him that harvest of Indulgences. But it shall
 be necessarie at the last to know what manner of man he was that granted them.

Amongst the bandes of these later times there was none more famous than *Sixtus* the
 fourth, who built at Rome a goodlie-brothel-house, wherein, according to the example of
Heliogabalus, he nourished multitudes of strumpets, wherewith he furnished his friends
 and followers, gathering by this whorish merchandize no small commoditie to his treas-
 urie: For the Curtisans of Rome did yet pay weekly *Iulium nummum*, a Iule to the Pope,
 which yearelie rent amounts many times to the summe of twentie thousand ducats. And
 in such request is that office with the principall of the Church, that the rents of the bawds
 are cast vp with the renewes of the Church: For I haue heard them (saith he) in this
 sort cast vp their accounts, He hath two benefices, one cure of twentie ducats, a Priorie of
 fortie ducats, and three whores in the brothel-house. By what better meanes could he
 aduance the kingdome of the Whore? Let vs adde here unto that which *Wesellus*
 of Groning, Doctor of Diuinitie, saith in his booke of the Papall Indulgences, a
 man in those daies famous for his knowledge in the three Tongues, and therefore
 called *Lux mundi*, The light of the world, who liued in the time of this *Sixtus*. At
 the request of *Peter Riere*, Cardinal of *S. Sixtus*, and Patriarch of Constantinople, and of
Ieronimo his brother, & of the Cardinal of *S. Luce*, who had had the chiefe place belonging
 to the hunting vnder *Paul* the second, he permitted Sodomie the three hottest moneths of
 the yeare, Iune, Iulie, and August, with this clause, Fiat vt petitur; Let it be done as it
 is requested. And therefore *Iohannes Sapidus* in his Epitaph had good reason to say,

*Descent sua Busta Cinedi,
 Scortaque, lemones, alca, vina, venus.*

Fff iij

Buggers

*Onuphrius in
 Sixto 4.*

An. 1475.

*Agrippa de va-
 nitate Scientia-
 rum c. 64. de
 Lenonia.*

*Wesellus seu Ba-
 silius Gronin-
 gensis de Indul-
 genijs Papalib.*

— Buggerers bewaile his death,
Whores, bawds, dice, wine, and lecherie.

Againe,

*Pædico insignis, prado, fucosus adulter,
Gaude prisce Netro, &c.*

A buggerer, a theefe, a false adulterer,
Reioyce old Negro, &c.

And it followeth verie aptly, according to Saint Paul, Rom. I.

*Riserat ut vivens caelestia numina Sixtus,
Sic moriens nullos credidit esse Deos.*

As Sixtus when he liued mockt God, so he,
When that he died, beleu'd no God to be.

*Trithem. de
scriptorib. Ec-
clesi.
Fra. Leandro
Alberti de vitiis
illustribus Or-
dinis Predica-
torij.
Alani de Rupe
Compend. Psal-
terij Mariani
& de Myrac.
Rozaryi liber
vnius An. 1483.*

And yet this good man in the meane time writ bookes of the conception of the Virgine Marie, authorised that execrable booke of *Alani de Rupe*, a German and Dominican Frier, forged and preached for Gospell a certaine Rosarie, gathered out of the Virgine *Maries Psalter*; and thereupon instituted a new Societie, for the credit whereof *James Sprenger*, Princiell of Germanie, deuised certaine myracles, which *Sixtus* approued and defended with his Bulls and Indulgences. There was likewise a booke printed, in the beginning whereof we read, That the Virgine Marie entring into the cell or chamber of this *Alani*, the doores being locked, and hauing wouen a ring with her haire, married her selfe therewith vnto him, offering her selfe vnto him to be kissed, and her breast to be handled and sucke, in as familiar manner as a wife to her husband. Many other the like blasphemies there were in that booke, by which let the Reader consider in what a bottomesse gulfe of impietic the superstitious minds of men were by these Atheists ouerwhelmed.

Innocent the eighth, a Genowais, of the familie of *Cibo*, succeeded in the yere 1483: after such a predecessor it was a hard thing to bee thought execrable (and yet he was no whit better than the former) that he should fill Rome with seditions, Italie with fire and sword; it was nothing strange, since it was a matter long since determined, That there was no mischief that besel Italie but through the Popes. He tooke from *Virginus Ursinus* the gouernement of the Apostolike Palace, to gratifie Cardinall *Iulian*, who then began to shew his force; whereby the citie was brought into great danger: Yea he troubled all Italie, by defending the Earls of Aquila against *Ferdinand* their King and Lord, Enforced thereunto (saith *Onuphrinus*) by the counsell of men ill aduised; whereby he got nothing but charge, ruine, and dishonour. Seeking therefore a means to supplie his wants, and to fill his treasure, he followed the steps of *Sixtus*: He ordained fiftie two *Plumbatores Bullarum*, *Bullists*, by which means he got six and twentie thousand crownes, *Certis Ecclesie promentibus attributis*, As a subsidie out of the reuenewes of the Church. He added six and twentie Secretaries, who paid euery one as it were for a fine two thousand five hundred crownes, which came to sixtie thousand crownes. He put to sale the office of the President *de Ripa*, and created thirtie officers, who payed two hundred crownes apeece: and this was said to restore the Church. He made peace with *Ferdinand* because he could not otherwise chuse, whom neuertheless vnder

*Onuphr. in
Innocent. 8.*

A vnder a pretence of non-payment of tribute, he excommunicated, depriued him his kingdome, and pronounced *Charles* king of Fraunce (who had promised him to come presently with his armie) the lawfull heire; which he afterward in his owne person performed, grounding himselfe vpon the last will and testament of *Renat* king of Sicilie, and of *Charles* the Earle *du Maine* his brother, who transferred all the right they had vpon him. But *Innocent* had no other purpose but by this meanes reuerting all the Bulls of his predecessors, to be reuenged vpon *Ferdinand*. As touching his priuat life, let vs giue credit to *Volateran*, though in tearms somewhat too honest, he expresse his dishonestie. *Iohn Baptista Cibo* a Genowais, after the death of *Sixtus*, sat in the chaire, and was called *Innocent* the eighth: He was heretofore a poore boy, brought up with the seruants of *Alphonso* king of Sicilie, but yet of excellent beautie. From thence he came to Rome, where he was receiued into the familie in Contubernio of *Philip* Cardinal of Bononia: Afterwards he was made Bishop of *Sauona*, and then of *Melfe*, and Dataire of *Sixtus*, who made him in the end Cardinall, for his sweet and cruile cariage, wherein he exceeded all men, vsque ad vitium, euen in vice it selfe: For he many times embraced men of basest conditions. Is the Popedome to be gotten by such meanes and manners? He had before his Popedome, sixteen children, eight sonnes, and eight daughters, of which there were onely two lying, when he obtrayned the See, whom he endeauoured to raise to the charge of the Church, distributing (saith the Historie) a great masse of money, gathered by his indulgences for an employment against the Turke, to his children and kinsfolke. Others add, That he was the first of all the Popes, that openly made his boasts of his bastards, and contemning all auncient discipline, tooke care to enrich them. *Onuphrinus* saith, That his sonne *Frauncis*, and his daughter *Theodorina* his bastards, bee enriched beyond reason. To *Frauncis* he gaue certaine Townes neere the Citie, and married him to the daughter of *Lawrence de Medices*, and *Theodorina* to *Gerard Vsumar* of *Genoa*, a man verie rich. Hereupon saith *Marullus* in an Epitaph,

*Quid queris testes, sit mas an femina Cibo,
Respice natorum pigmora certa, gregem,
Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas;
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma Patrem.*

Why seekest thou witnesse to proue *Cibo* a man,
Looke on his brats, faire gages, deny't if thou can:
Eight bastard sonnes he got, and as many daughters,
Worthily then may Rome, count this man a Pater.

His Epigrams alwayes alluding to that triall of the sex ordayned after the deceipt of Pope *Ioane*. But he concludeth,

*Spurcitias, gula, auaritia, atque ignauia deses
Hoc octaue iacent, quo regeris, tumulto.*

Vncleanesse, auarice, sloth, gluttonie,
Are here Octaue intombd, where thou doest lye.

And least there should be no place left for superstition, they made men beleue at that time, when *Petrus Consaluns de Mendoza* repayed the Church of the holie crosse,

croffe, that there was a fragment of the title of the croffe of Christ written in three A
Tongues, found inclosed in the wall: This cofinage the letters themselues bewraied
for in stead of *Nazareus* it was barbarously written *Nazagerus* With an e, & in the
accusatiue case plurall: were all those famous Roman Antiquaries blind? At that
verie time *Baiazet* the Emperour of Turkie, sent vnto him for a present, the poynt
of that speare of *Longinus* wherewith the side of Christ was wounded, that he
might thereby win him to set a surer gard ouer his brother *Gemes*, whom he had
then in his power; of that *Longinus* whose name they deriued from the word
Λογιστιν Who knowes not these fooleries, and knowing them can endure them?
From hence there sprung a wonderfull haruest of indulgences vnder *Alexander*
the sixt his successour, who neuerthelesse gaue lesse credit to these things. But *In-* B
nocent tooke more care to send out his Bulls against those that payed not their
yearly pensions at their day appointed; whom he punished with excommuni-
cation, and deprivation of those benefices they possessed. In such and the like ex-
peditions the zeale of the Church then appeared. Now to these abominations
what could be added to make vp the heape in these times? And yet *Rodericus Bor-*
gia (called *Alexander* the sixt) stayed not here. For, as some report that he came
to the Popedome by a compact with the Diuell, so his actions bewrayed the
Diuels conditions. Doubtlesse in this all Authours agree, that there was neuer a
ny that ascended to that dignitie by worse meanes. *Volateranus* and *Onuphrius* say,
That he obtayned so high a dignitie by the endeauours of some Cardinals corrupted with
ambition and avarice, who afterwards had experience of his ingratitude, and receiued con- C
digne punishment for their wicked assistance; and their voyces they then made sale of.
Of these the principall was *Ascanius Sfortia* who sold himselfe at a high price, that hee
that of the whole order was the most wicked, might in stead of the best be chosen Pope.
And there they relate how he ouerthrew them all, some by exile, some by impris-
onment, some by violent death, some he strangled, some he poisoned. But *Guic-*
ciardus more exquisitely, He was chosen Pope (saith he) by meanes of the discord that
was betwixt the Cardinals *Ascanius Sfortia*, and *Iulian* of *S. Peter ad vincula*: But
add withall thereunto, That by a new example in the sight and knowledge of all men hee
bought the Popedome, partly with money, partly with the promise of his greatest offices
and benefices, by which meanes he got the Cardinals voyces, who contemning the
commandement of the Gospell, were not ashamed to sell the power vnto him, so
make traffique of the sacred treasures, by a celestiall authoritie, and in the most
high, and principall part of the Temple, that is to say, according to that of the
Apostle, sitting in the Temple of God, &c. To this abominable negotiation, many a
mongst them were drawne by Cardinal *Ascanius*, not onely by persuasion but example,
who being corrupted by an infinit desire of riches, bargained with the Pope, that for a re-
ward of this his great wickednesse, he might haue the Vice-Chauncellorship, which was
the principall office of the Court of Rome, enriched with most pretious furniture. But the
Pope could not auoyd, neither for the time to come the iudgement of God, nor for the time
present the infamie, and iust hatred of men, filled by reason of this election with astonish-
ment and horrour, because it was made by dishonest meanes, and the nature and conditi-
on of the man knowne vnto all: And among others to the king of Naples, who though in
publique he dissembled his grieffe, yet he opened it to the Queene his wife, and that with
teares, from which he was wont to refraine, euen at the death of his children, because they
had chosen a Pope, who would proue dangerous not onely to Italie, but all Christendome: A
dimination not unworthie the wisdom of *Ferdinand* for there was in *Alexander* a quick
and subtil wit, a deepe reach of iudgement, a maruelous force to persuade, and in all af-
fares

Summa consti-
tut. in Bulla cu-
ius initium ad-
mirabile sacra-
ment. Nulla cu-
ius initium Apo-
stolica camere
in sum. consti-
tut.
Hieron. Marius
in Euseb. cap.
Onuphr. in A-
lexand 6.
Volaterran. in
Anthropologia.
Guicciard. lib. 1

A faires whatsoever an incredible care and dexterity. But his many vices did farre exceed
these his vertues. His maners were verie dishonest; there was in him no sinceritie, no
shame, no truth, no faith, no religion; but rather vnassailable avarice, ambition beyond
measure, more than brutish crueltie, and an insatiable desire to raise his sonnes, which
were many in number, whether by right or by wrong, to the highest dignities, among
which one of them in all manner of wickednesse was equall with the father. And here
let the Reader againe compare these manners with those gifts that are necessarie
for a Bishop, remembred by *Paul* 1. *Timoth.* 3. The onely end therefore of all his
endeuours, was to encrease the honour and greatnesse of his sonnes, whom hee
was not ashamed to acknowledge to be his to the whole world: for he would not
B haue them accounted for nephewes, as others were wont to doe, the better to
couer their shame. In the first Consistorie he created *John Borgia*, his sisters sonne,
Cardinall: but he was vpon the sudden stricken with a strange feare. *Charles* the
eighth, king of Fraunce, attempting the possession of the kingdome of Naples,
came with a great power into Italie, being inuited by *Lodouicus Maurus*, Duke of
Milan, and other Princes of Italie: against whom *Alexander* made a league with
Alphonfus of Aragon, heire to his father *Ferdinand* in the kingdome of Naples:
The principall conditions were these, That *Alexander* should inuest *Alphonfus*
into the kingdome of Naples, at the same rate that he did his father, and should
send his Apostolicall Legat to put the Crowne vpon his head: That hee should
C create *Lodowicke* the sonne of *Henrie*, who was *Alphonfus* his bastard brother, Car-
dinall: Againe, That *Alphonfus* on the other side should pay to the Pope thirtie
thousand ducats: That he should giue to the Duke of Candia, the eldest sonne
of *Alexander*, in the kingdome twelue thousand ducats of yearly reuenue, and
the first of the feuen principall offices that should be voyd: That he should main-
taine at his charge three hundred men at armes, to be alwayes readie when need
shold be to serue him: That vpon *Cesar Borgia*, his other son, by him made Car-
dinall, he should bestow benefices to a certain yerely value. Here the Author noteth,
That he made him Cardinall after that he had proued by false witnessses, that hee was
the lawfull sonne of another, because otherwise hee could not haue bene capable of that
D dignitie. What impudencie was this, hauing before commonly called them, and
publicly shewed them to be his sonnes?

In the meane time *Charles* prepared a great armie for this voyage, notwithstanding
that *Alexander* did sometimes dehort him from it with his Briefes, sometimes
threaten him with his Ecclesiasticall censures. But yet finding himselfe in these
straits, it was thought expedient for him and his confederat *Alphonfus*, to flie vnto
E *Baiazet* the Prince of the Turkes, and by embassadours sent to that purpose, to lay
open vnto him their imminent danger. It fell out happily with them at that time,
that *Gemes* the brother of *Baiazet* was detained prisoner at Rome; a man famous
both for his valour and wisdom; who being overcome by his brother in the
plaines of Bythinia, retired himselfe to Rhodes, where being taken by *Aubusoni-*
us, the Great Master of the Order, for a summe of money was deliuered to *Inno-*
cent the eighth; whereupon there was that friendship betwixt *Innocent* and *Bai-*
azet, that *Baiazet* payed vnto him a yearly pension of fortie thousand ducats,
which *Alexander* his successors did afterwards receiue, *Philip de Comines* saith six-
tie thousand, to the end that a strong gard might be set ouer *Gemes*, least if hee
should escape, he should trouble his Empire. Vpon this occasion *Alexander* and
Alphonfus giue *Baiazet* to vnderstand, That it was the purpose of the king of
France, hauing settled his affaires in Naples, to passe ouer into Greece: which was
the

Paulus Iouius
L2.

Phil. Comin. in
Histor. Carol.
8. c. 19.

the more easily belceued, because hee was not ignorant how many troubles the French had raised, and how many slaughters they had made in Asia. The warres of Charles growing hot, they sent Legats againe vnto him, *Alphonfus* making choyce of *Camillus Pendon*, *Alexander* of *Gregorio Bucciardo* of Genoa, being both skilfull in the Turkish language; *Bucciardo* being employed before in the like ser- uice by Pope *Innocent*. These promised to ouerthrow the forces of Charles, so he would supplie them with some great summes of money: Whereby he should redeeme the State of Greece from destruction, and entertaine warre in the king- dome of another, and should haue for a bulwarke of his Empire the citie of Rome and the kingdome of Naples. These embassadours were honourably receiued by *Baia- zet*, and so much the rather, because hee had receiued the same newes from other parts: He therefore gave thanks to the Pope (speaking to *Gregorie*) that he that had the highest place in Christendome would be pleased so friendly & louingly to giue him in time admonition, notwithstanding he were of another beliefe touching God, and of different maners touching men. He aduised him to returne into Italic, his embassadour *Dan- tius* accompanying him, by whom he sent money, and committed other matters of secrecie vnto him to that purpose. Amongst other matters giuen vnto him in charge (saith *Iouinus*) there was a letter written in Greeke, wherein *Baiazet* wish great art persuaded the Pope, That he should prouide that by some meanes or other his brother might be taken out of the way by poyson, which if he would performe, hee promised him vpon his faith two hundred thousand ducats, and freely to bestow vpon him the unsea- med coat of Christ, as some few yeares before he had sent the point of that speare where- with *Longinus* pierced the side of Christ. From hence let the Reader iudge with how inward a commerce of wickednesse these two were joined, since he durst giue that counsell to the Pope, which the most wicked men of the world, practised in all manner of villanie, durst not haue done one to another. It fell out in the meane time, that the ships wherein they passed the seas, were taken neere Ancona by *Iohn de la Rouere*, brother to *Cardinall Iulian*, an enemy to the Pope, and a friend to the Frenchmen, who seised vpon all the money as due vnto him from the Pope, and so *Dantius* was enforced to make a journey by land to Ancona, to saue him- selfe. But *Alexander* being verie much moued herewith, sought new meanes to continue this entercourse and agreement with *Baiazet*. With which Papall zeale he likewise diuerted the Croysado, or money gathered in Spaine, vnder a pre- tence of bearing the crosse against *Baiazet*, to this vse: For (saith *Guicciardine*) king *Ferdinand* excusing himselfe, That his armie by sea could not so speedily be readie, for the defence of the kingdome of Naples, for want of money, hee consented that the money gathered in Spaine, in the name of the Apostolike sea, vnder a colour of making warre a- gainst the enemies of the Faith, should be employed to that vse.

But *Charles* neuertheless passed through all Italic without resistance, being led as it were by the hand of God, opening not onely the gates before him, but the walls too, and comming neere Rome, where the Pope had fortified himselfe with the forces of *Alphonfus*, and other his confederats, hee demanded passage, and to be admitted into the citie, commaunding his enemies to depart, and not dissembling, That if *Alexander* obeyed not, he would make his way through the citie with his sword. *Alexander* hereupon was much troubled in his mind, Fearing least *Charles* presuming vpon the title of Most Christian, which the kings of France doe much glorie in, should with his people, being a nation renowned for their religion, turne his mind to the reformation of the Church: a terrible thoughts to him, whose conscience told him by what infamous meanes he had obtained the Popedome, and how with great

A *infamie* he had administrated it. Moreover he feared least he should be persuaded by the Cardinals of *Colonna*, *Sabelli* and others, to require the publication of a Councell; with which one voyce, saith *Iouinus*, the Popes of Rome are more terrified, than with any other human accidents whatsoener: But partly restes himself vpon that assurance which *Charles* had giuen him, not to attempt any thing against his digni- tie, and partly because being in these straits he saw no surer course to be taken, he retired himselfe to his castle *S. Angelo*, suffered the king to enter the citie, and sent away *Ferdinand* and Duke of *Calabria*, the sonne of *Alphonfus*, that he might not see his ruine before his eyes. *Charles* therefore entred Rome, the last day of the yeare 1494 with his whole armie, his ensignes displayed, and his lance vpon his thigh, no otherwise than he entred Florence a few dayes before. Neither must we forget, that the armie of the king comming neere *Ostia*, some twentie sadome of the wall fell to the ground, euen there where the King had prepared to enter, and neere about the same time, there fell about fiftene sadome of the antemure or outward wall of the castle *S. Angelo*, as if the walles themselues had invited the king to enter. Here there wanted not some that were verie earnest with the king, to remoue *Alexander* from his seat, a man odious to the whole world, telling him that it would not be lesse glorious to him to deliuer the Church of God, from the tyrannie of a wicked Pope, than it was to *Pipin* and *Charlemaine* to deliuer the good Popes, from such as did vniustly oppresse them. But *Alexander* being directed by a more deuout Councell, hauing by presents, and promises corrupted those that could preuaile most with him, they so pacified the king that he came to this agreement, That *Alexan- der* should deliuer to the king the castles of *Ciuita vecchia*, *Tarracina* and *Spo- leto*, vntill he had conquered the kingdome of Naples, That hee should offer no wrong to the Cardinals and Barons that were subject to the Church, or seeke to reuenge himselfe vpon those that had taken his part, That hee should inuest *Charles* into the kingdome, That forasmuch as there might be good vse made of *Gemes*, *Baiazets* brother, in the warres against the Turke, he would deliuer him in- to his hands, That he should pronounce *Charles* Emperour of Greece, Lastly, That he should leaue with the king, *Cesar Borgia* his sonne, for three moneths, as an Embassadour in outward shew, but in effect an hostage for the performance of these promises. All which for the most part he performed, because hee could no otherwise chuse: but yet so as that his accustomed false faith might alwayes appeare. For when he saw that he must needs deliuer *Gemes*, yet hee was verie carefull to satisfie his brother *Baiazets* request, who, saith *Guicciardine*, had long time made good vse of the auarise of the Vicars of Christ, that hee might possesse his Em- pire in peace, and therefore he was no sooner come to Naples, but he dyed, not with- out manifest tokens of a slow poyson giuen him to drinke to shorten his life. The king had demanded for the better assurance of this treatie, and the performance thereof, the castle *S. Angelo*, the Cardinals openly protesting, That *Alexander* would not otherwise haue any respect to his faith and promise. Whereupon, the great artil- lerie was thrice brought forth of the Palace of *S. Marke*, where the king lodged, to haue beene planted against the castle, but by the like art as before, this purpose was altered; and so returning into the Vatican, *Alexander* receyued the king, who with bended knee kissing his feet, was presently admitted to kisse his checke. And another day celebrating the Masse, he held the bason of water to wash his hands; which ceremonies the Pope caused to be paynted in a gallerie of the castle of *S. Angelo*: As being euer the manner of the Popes, to take that to be a duetic which is done of curtesie.

Charles

Paule Jouij l.a.

Philip Comine-
us in vita Ca-
roli 3.c.16.17.

Guicciard, l.a.

Charles therefore hauing continued at Rome three weekes, he tooke his journey towards Naples, and hauing in a short time brought the kingdome to his obedience, he tooke order for his returne into Fraunce. But in the meane time, Alexander prepared new difficulties, joyning himselfe in league with Maximilian the Emperour, the kings of Spaine, the Venetians, and Lodwick Sfortia, who being terrified with the successe of this magnanimous Prince, deuise how they might oppresse him in Italie; to which purpose against his returne into Fraunce, they raysed an armie, in the playne of Fornoue of fortie thousand men; which he encountered with eight thousand men or thereabout, which hee chose out of the garrisons of Naples, and with an incredible valour made his way through the middest of them. But being returned into France, and preparing for a second expedition, in the yeare 1497, and in the moneth of Aprill being taken with an apoplexie, he suddenly dyed. *Comineus* reporteth, That *Hierome Sauanarola*, who was then taken for a Prophet at Floréce, being asked whether the king could passe without the perill of his lyfe, answered, *That some difficulties he should haue in his journey, but yet they should all turne to his glorie, yea though he had but a hundred soldiers with him, for that God by whose conduct he came into Italie, would likewise return him safely into his countrie: But forasmuch as he had not procured the reformation of the Church according to his duetie, &c. there hung a scourge ouer his head, and God had pronounced a sentence against him which he would execute elsewhere.* Moreover, hee addeth, That hee foretold many things publicly in his Sermons, that the king should returne, *That he might reforme the Church with his sword, and expell the tyrans out of Italie, and that therefore this charge was imposed upon him by God, which if he did not, he would sharply be reuenged on him.* Which he had likewise many times by letters signified to the king, and that not long before his death. *The scourge that Sa- uanarola spake of, Philip de Comines* enterpreteth to be the death of the Dolphin, which stricke him to the verie heart; and the sentence prouounced by God, to be the suddaine death of Charles, which he describeth to be verie miserable, and to that end he repeats this Historie.

An. 1497.
Philip. Comineus
in vita Caroli
8. c. 26. 51.

Philip. Comineus
in vita Caroli. 8.

Guicciard. l. 3.

Alexander therefore being freed from so great a feare, bends all his endeauors to the aduancement of his children: But (saith the Historie) not without domesticall misfortunes and tragicall examples of whoredome and crueltie, horrible to the Barbarians themselves. From the first entrance into his Popedome, he resolved to conferre all the temporall power he could vpon the Duke of Candia his eldest sonne; Caesar Borgia his younger sonne, Cardinall of Valentia, wholly alienated from his profession of Priesthood, tooke it impatiently that this place of dignitie should be taken from him by his brother, and no lesse was he moued against him, for that he had a greater part than himselfe in the loue of Madame Lucretia sister to them both. One euening therefore hauing supped together with their mother Zanoccia, walking alone through the citie, he caused him to be murdered, and secretly to be cast into Tyber. The report went, *That in the loue of Lucretia not onely the two brethren did concurre, but the father also;* who being once Pope, tooke her from her first husband, be being now too base, and she too great to be his wife, and married her to John Sforza Lord of Pezaro. Afterwards, not enduring her husband to be his corruall, this second marriage being consumat, by the sentence of certaine Iudges chosen by himselfe, and witnesses suborned to that purpose, as if John had been vnfit for marriage, he likewise dissolued, or rather brake. It is *Guicciardine* himselfe that speaks it, and therefore we haue the lesse need of the verses of *Pontanus*.

Hoc

A *Hoc iacet in tumultu Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais, Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus.*

Lucrece by name, in deed Thais, lyes vnder this stone,
Alexanders daughter, his sons wife and his owne.

Againe,

*Humana iura, nec minus caelestia,
Ipsosque sustulit Deos,
Scilicet liceret (heu scelus) patri
Nata sinum permingere.*

B Gods lawes and mans, he God himselfe denies,
O wickednesse that with his daughter lyes.

Now so long as Alexander was in doubt of the authour of the death of his sonne, he was strangely moued therewith, and made a shew of changing the course of his life; but so loone as he was assured of the truth thereof, he returned to his old vomit, and thought it necessarie to dissemble the matter. *Onuphris* speaks more significantly, *winking at that outragious sinne of parricide*, hee determined with himselfe at what price or perill soeuer to aduance Borgia the parricide. It would be perhaps too long, and to small purpose, here to relate the deeds of this monster. Comming one morning into the Consistorie, he put off his Cardinals hat, and openly professed that he would be a man of warre. Hee made a voyage into France, where, with the leaue and good liking of Lewis the twelfth, who at that time needed the Popes helpe for the conquest of Milan, he married *Charlotta* of Albrer, and was made Duke of Valentia: by which meanes Lewis found Alexander more willing to yeeld to that diuorce, which he pretended. Being returned at the last into Italie, presuming vpon the authoritie of his father, he attempted the ruine of all the Vicars, or Lieutenants of the cities of Romania; for the effecting whereof there was no kind of crueltie, treacherie, treason, which hee put not in practise, stabbing some, poysoning, strangling others. And his father struing as it were to exceed his sonne, practised the like against the chiefe Barons of the citie; in so much that *Volateran* and *Guicciardine* are wearie with describing his wickednesse. *Machiauel* himselfe setting downe the true portraict of a tyrant, preferres the example of Borgia before all others, as *Xenophon* in *Cyrus* described a lawfull Prince: *And all this impietie (saith Guicciardine) among others, proceeded from the Prince of our Christian religion:* the which that he might the better with money maintaine, besides those rapines and robberies hee was wont to commit through the whole countrey, Alexander found out new at Rome euerie day, as a new Colledge of fourescore Registers, who payed euerie one seven hundred and fiftie crownes, a creation of six and thirtie new Cardinals, who for the most part payed well for it; a wonderful tribute imposed vpon the Mores, who being driuen out of Spaine by the Catholike king, Alexander for lucre receiued into Rome. Adde hereunto diuers Cardinals and Prelats poysoned, whose goods he chalenged to himselfe. *Doubleste (saith Onuphris) he had a purpose to haue put in practise the like experiments vpon the rest that were rich, had hee not by the wonderfull providence of God hastened his owne death, by the fatal error of the cap-bearer:* for he was a man borne to the ruine of all Italie. He had an infinite number of tale-bearers, and

Guicciard. l. 5.

Onuphr. in
Alexand. 6.

Ggg

Volateran. in
Antropol. l. 22.

and the least ill word that might bee was death. Rome (saith Volateran) that was woont A
to be a refuge and sanctuarie for all other nations, and in former ages a tower of defence,
was now become a publike shambles: and for as much as it was lawfull for his to doe
whatsoever pleased them, there was no safetie by night in the citie, nor by day in the
fields: All places were full of theeves and robbers. And in the midst of all these dis-
orders (saith he) Alexander celebrated a Iubilie, selling it by his Bulls to as many as
either could not, or refused to come. Being told that Caesar Borgia had lost an hundred
thousand ducats at play, his answer was, That these were the finnes of the Germans.
So good opinion had he of his owne warcs. The end at the last crownes the

Guicciard. l. 6.

worke: In the greatest height of all their hopes (sayth Guicciardine) Alexander sup-
ping in a Vine neere the Vatican to enioy the coolnesse of the ayre, he was suddenly carri-
ed, desperately sicke, into the Palace, and the next morning he died, blacke, swollen, and B
beyond all credit deformed: which happened, as it is credibly reported, by reason of poi-
son, in this mannor. Caesar Borgia, his sonne, Duke of Valentia, had resolued with him-
selfe to poison Adrian Cardinall of Cornoto, in whose vineyard they were to sup that
night. He sent therefore before certaine flagons of poisoned wine, which he caused to be
deliuered to a seruant of his, with a strict commaund that no man should tast, or touch it.
It happened, that before the houre of supper Alexander came, who being verie hot and
thirstie, called for wine, and because his supper was not yet brought from the Palace, the
partie to whom the wine was giuen in custodie, thinking that charge that was giuen him
for the safe keeping thereof, was because it was a more excellent wine than the rest, filled C
some of that wine that the Duke had sent to another purpose, and gaue it to the Pope. It
happened that whilest his father was drinking the Duke came in, and dranke of the same
wine to; but the sonne (saith he) partly because hee was young, and partly because hee
used present remedies, escaped, though oppressed with a long and a grieuous sicknesse.
Hee addeth, For it is most certaine, that both the father and the sonne were woont to
use poison, not onely to bee reuenged of their enemies, or to secure themselues against
dangers suspected, but also to satisfie their insatiable desire of riches, and to spoyle
the richer sort of their goods, Cardinals and Courtiers that had neuer offended them.
Thus they tooke out of the way the Cardinall of S. Angelo, who was verie rich, and D
thus diuers others of their neere and most faithfull friends and followers, as the Cardi-
nalls of Capua and Modena. To conclude, there was (saith he) a wonderfull concourse of
people out of all parts of the citie, who with unspeakable ioy came to Saint Peters Palace
to glut their eyes, if they could, with the sight of the dead carkasse of this serpent, who
with his unbridled ambition, perfidious treacherie, horrible crueltie, monstrous luxurie,
insatiable auarice, selling without difference or respect, things holie and prophane, had
infected the whole world. In the selfesame manner speakes Onuphrus the Popes
Historiographer: His treacherie was more than Punicall, his crueltie barbarous, his
conetousnesse and extortion vnrmeasureable, his desire to enrich his children, whether by
right or by wrong, insatiable. Hee was strangely giuen to women, by whom hee had
fourre sonnes and two daughters. His principall courtisan was Vannoccia a Roman,
whom for her singular beautie, pleasant carriage, and admirable eloquence, in the time
of his meamer fortunes hee tooke for his wife. Which giues credit to diuers Epi-
taphes, which otherwife might haue bene attributed to Poeticall libertie. Wee
onely will respect these few:

Vendit Alexander Cruces, Altaria, Christum,
Emerat ille prius, vendere iure pretest.

Pope

Pope Alexander sold Altars, Christ and his Crosse,
He bought them, had he not sold, had liued by the losse.

Againe,
Tot regna vertit, tot Duces Letho dedit,
Natos ut impleret suos, &c.

Kingdomes he ouerthrew, Dukes he did kill,
And all this his childrens purses to fill, &c.

Againe,
In nunc Nerones vel Caligula nomina.

Speake now no more of Caligula or Nero.

The rest yee may read elsewhere; namely, in the Epigrams of *Sanazara*, an Iacob. Sanazar.
excellent Poet, which hee writ of him and his daughter *Lucretia*; wherein there L. 1. Epig-
is an abridgement of all his wickednesse both publike and priuat. But the Spa- gram.
nish *Index Expurgatorius* hath wisely provided that they shall bee rased out in all Lugd. 1560.
future impressions. *Martius* reporteth, That by the helpe of the diuell hee got Hieron. Marini
the Popedome, and that without his counsell hee did nothing. And hee noteth, in Eusebio
That he carried himselfe verie kindly towards *Petrus Mendosius*, a Spaniard, and Captiuo.
Cardinall of Valentia, to the end he might abuse the Marqueffe of Zaneta, his bas-
tard. What can the diuell himselfe adde to this wickednesse? And yet this is that
man whom *Wicelus* affirmeth to be alwayes reading, or employed about some holie exer-
cise or other, and euer meditating how to withdraw the Princes of Christendome from
civile warres, to ioyne against the Turke: That man who graunted those goodlie In-
dulgences to as many as vsited the title of Christ his Crosse at Rome, in the Summa confit.
Church of the holie Crosse of Hierusalem, said to be found in the time of Inno- in Bulla cuius
cent the eighth. Can any man doubt but that hee hereby mocked the Crosse of initium inter
Christ? That man who in the yeare 1494, in his rage, published with his owne cetera diuina.
mouth a pardon for thirtie thousand yeares, to as many as would say a certaine
prayer before the Image of Saint *Anne*, the mother of the blessed Virgine; *Be-
mediata sis sancta Anna mater tua, ex qua sine macula & peccato processisti, &c.* Where
were now the Dominicans, who preached a contrarie doctrine? This is that man
who diuided the world amongst the Princes, gaue to *Ferdinand* of Aragon, and
to *Isabel* of Castile, the West Indies, discovered at that time by *Colombus*. But
by what right, if not by that wherewith he bound himselfe before to the Prince
of the world, euen to him that said vnto Christ, *All this will I giue thee if thou wilt
fall downe and worshipping me.*

E

OPPOSITION.

Now in the Historie of these three Popes, described by their owne friends
and followers, wee haue a kind of hidden, or rather publike Opposition against
their tyrannie: For is there not here a liuelie picture of Antichrist, whose name
onely, as Painters vse to doe, they haue concealed? leauing to vs not onely to di-
tine who he should bee, but to pronounce this verie man to be the man of sinne,
euen Antichrist himselfe. Let vs neuertheless see, amongst other Authors of that
age, whether it will not more manifestly appeare. *Albericus de Rozate*, an excel-
lent

Ggg ij

lent

lent Lawyer, defendeth, as many had done before, That the Empire depended not vpon the Pope, That the Emperour needed not his confirmation, That they who thought otherwise, were guiltie of treason, and their goods to bee confiscated, That the Popes, according to the present state of their affaires, haue sometimes exalted, sometimes depressed the Empire, to the end they may get vnto themselves a power both ouer temporall and spirituall. And these are his verses :

*Curia Romana non petit ouem sine lana,
Dantes exaudit, non dantibus ofiza claudit.*

The Courts of Rome without the wooll refuse the sheepe,
Giuers they heare, against no giuers the doores they keepe.

As likewise that of the Donation of Constantine: I haue heard of men of great credit, that there was then heard a voyce from heauen, saying, To day is the poison of Aspes sowed in the Church of God; and they say that this is to be found in the auncient authentic writings, and so doth the said M. Iohn of Paris report in his booke of the Pappall and imperiall power, C. 21. Hieronimus Paulus Catalanus a Canon of Barcelone, and Doctor of both lawes, Chamberlaine to Alexander the sixt, in his booke of the practise of the Apostolike Chauncerie, feares not to say, That the Donation of Constantine was not de facto. Read Laurentius Valla, and Pope Pius in his Dialogue, neither haue I read any thing of any such Donation, in any approued writer, especially those that haue written that age, or the next vnto it. For neither doth Eusebius, who was a diligent writer, and enquirer into Christian affaires, make mention thereof, &c. nor Ierome, nor Augustine, nor Ambrose, nor Basil, nor Iohn Chrysostome, Amian, nor Beda, nor Orosius. And it is apparent, that for aboue three hundred yeares after Constantine, the Emperours had the gouernement of the citie by Dukes, Presidents, and Exarches, vntill the time of Innocent the second, as it plainly appeareth in the Histories and Chronicles. To which purpose he alledgeth many places out of the Digests, the Code, and the new Constitution. And in the life of Phocas the Emperour we read that Pope Boniface obtained the Pantoon of him. If therefore you will know from whence the Church had her lands and reuenues, see the Actes of Charles the Great, of Pipin, and of Pius in the said Dialogue, and the collections newly gathered by Bartholmew Platina, the Librarian keeper in one great volume, wherein he hath gathered all the instruments appertaining to the state of the Church, as touching their temporalties, especially the acquisition of their lands, reuenues, and rights vnto them, vpon the renew whereof I haue likewise bestowed some paines. Of the said Donation and cure of the leprosie of Constantine, read that which Remus the Bishop of Padua hath writ at large in his historie of the lines of the Popes. Both the one and the other (the Donation and the Cure) grounded vpon one and the same vanitie. Mancinellus was yet more bold, who vpon a solemne day, about the houre of procession, mounting vpon a white horse, according to the custome, made an Oration at Rome before all the people, against Alexander the sixt, openly reprehending his abuses, his scandalous life, and foule abominations; and hauing ended his speech, exemplified it before their eyes. Alexander therefore caused him to be apprehended, and commaunded both his hands to bee cut off: which were no sooner healed, but vpon another feastiuall day, with the like boldnesse he spake againe. But by the commaundement of Alexander his tongue was presently cut out, whereof he died. Machiavel the Secretarie of Florence, in his historie, saith plainly, That vntill the time of Theodoricus king of Lombardie

*Idem in verbo
Romæ.*

*which is that
Church that is
called Maria
rotunda.*

*Hieron. Marius
in Eusebio Cap-
tino.*

*Machiavelus
Historie Flo-
rentinæ.*

A bardie the Pope had no temporall iurisdiction, yea was hardly acknowledged to haue any superioritie in causes Ecclesiasticall, aboue the Church of Rauenna, but that power and authoritie that it hath, it got afterwards by diuers guiles and subtilties, sometime taking part with the Greekes, sometimes with the Lombards, vntill they had ouerthrowne both the one and the other. But especially their greatest power they attained vnto by the wicked abuse of their excommunications, indulgences, and publication of the Crosse: but yet so, that at what time they thundered most in countries and kingdomes most remote, they were in greatest contempt at Rome, hauing much adoe to reside there, notwithstanding they promised not to intermeddle with ciuile causes, but Ecclesiasticall onely. Hee likewise saith, That they were the authors of all the warres in Italie, after the time of Theodoricus king of the Gothes, and in his owne time, of all those troubles that were in Italie: That the Cardinals were but simple Curats of the Parishes in Rome, increasing afterwards by little and little in wealth and honour, and pride and titles, and habiliments, as the Popedome, and the contention for the Popedome increased. And in the handling of this subiect he concludeth the first booke of his Florentine historie, which it shall not bee amisse for the Reader to take a view of. Guicciardine also, the Standard-bearer of the Church of Rome, writ the like discourse in the fourth booke of his histories, but the place was carefully rased out: but it was afterwards printed by it selfe at Basil, in 8°. in Italian, Latine, French. The title of the booke is, *Francisci Guicciardini loci duo, &c.* which it were not labour lost to read. Baptista Mantuanus, a Carmelite, a man famous for his learning in those times, in many places, but especially in his ninth Eclogue, freely describeth the state of the Church of Rome in his time, which he saith was in such sort degenerated, that the shepheards and their dogs were become rauening wolues, and those whom they should feed and defend, they deuoured. But let that which he hath in his third booke of Calamities be to vs in stead of the rest.

*Petrusque domus polluta, fluente
Marcescit luxu, nulla hic arcana reuelo
Non ignota loquor, licet vulgata referre,
Sic Vrbes populique ferunt, sic fama per omnem
Iam vetus Europam, mores extirpat honestos
Sanctus ager scurris, venerabilis ara Cynedis
Seruis honorande Diuum Ganimedibus Aedes.
Quid miramur opes, recidiuaque surgere recta?
Thuris odorati globulos & cinnama vendit
Mollis Arabs, Tirij vestes, venalia nobis
Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria sacra, Corona,
Ignis, Thura, preces, salum est venale Deusque.*

And Peters house defil'd, pines with excessive.
I name not things vnknowne, nor secrets I rehearse,
Things common let me speake, all countries say the same,
Yea, through all the parts of Europe, it is the fame,
That honestie from Rome is fled, that holie place
Serues jeasters, buggerers the Altars doe disgrace.
The houses of the gods with Ganimeses are filld.
Why doe we admire their wealth, the houses they build?

Ggg iij

Arabia

Arabia Frankincense and Cinamon sells,
The Tirians goodlie garments; Rome all things else,
Temples, and Priests, Altars, and Crownes, they sell for pelfe,
Fire, Frankincense, prayers, heauen, and God himselfe.
And all this in Italic.

Neither were they silent in Germany; for it is noted, that about these times the proverbes were verie common, *The neerer to Rome the worse Christian: In the name of God begins all mischief* (for this was the beginning of their Bulls) *He that goes once to Rome sees the man of sinne, he that goes twice knowes him, hee that goes thrice brings him home with him*; that is to say, being neere the man of sinne, is made like him. But among the learned many haue left behind them a good testimonie of their conscience. *Iohn of Vesalia*, a Doctor and Preacher at Wormes, was accused before the Inquisitors for holding these propositions; That Prelats haue no authoritie to ordaine new lawes in the Church, but to perswade the faithfull to the obseruation of the Gospell: That the best interpreters of the Scriptures expound one place by another, because men obtaine not the spirit of Christ but by the spirit of Christ: That the Doctors, be they neuer so holy, are not to be beleued for themselves, and the Glosse as little: That the commaundements of the Church bind not to sinne: That the elect are saued by the onely mercie of God: That the Popes Indulgences are vaine, and so are the Chrisme, Lent, difference of meats, holie-dayes, auricular confession, pilgrimages to Rome, &c. But for as much as he impugned the opinions of *Thomas*, the Frier-Precachers, who were of the Inquisition, were moued against him. *Diesher* also, Archbishop of Mentz, to auoyd that suspicion of heresie the Pope had of him, was enforced to yeeld vnto them, in so much that without any respect of his yeares, or his long sicknesse, they proceeded against him, whereby he was enforced to reuoke his opinions. He that writ his examination, which bare date the yeare 1479, saith, and takes God to witnesse, That he was compelled to that recantation that he made, and the burning of his bookes, *M. Engeline* of Brunwic, a great Diuine, and *M. Iohn Keserberg*, withstanding it, both men learned and free, addicted to neither party; especially it seemed to *M. Iohn Engeline*, that they had taken too precipitate a course with so great a personage, yea he feared not to affirme, that most of his articles, yea the great est part, might verie well be defended. There are many bookes of his extant, and among the rest a Treatise of Indulgences, where he peremptorily affirmeth, That the supremacie of the Pope is a humane inuention: That the Church militant may erre: That all things necessarie to saluation are contained in the Scriptures. There liued at the sametime (but somewhat younger) Doctor *Wesellus* of Groning, called *The Light of the world*, who in a certaine Epistle of his, saith, That he did expect that the Inquisitors hauing condemned *Vesalius*, would haue come vnto him, hauing defended his opinion both at Paris and at Rome, against diuers articles of the Church of Rome. And he feareth not to say, That many of the Court approved it, though it differed not much from the opinion of the Waldenses, as we may gather by his writings. In his booke of *Subiects and Superiors* he affirmeth, That the Pope can erre, and that erring we ought to resist him: That by his simonie and wicked gouernement he made it to appeare, that he had no care either of God or the good of the Church: That his commaunds bind no farther than they are agreeable to the word of God: That his excommunications are no more to be feared than those of any other learned and godlie man: for so did the Councell of Constance hearken rather

Examen Magistrale Iohannis de Vesalia Magnus 1479.

Iohannes Wesellus de subditis Superioribus.

A rather to *Iohn Gerson*, than *Iohn* the 24; and all good and godlie men to *S. Bernard* sometime, than to Pope *Eugenius* the third. His workes are to be read printed by pieces at Leipzig, Antuerpe, Basill. Also, in this countrie his familiar friend *Rodolphus Agricola* was verie famous, a man worthily accounted one of the lights of this darke age, who was of the same opinion. And *Iosquin* of Groning, then yong, witnesse, That he had often seene them both send forth many a sigh and grone, to thinke of the doctrine of the Church so much deformed. *Gachinus Puperus*, a Priest and Curat of Malin in Brabant, taught the same reformed doctrine, almost in all the Articles, especially in that of the free justification of a sinner by the blood of Christ, rejecting all the glosses of Sophisters and Schole men, betaking himselfe wholly to the Scriptures, and namely to that which *S. Paul* teacheth vs: That those interpretations which they commonly alledge, differ from the word of God, and smel of the heresie of *Pelagian*: That they haue turned Christianitie into Iudaisme and Pharisaisme. His bookes are Printed in Germanie, namely, *Of grace, faith, the dignitie of the holie Scriptures, and others*. In the Vniuersitie of Tubingue, *Paulus Scriptoris*, a Doctour in Diuinitie, expounding the fourth booke of the Master of sentences, openly condemned transubstantiation as not being grounded vpon the holie Scriptures, whom the Augustinians, the Disciples of *Iohn Stauffich* Prouincially followed, with diuers others; amongst whom in the age following, was *Conradus Pellicanus*, a man expert in the knowledge of the Tongues, and all manner of learning, who being instructed by *Stauffich* in the knowledge of the abuses of the Church of Rome, but yet by the diligence of the good seruice in the reformation of the Church, but yet by the diligence of the Franciscans he was banished. In Carnia, *Andrew* the Archbishop of whom we haue spoken before, importuned the Emperour *Frederick* the third for a Councell; for the reformation of the Church, who had alreadie assembled certaine Bishops at Basill, with a purpose to proceed farther, had not Pope *Sixtus* the fourth (being much moued therewith) compelled *Frederick* to breake off that assemblie, in such sort, that to grauntie the Pope, he cast *Andrew* in prison; where being for a tittle kept, and attended with a certaine gard, in a priuat place (they of Basill denying him any publike prison) he died, being found strangled with a halter; the Pope out of all doubt (saith *Stumphius*) procuring it. *Henric* the Agent then Inquisitor, writ against him, and accused him for reprehending the Pope, as well in those things that belonged to matter of faith, as manners, and for that hee had exhibited the Prelats and Vniuersities, by his letters, to a Councell (a heinous offence) for the reformation of the Church. In Rostoc, a citie of the lower Saxone, *Nicholas Rus* a Priest and Bachelor in Diuinitie, preached not onely with his tongue, but his penne to, That the power of the Pope was not such as they boasted it to be, That hee that wandereth from the word of God is not to be obeyed: That the Popes indulgences were mere impostures, and those onely true, which did proceed from God, and his free mercie, for his sonne Christ Iesus sake: That Saints are not to be inuocated, much lesse their bones to be adored, That they who call themselves spirituall persons, that is to say, the Clergie of Rome, haue placed all Christian religion in humane traditions, and vayne superstitions, neglecting their duetic in the rest, and that they are the Ministers of Antichrist. These are all read in his Treatise *Of the threefold cord*, where he expoundeth the Symbole, the Decalogue, and the Lords prayer, which he writ in the Saxon Tongue, for the better instruction of the common people in the practise of religion. There he had his Auditors and his Assemblies, and was sometimes sit

Philip Melancton in vita Rodolphi Agricola.

Iohannes Stumphius in Historiis Holmici.

Nicholas Rus in lib. de triplici funiculo Germani scripto.

sited by the Pastours of the Waldenses in Bohemia, from whose companie and comfort he gathered heart; vntill at the last the Popes catchpoles following him, he was enforced to flie into Liouonia, where he dyed. It appeareth by those his workes that are come to our hands, that he was a man very learned, and well scene in the Scriptures. There was likewise in that country *Ernestus* Archbishop of Magdeburg, a man famous for his pietie and justice. *Clement Schaw* his Chaplain, who was present at his death, witnesseth, That a Minorite vsing this speech vnto him, *Take a good heart, most worthie Prince, we communicat to your Excellencie all the good workes not onely of our selues, but our whole Order of Frier Minors, and therefore doubt not but you receiving them, shall appeare before the tribunall seat of God righteous and blessed.* His answer was, *By no meanes will I trust vpon my owne workes, or yours, but the workes of Christ Iesus alone shall suffice, vpon them will I repose my selfe.* It is verie likely that there were many in all parts of the world that professed the same faith, since in despite of their aduersaries there remaine so many witnesses. It is a strange thing, and doubtlesse cannot bee attributed to any thing but the good motion of Gods spirit, which we read verie common in this age, and noted almost in the histories of all nations, That many in their foundest judgement and vnderstanding, and not otherwise noted of any notable crime, after the consecration of the Priest, carried with a kind of horrou and detestation of that Idolatrie, should lay violent hands vpon the Hoast, and that vpon the most solemne feast dayes, when there was greatest concourse of people, and with an assured danger of their liues, teare it in peeces. To omit others, we read of one *M. Iohn* an English man, that did it in Paris, the day after the feast of *Corpus Christi*, in the chappell of *S. Crispin*, and in the yeare 1491; of one *Hemon* of Picardie, in that which they cal the holie chappell, in the yeare 1493; of another student in the yeare 1502, vpon *S. Lewis* his day, in a chappell on the right hand; all of them continuing constant, and detesting this Idolatrie euen to the death; especially the last, notwithstanding all the admonitions of the Sorbonists, the teares of his parents, who were brought vnto him to persuade, and the horrou of the punishment, which was passing grieuous. But there was at this time in Italie *Hieronimus Sauanarola* of Ferrara, by profession a Dominican, a famous Preacher, and much renowned for his pietie, sanctitie, and doctrine, in so much that by many he was taken for a Prophet. *Philip Capponius* being sent into Italie by king *Charles* the eighth, reports, That he saw him at Florence, commended of all for his godlie conuersation, who did alwayes affirme that *Charles* should come into Italie, whatsoever others write to the contrary, and that nothing could withstand him, or defend it selfe against his power. Moreouer, That whatsoever preparations and oppositions should bee made against his returne, were to small purpose, for he should breake through them, and returne home with glorie; for he that was his conduct into Italie, would not forsake him at his returne. And as touching his death, he sayd, That if in that expedition he reformed not the Church, according to that charge hee had receiued from God, his sentence was pronounced against him in heauen, the execution whereof presently followed vpon the returne of this miserable Prince. *Compinus* giues here this testimonie of him, That he was a man of a commendable life, and his sermons verie profitable to win men from vice vnto vertue. The Earle likewise *Iohannes Pius Arundanus*, a man admirable both for his profound learning and rare pietie, calleth him a Prophet, and writes an Apologie in the defence of him against the Pope. And in like manner *Marsilius Ficinus*, that famous Philosopher, in a certaine Epistle spends much time in his commendations, liuing both at one

An. 1491.
An. 1493.
An. 1502.

Christoph. Mas-
lena in Chron.
280n. strelet.
in Additionib.

Phillip. Compinus
in vita Ca-
rol. 8. c. 25. et 32.

both

time.

A time. But let vs heare what *Guicciardine* saith about all the rest, who liued at Flo-
 rence, and was an eye-witnesse of his conuersation. He witnesseth therefore, that
 most men that knew him accounted him a Prophet; *Because in Italie at a time*
when there were greatest tokens of peace, he many times in his Sermons publicly fore-
told, That Italie should be invaded by foraine powers, with so great astonishment; that
neither Councill, nor walles, nor armes should be able to resist them. And this he did
 for fiftene yeares together whilest he liued at Florence. But (saith he) when
Charles was returned into Fraunce, and the Pope freed from his feares, he began to re-
member Hieronimus, who hauing beene long before accused vnto him for inuueying
against the Clergie and Court of Rome, not without the great scandall of them both, for
nourishing discords at Florence, for preaching doctrines that were not Catholike, was for
 these causes many times cited to Rome, but he refused to appeare, and therefore in the yere
 1479 he was excommunicated. But he still continuing in his preaching, his aduer-
 saries by the authority of the Pope, getting the vpper hand, drew him out of the
 Monasterie of *S. Mark* where he liued, & cast him into the common prison-house.
 In which tumult, the kinsfolke of those who the yeare before lost their heads, slew
Franciscus Valori, an excellent citizen, and his chiefe patron. This (saith *Guicciardine*)
Sauanarola was examined with tortures; vpon which examination a proceffe was pub-
lished, which (discharging him of those calumnies which were imposed vpon him, touch-
ing his auarice, his dishonest behauiour, his secret practises with foraine Princes) ten-
ded onely to this, that such things as he had foretold were done not by Diuine reuelation,
 but out of his owne opinion, grounded vpon the doctrine and obseruation of the Scriptures:
 And that he was not moued thereunto for any ill intent, or out of couetousnesse to obtayne
 any ecclesiasticall dignitie; but this one thing he onely respected, that by his meanes a ge-
 nerall Councill might be called, wherein the corrupt manners of the Clergie might be re-
 formed, and the degenerate estate of the Church of God, as farre forth as was possible,
 might be reduced to the similitude of that it was in the Apostles times, or those that
 were nearest vnto them. And if he could bring so great and so profitable a worke to ef-
 fect, he would thinke it a farre greater glorie than to obtaine the Popedome it selfe; be-
 cause that could not proceed, but from excellent learning and vertue, with a singular reue-
 rence of all men, whereas the Popedome is obtayned for the most part, either by wicked
 meanes, or the benefit of fortune. Here let the Reader judge how great a sinne it is
 with them to desire, or to forward the reformation of the Church by a generall
 Councill, and to make it conformable to that of the Apostles times. *Hauing con-*
firmmed this proceffe in the presence of diuers religions of the same order, he, with two o-
thers his fellowes, was deprived of his holie orders, by the sentence of the Generall of the
Dominicans, and the Bishop Romolin, who was afterward Cardinall of Surreynta, deputed
Commissaries by the Pope. This being done, he was left to the power of the secular Court,
by the iudgement whereof, they were first hanged, and then burnt: which their deaths,
 forasmuch as they did constantly endure, the diuersitie of iudgements and opinions of men
 still continued; for diuers there were that thought him an impostor and abuser of the
 people, others were of opinion that that confession that was published was forged, or that
 being a man of a weake constitution, it was extorted from him by torments against the
 truth; excusing his fragilitie and weaknesse, with the example of the Prince of the *A-*
postles, who being neither imprisoned, nor constrained by torments, or any extraordinarie
force, but onely terrified with the words of a simple maid, denied himselfe to be the Dis-
ciple of his master, notwithstanding he had heard many of his godlie admonitions, and
seene his miracles. And hereby are those flanders sufficiently disprooued, which
 were read in *Naucerus* to be imputed vnto him, *Guicciardine* charging him with no
 other

Naucer. Ge-
nar. 50.

other crime, but that those predictions which before he affirmed to proceed from diuine reuelation, being neere his death he acknowledged to be gathered from the obseruation and interpretation of the Scriptures, no doubt of the Apocalyps, which found no other things but reuelation, and which no man doubts but they are written by the penne of the holie Ghost. *Flaminius*, a famous Poet of Italie, in his Epitaph thought farre otherwise.

*Dum fera flamma tuos Hieronime pascitur artus,
Religio fleuit dilaniata comas,
Fleuit, & ò, dixit, crudeles parcite flamma,
Parcite, sunt isto viscera nostra rogo.*

Whilest furious flames, O *Ierome*, thy bodie weare,
Religion weepes and teareth her haire,
She weeps and cries, O cruell flames, O stay your ire,
O stay, our bowels burne in this fame fire.

Now if any man shall aske what points of Religion he desired to haue reformed in that Councell he so much thirsted after, it sufficiently appeares in his bookes, wherein hee ouerthroweth, as much as in him lyes all humane traditions; placeth all his hope in the free iustification by faith in Christ Iesus, stickes onely to his passion; acknowledgeth Christes merits onely; maintaineth the communion vnder both kinds; thundreth against indulgences; and as well for life as doctrine acknowledgeth Antichrist in the Court of Rome. The doctrine especially of free iustification is excellently handled in his meditations vpon the thirtieth and fiftieth psalme, which *Possennius* acknowledgeth to be composed the night before his punishment. As for his sermons and other bookes, the Romane Index hath purged them, according to their maner.

But if vnder that yoake of oppression, to thirst after a reformation were heresie, and worthie fire and fagot, doubtlesse he was not onely faultie, onely in daunger; for Europe was then full of excellent men, whose vowes and praieres vnto God tended to the same end: Neither wanted there those, who fortold a reformation at hand so plainly, that there was no man but saw that it proceeded from diuine inspiration. We haue spoken before of *wesselus* of Groening called the light of the world: *John Ostendorp* a Canon of the Church of Deuentrie, visiting that reuerend old man, hee sayd vnto him, *Young man thou shalt liue to see the day, wherein the doctrine of these moderne contentious diuines, Thomas and Bonauenture and others of that stamp, shall be contemned and hissed at of all diuines that are truly Christian.* *Telemannus Spengerberg* speaking to his children and neighbours, shortly saith hee, *this religion which now flourisheth shall grow into contempt; then shall yee see the Priests and Monkes, for their wickednesse, auarice, hatred, uncleannesse, cast out of the Temples and Monasteries, and another true religion shall be reestablished; For God will no longer suffer the corrupt manners of these men, teaching no one word of the Gospell, and leading a life worse then Patrim.* *Paulus Scipitoris*, a Doctor of diuinitie in the Vniuersitie of Tubingue, spake likewise to that purpose; so did *John Keiserberg* a preacher at Strasbourg, and an Author of certaine diuinitie bookes; *There shall one come*, saith hee, *raised by God that shall establish it; wishing verie earnestly that hee might be his discipule.* A certaine ecclesiastical person in the citie of Coire a countrie of Grisons speaking to his fellowes,

YOU

- A You haue (saith he) cast S. Paule vnder the bench, but a time shall come, when hee shall come forth and put you where yee placed him. *Andreas Proles* the Prior of the Augustines at Leipzig in his Lectures was wont to say; You heere (brethren) the testimonie of the Scriptures, that by grace we are what we are, and by grace we haue what soeuer we haue; From whence then is there, so much darknesse; such horrible Superstitions? O my brethren the state of Christendome hath need of a great and a seuerer reformation, which I now see to be neere at hand. But his brethren demanding of him, why hee beganne not this reformation, and opposed not himselfe against these errors, his answer was this; You see my brethren that I am old, and weak of bodie, and I confesse my selfe, for my learning, industrie, and eloquence insufficient to performe so great a worke: but the Lord will raise a man fit and able for his age, his strength, his industrie, his learning, wit and eloquence, who shall beginne the reformation, and oppose himselfe against all errors; God shall giue him a heart to withstand the mightie men of the world, and you shall find his ministrie by the great grace and goodnesse of God, profitable vnto you. All this is reported by *Heningus* an Augustine Monke in the monasterie called *The gate of beauen*, neere *Weringherad*, whereof this *Proles* was Prior; whom the Pope afterwards excommunicated, because he opposed himselfe in the Councell of Lateran, against a certaine new fealt, all eadging that the people of God deliuered from bondage by the blood of Christ, were too much oppressed with multitudes of traditions, from which opinion he could neuer be withdrawne. *John Hiltena* Monke in Henac of Turingia being cast into prison for reprehending some Monasticall abuses; being verie sicke called the Gardian or keeper and said vnto him, *I haue said little or nothing against our Monkish Societie, but there will come one in the yeare 1516, who shall ouerthrow them all, whose proceedings they shall not be able to withstand:* And that verie yeare *Luther* began to preach: which did farre excell any humane diuination. Diuers like vnto him did euerie where appeare, who out of the palpable darkenesse of those times, as if the dawne of the day did approach, began to discerie the light of the Gospell, after which all the people of God had a long time longed, in such sort that *Paulus Langius* a Monke of Citique, the discipule of the Abbot *Trethemius* (about the time of *Luthers* first appearance) though he had not yet left his Monasterie, gaue him this excellent testimonie: *Martin* (saith hee) *is a perfect diuine, profound, incomparable, hee endeauoureth to bring diuinitie to her first fundamental dignitie and puritie, and to her Euangelicall, sincere, and simple innocencie, altogether banishing all prophane Philosophie.* Againe, in imitation of that most Christian *Diuine Simon de Cassia* (who flourished about the yeare 1340) contemning all Philosophie; hee handled and taught the Scriptures purely, bringing into the light euerie day, many reuerend and almost unknowne mysteries of the word of God, being for the greatnesse and dexteritie of his wit famous through the whole world, notwithstanding with S. *Ierome* hee wanted not the malice of his Competitors, that is the persecution of Schole diuines, who frame the Scriptures to the rule of Philosophie. In another place about the yeare 1503, hee ioined vnto him *Carlostadius* and *Melanthon*; They handle and teach the studie of Diuinitie, and the wheat of the word of God purely, without the mixture of any Chasse, that is, of humane Philosophie, and Syllogismes, tying themselves wholly to the Gospell of Christ, and to his Apostle S. Paul, whom they take for their Patron and foundation, with the studie of learning, sowing by their preaching the seed of all vertue, and by their example, pen in the hearts of their Disciples the feare of God. And least thou shouldst repleie that this was before *Luther* began his warre with the Pope, heere what he saith about the yeare 1520, hauing before

Philippus Melanthon in *Apollogia Cap. de vitiis Monasticis.*

Paulus Langius Citicensis Monachus in *Chron.*

discourfed of the abuse and exceffe of Indulgences; Hee (saith he) by his admirable learning and preaching brought to nothing the force of all Indulgences, called them into question, and dissuaded the people from buying of them, affirming them to bee no way necessarie to saluation, that they were no remission of finnes, but a neglect of repentance, a hinderance and relaxation from good workes, and a vice. And that the merits of Christ and the Saints were not the foundation, and treasure of these indulgences, since in the primitiue Church, and a thousand yeres after, we find nothing written of them by the holie Doctōrs of the true Church, neither was there any such opinion or esteeme had of them, as now there is, for the loue of that money that is gotten by them. Moreover affirming and prouing that the Church of Rome by the law of God is not the head of all others &c. And therefore hee saith againe, Vntill this time, they haue by all meanes, like another Athanasius, persecuted him, especially for defending this Thesis, That the Pope by the law of God is not the head of the Church, and some other rare and high points of doctrine, which not onely the Romans doe still impugne, but diuers other learned men, especially the Thomists. Neuertheless, this Martin, the prince of all the Diuines of this age, fortifying and approving his doctrine, with the testimonies of the Scripture and of S. Paul, as also with the original authorities of the ancient fathers, hath hitherto continued vnconquered: not wanting in the meane time, in other nations, diuers learned Doctōrs in Diuinitie, who stucke vnto him and consented with him; as, that most learned and eloquent interpreter of the Scriptures, Erasmus Roterodamus, Iohn Reusſchlin, Iacobus Stapulentis, Iacocus Clithoucus, and diuers others. And thus much saith the Monke, non asseritūe saith hee, but admiratiue, not by way of affirmation, but admiration, suspending his iudgement, according to the manner of diuers others, vntill it were determined by a generall Councell, what is to bee held in a matter of this difficultie. But it is now time to see what hath passed in our Fraunce in these times.

Pragmat. tit. de
collat. paragr.
Quod si cuius-
cunque status
in verbo quatuor,
& ibi Glossa.

Pius the second, as wee haue seene before, had shaken the Pragmaticall sanction vnder king Lewis the eleuenth, which neuertheless partly, hee liuing, the Court of Paris had maintained, and partly vnder Paul the second his successor, by the mediation of the Vniuersitie, did throughly restore. Sixtus the fourth comes, who againe impugned it, for this was then the principall marke they shot at, and had beene then quite ouerthrowne, had not Lewis the eleuenth being then in his owne power, and withall offended with the wicked cariage of Sixtus, vndertaken the defence thereof; in so much (as the glosse of the Pragmaticall sanction teacheth vs) that neither Sixtus, nor his successors Innocent the eight, nor Alexander the sixt, could euer bring to effect those decrees which they made in preiudice thereof, which are mentioned in the first chapter of the Extrauagant de treuga et pace. But the constitutions of Lewis the eleuenth, Pope Sixtus being otherwise to himselfe indulgent ynough, are worthie the noting. One dated the eight of Ianuarie in the yere 1475, wherein hee sheweth that by vertue of the generall Councils of Constance and Basill, approved by the Pope and Cardinals (note these words) it is resolved to require Pope Sixtus to hold a Councell, wherein order may be taken for prouision against the inuasion of the Turke, the daunger of the Schismes, the abuse of Simonie in Christendome; wherefore hee commaundeth all the nobilitie of the kingdome, and the Prelates with other the chiefe of the Clergie to prepare themselves and to bee readie at hand when they shall bee called. This Sanction was read in the Parliament the same yere the fife and twentieth of Ianuarie. Hee could not haue curbed his furie with a stronger bridle. The verie same day, there was another published whereby

whereby such as remained at Rome, were commaunded within the space of fixe monethes to returne into France, and to reside vpon their charges and benefices according to the Canons, and if they obeyed not, to bee punished with the losse of their temporalties, bridling both the head and the members by the same authoritie. There was likewise another the same day, by which all the Governours of cities, and other the kings magistrates were commaunded diligently to search and enquire for all such, of what conditions soeuer that were returned from Rome, and to cause them to deliuer vnto them their letters, Bulls, and other expeditiōns, and to giue knowledge thereof to the king, if there bee cause: If the like should be done in these daies, who would not take it for heresie? There followed another in the yere 1476, dated the third of September, and the seuenth exhibited to the Parliament, That no Abbot, Prior, Religious person, or any other of what estate, nation, condition soeuer shall presume, or dare to goe to the conuocation houses of the Cisterians, Clugny, Chartusians, or any other either generall or prouinciall, without the kingdome, and those countries that are subiect to the kings obedience, vnder paine to the religious, neuer to obtaine or possesse any benefice; to the begging Friars, besides banishment, the utter extirpation of all the religious of the order of those who haue done the contrarie, and that for this cause, least they should practise any thing with strangers to the hurt of the Commonwealt. Now I would faine know in what case they are, who haue no other Generals but strangers, and are bound to hold their Chapters without the realme. There was another the 16 of August, in the yere 1478, at what time the Earle Hieronimo, by the commaund of Sixtus, had in vaine attempted Florence, and the Florentines were interdited for punishing the traitors: Our holie Father (saith he) hath bewrayed his hatred soo much against the Commonweales of Florence and Venice, by which meanes he fortifeth the Turke, and openeth the gate vnto him to inuade Christendome; turnes those moneyes that were destinated to the seruice of God, the defence of our faith, the reliefe of the poore, to the maintenance of his conspiracies: and that money which he is suffered to exact in Christendome, hee bestowes vpon men of base condition, to increase their greatnesse, &c. But see what he decrees: And therefore (saith he) we forbid all persons, as well temporall as ecclesiastical, either to goe or send to the Court of Rome, to procure any benefices, to send thither any money, or to take order by way of exchange, or otherwise to pay it there, vpon paine of death and losse of goods, &c. And moreover, we giue all their mouables, household stuffe, and houses, to whomsoeuer shall giue notice of any that shall offend in this kind. Our Courts of Parliament therefore, which so gladly published these constitutions, yea our Sorbonists that approved them, were they then all heretikes? We read likewise, that in the assemblie held at Tours by the Charls the 8, the son of Lewis, M. Iohn Rhely, Doctor in Diuinitie and Canon of the Church of Paris, spake in the name of the French Clergie, beseeching him to maintaine the Pragmaticall sanction in all points, according to the Council of Constance and Basill, not permitting any thing that might be preiudiciall thereto, whether it were by reseruatiōns, prouisions Apostolical, expected graces, so the preiudice of elections and prouisions of ordinarie, annuities, perie seruices, &c. or by Citations of the Court of Rome, Ecclesiastical censures, which distract the subiects, causing them to wander, and the like: which he easily obtained without any resistance. But that which is reported by Monstrelet, touching the authority which this Charls exercised at Rome euen to the face of Alexander the sixt, passeth all the rest: He made knowne (saith he) and did hang and behead certaine theenes, murderers, and other malefactors in Campo flido,

Monstrelet vol.
2. in uolū
Chron.

rido, and others according to the qualitie of their offence, to be beaten with rods, drowned, punished with the losse of their eares, to shew that like a true sonne of the Church, and a Christian king, he had a mixt and a sole Empire at Rome, no lesse than at Paris, and other the cities of France. Thus saith Monstrelet, a writer of that time.

65 PROGRESSION.

The preposterous election of Iulius the second: his treacherous practises and cruell malicious nature, and how in his owne person he marched to the besieging of Mirandula and Ferrara. Of the pompe and stately coronation of Iohn de Medicis, called Leo the tenth, and of the monstrous abuse of Indulgences in his time.

A Alexander being dead, a new successor was to be thought vpon: *Borgia*, though he were very sick, was yet a great stickler in the election, relying himselfe vpon the helpe of the Spanish Cardinals. But on the other side the Cardinall of Ambois, presuming vpon the fauour of the French Cardinals, and the power of the armie, withstood him; *The Cardinals neuertheless* (saith *Guicciardine*) according to their custome, looking euer into their owne benefit: for it is that spirit that properly beares rule in those Conclaves. These therefore (partly by reason of their owne auarice, & partly the one side hindring the other by reason of this emulation) make choice of neither, but chuse *Francis Pisolhuomini*, called *Pius* the third, a man verie old, and then sick; rather to spend some time, than that they had any hope of his Popedom, for within 26 dayes after he died: after whose death, besides and against all order, they determined of a successor without the Conclau, because the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad Vincula*, being mightie in friends and fame, and power, had gotten so many voyces on his part, that there was not any man that durst so much as mutter against him: Wherefore by a new example he entred the Conclau, assured before of the Popedom, and the doors being neuer shut, was chosen the first night: who, to signifie the greatnesse of his designes, even in the first entrance of his Popedom would be called *Iulius* the second: *whereupon euery man* (saith *Guicciardine*) was stricken with a kind of astonishment, for that they had consented vpon the choice of such a Pope, as all men knew to be dangerous, intolerable, truculent, and vnquiet, yea that he had already practised strange hatreds against many great personages. But hauing noted in him those parts that were best worthie the consideration, *That* (saith he) *which stood him in best stead for the attainment of this dignitie, were the large promises that he made to those Cardinals, Princes, Barons, and others, whom hee knew to be best able to aduance and forward that businesse, thinking it good policie not to denie them any thing they should aske. Moreover, he gave much money, and many benefices and Ecclesiastical dignities, as wel of his own as other mens; for that opinion there was of his bounty, that diuers there were that came vnto him, offering vnto him what they possessed, to vse their money, their names, their offices, their benefices, at his pleasure: no man considering with himselfe that he had promised a great deale more than, hauing obtained the Popedom, he was either able, or ought to performe, being heretofore accounted so vp-right and so true, that Alexander the sixt, though he were his great enemy, otherwise speaking all the ill that might be of him, acknowledged that onely vertue in him. But hee that verie well knew, that no man might more easily deceiue, than hee that was thought neuer to deceiue, feared not a little to cracke that credit to get a Popedom.* And thus much concerning the manner of his election. Hee had a daughter which was named *Felix*, whom hee presently married to *Iordanus Vrsinus*, and his neece, his sisters daughter, to *Antonius Columna*. And thus hee settled himselfe

A selfe at Rome. From thence forward hee bent his endeoures, by armes to bring Romania vnder his subiection, and to recouer all that which *Borgia* and others had gotten into their possession: and if any refused to obey, hee was presently excommunicated. Then hee shooke off that moderation which in his Cardinalship he retained both in word & deed (saith *Onuphrisus*) in so much that he thought it not ynough to be modest himselfe, but hee tooke a care to receiue none but such into his house. So hard a matter it is, and euer hath been, to know the humor of him that affecteth a Popedom. His first exploit was to driue the *Bentiuoli* with their wiuies and children out of Bononia, and to leaue their houses and families to the furie of the people. Then hee turned his mind to the ruine of the Venetians, whom hee excommunicated, and made a prey to whomsoever should first lay hands on them. Our *Lewis* the twelfth, with whom hee had first made a league, after the battell won at *Abdua* against the Venetians, hee greatly suspected, notwithstanding hee had the greatest part in the fruit of that victorie. Hee attempted all the wayes hee could to driue him out of Italie, and wanted no subtile deuises to compasse it. Hee incited *Lewis* and *Maximilian* the Emperour against the Venetians, & conspired with the Venetians against them both. Hee interdicted *Alphonsus* Duke of Ferrara, and made open war against him, because hee had taken part with France, and being commaunded to depart, did not obey. *Lewis* himselfe hauing sent certaine forces to *Alphonsus*, vnder the conduct of *Caluimontius*, *Iulius* excommunicated *Caluimontius*, and all the chiefe leaders of the armie. Wherefore *Maximilian* and *Lewis*, to the end they might repress his insolencie, entred into consideration by what means they might call him to a Councell: whereupon, in the yeare 1510, in the beginning of September, *Lewis* held a nationall Councell at *Tours*, wherein it was enquired, whether it were lawfull for the Pope, without a cause, to make warre against a Prince: It was concluded not lawfull: And whether any such Prince defending may not assault him, & withdraw himselfe from his obedience: It was concluded lawfull. Moreover, it was resolved to maintaine in France the Pragmaticall sanction, and in all causes to neglect his censures: and that the king before hee should withdraw himselfe from his obedience, should certifie *Iulius* by his embassadors of these articles ordained by his Clergie, that if hee should not obey them, hee might vnderstand, that hee was to be called to a generall Councell. And moreover it was decreed, That the king should impose vpon the Clergie of France, a certaine summe of money, to be employed against *Iulius*, if hee should proceed in his determination. It happened in the meane time, that the Bishop of *Gurse* arriued in the behalfe of the Emperour, who was heard in that honourable assemblie, at what time there came likewise a messenger, who gaue them to vnderstand of the obstinacie of *Iulius*; whereupon, the 27 of September, a generall Councell was called, by the consent of all, at *Lions*, to be celebrated about the beginning of March following. All this was done by the aduice of fiewe of the chiefe Cardinals, of *S. Crosse* & *Cofentia*, Spaniards, *Bayeux* & *S. Malo*, French, and the Cardinall of *S. Seuerine*, an Italian; consenting with the Emperour and king, That *Iulius* should be enforced to the Councell; to which end they were departed from him, notwithstanding (if we may beleeue *Guicciardine*) they had as bad minds, and were as little to be truted as himselfe. So vniuersall was the corruption of that See, how good foueuer the desires of the king were.

In the meane time *Iulius* is not idle, though hee thought of nothing lesse than what became a Pope: hee agreed, by meanes of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, with *Marcus Antonius Columna*, and other young men of Florence, to kill *Peter Saderin*, the Standard-bearer of the Commonwealth of Florence, because hee was said

to be the man that persuadeth the Florentines to take part with Fraunce, *which* **A**
turned to his great infamie. Being resolved to attempt Ferrara, he thought it bet-
 ter first to invade Mirandula: which forasmuch as it fell out to be a long siege, be-
 ing much troubled that things succeeded not according to his expectation, he
 came to the siege in his owne person, *a thing neuer heard of before, nor euer to be*
expected, that the Vicar of Christ on earth (saith Guicciardine) should invade a Christian
citie, and being old and sickly, should in his owne person, set forward a warre against
Christian Princes first raised by himselve; wherein he was so earnestly bent, and ouer
 hastie, that he neuer thought any thing done with speed ynough, but euer kindled
 with furie, cried out to the captaines; and chose his owne lodging amongst the
 ordnance, in somuch that in his kitchen two of his seruants were flaine with a shot, **B**
 whatsoeuer his Cardinals could persuade to the contrarie, telling him, That
 hereby both his owne person and the whole See were made a scandall, and a
 laughing stocke to the whole world. And therefore, saith *Monstrelet* to this pur-
 pose, *He left the chaire of S. Peter, and tooke vpon him the title of Mars the god of war,*
displaying in the field his triple crowne, and spending his nights in the watch. How good-
lie a thing it was to see the Mysters, Crosses, and Crosier-staves flying vp and downe the
field, God he knoweth. It is not likely any Duels could be there, where blessings were
sold as so base a price. Mirandula being taken, he set forward with his armie against
 Ferrara, and neglecting these conditions that the Emperour offered, and the coun-
 sel of *Ferdinand* of Spain his friend, he persisted in his determination. Whereupon, **C**
 it was thought good to cite him to the Council of Pisa; on the one side, those siue
 Cardinals, with the Prelats of Fraunce and Germanie vrging it, as beeing a man
 notoriously scandalous, incorrigible, a stirrer vp of warres, and altogether vnfit to
 rule the Popedome, for which cause, the authoritie of calling a Councell was di-
 uolued vnto them; on the other side, king *Lewis* the twelfth being readie by force,
 and if need were, to march against him with his armie in his owne person,
 notwithstanding he had no assistance from *Maximilian*: who hauing made a truce
 with the Pope, was therefore by the writers of that age condemned of inconstan-
 cie. It is worthie the noting, that by the commaund of *Lewis* there was money
 coyned in Fraunce, which yet remaineth in the custodie of some, in the one side **D**
 wherof there was this mot, *I will destroy Babylon,* and in some, *I will destroy the name*
of Babylon; that it might seeme no new thing to any that Rome is Babylon to vs,
 hauing so great an Authour, euen the Father of Fraunce. *Iulius* therefore created
 eight new Cardinals, that he might thereby win vnto him other Princes, contrary
 to that he had promised at his election. *Triuultius* therefore, the leader of the
 French forces, hauing freed Ferrara from feare, taken Bononia, publicly faste-
 ned his placarts whereby *Iulius* was cited to Pisa, he retired himselfe in despair
 to Rome; no lesse wounded in his mind, that the Duke of Vrbin his Nephew had
 stabbed the Cardinal of Pauia his Legat and inward friend, in a manner before **E**
 his eyes, for his many and monstrous wickednesse (saith *Guicciardine*) *worthie the great-
 est and most grieuous punishment.* Then gathering heart, he confirmed his truces,
 mollified the mind of the Emperour, wooon him from the alliance of Fraunce, and
 thinking now he had overcome all difficulties, he applied his thoughts onely to
Lewis, thundring against him with his excommunications, and interdicting his
 kingdome. But our Clergie yeelding him neuer the more obedience, proceed still
 in setting forward the Councell of Pisa, which at the last was thought to be more
 safe and commodious to transferre to Milan, where againe these good Cardinals
 got no better reputation than *Iulius* at Rome. At length, *Iulius* with his confede-
 rats

A rats raised an armie, which doubtlesse would daily encrease greater, by reason of
 the jealousie that many Princes had of the greatnesse of Fraunce, and about all
 the Spaniard, for fear of the realm of Naples, which the French pretended a right
 vnto. But king *Lewis* seeing himselfe alone against so many enemies, either open,
 or readie shortly to declare themselues, resolved to win time; and commaunded
Gaston de Foix, his Lieutenant generall in the Duchie of Milan, to omit no occasi-
 on of fighting with the Popes armie, wherein, if he got the victorie, he should
 with all speed march to Rome, and there assaile the Pope without any reuerence
 towards him. Yet notwithstanding, that it might be esteemed he did it lawfully
 and by good right, he doth all by the authoritie of the Councell, which appoin-
 ted their Legat in the armie, who receiued in the name thereof the cities conque-
 red in the warre. This was the Cardinal of S. Seuerin, ordayned by the Cardi-
 nals, Legat of Bononia, *A man (saith our Authour) more addicted to warre, than re-*
ligion. Therefore *Gaston*, after some notable exploits of armes, for to draw the
 Popes armie to battaile, besieged Rauenna. In the meane time *Iulius* armie came
 to succour it, vnder the conduct of *Iohn de Medicis* (after *Leo* the tenth) exiled from
 Florence, whom he had advanced chiefly in hatred of the Florentines. But *Gaston*
 marched against them, and vpon an *Es*ter day gaue them battell, wherein he ob-
 tained that so renowned victorie of Rauenna. The Legat taken, and the most part
 of the commaunders of the armie; vpon the first newes thereof, *Iulius* despairing
C was readie to forsake Rome: but the death of *Gaston* interrupted the course of the
 victorie, and so gaue him time to breath and settle himselfe in his seat. And that
 so much the more, for that the Mareschal *de la Palice*, with the French forces, which
 he commaunded after the death of *Gaston*, was called backe into Fraunce, to op-
 pose themselues against the Switzers, who partly in fauour of *Iulius*, partly mo-
 ued by their owne commoditie, had spred themselues ouer Bourgundie.
 Now, he turned this victorie obtayned by the French men, to his owne com-
 moditie, by setting before the eyes of all Princes, of how great moment it was;
 that the power of the French men should be repressed. This he doth with the
 States of Italie, chiefly the Duke of Ferrara and the Florentines, to withdraw
 them from their league with France; he blameth the kings indiscretion, who not
D knowing how to vse his good fortune, had withdrawne his succours, and abando-
 ned his confederats to his discretion. And now he onely spake of shaking off the
 Arragonois, and of driuing the Spanish forces out of Italie, or defeating them, by
 whose helpe notwithstanding he had bene maintayned in his aduersitie; for to
 procure to himselfe the kingdome of Naples. Lastly, he thought himselfe in suf-
 ficient safetie by the friendship and confederacie of the Switzers. Moreouer, he
 now openly despised the Councell of Pisa, which had bene translated to Milan,
 because it was onely maintayned by the French forces, who had now ynough to
 doe to defend their owne; and taking againe courage, opposed vnto it another
E Councell at Lateran, excommunicating all them that adhered to that of Pisa; and
 king *Lewis* by name, from whom, by his Bull set forth, he tooke away the title of
 Most-Christian, transferring it to the king of England, whom he solicited to make
 warre against Fraunce, the kingdome wherof by the Councell of Lateran, and
 in an expresse Bull, he exposed to him that would first invade it. *But amidst such*
and so great thoughts (saith Guicciardine) and others perhaps greater & more secret (for
nothing so cruell, nor so great beyond opinion and helpe, which was vnfit for his terrible
mind) after some dayes sicknesse he was taken away by death, &c. worthie of great praise,
if he had bene a secular Prince and attempted such things, or if he had more care to exalt
Hbb ij the

the Church in spirituall things by peaceable meanes, than to make it great in temporall things by warre. And yet is he desired above others; but note of whom, of them who (the true names of things being lost, and the distinction of them confused) iudge that Popes are more to be praised in this, That by armes and shedding Christian blood, encrease the domination of the Apostolike See, than labour by good examples of life to amend corrupt manners, and take care for the saluation of those soules for whom they boast that they are ordained of Christ the Lord his Vicars on earth. And did not the Emperour Maximilian, lifting vp his eyes to heauen, worthily exclaime against the naughtie life of this Pope, O eternall God, if thou diddest not watch, how ill it would be with the world, which we governe, I poore hunter, and that wicked drunkard Iulius?

Joachimus Cuvens Freishadensis in Annalibus Gentis Silesie.
Arnoldus Ferronius in vita Ladouici.
Gilberti Ducis Epigramma.

We read also, that when, a little after his election, hee departed from Rome to make warre against Maximilian and Lewis, passing ouer the bridge, he cast the keyes into Tyber, and holding a naked sword, said with a lowd and high voyce, That seeing Peters keyes would not suffice, Paules sword should not be wanting: Which gaue occasion of many Epigrams, these among others:

*Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendit ab hoste,
Quandoquidem clavis militabat ista Petri.*

Sith Peters keyes with foes doth nought preuaile,
This sword of Paul to saue vs shall not faile.

And,

In Gallum, ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum, &c.

And hereupon *Wicelius*, though a defender of Popes, plainly faith of him, *Marsi quam Christo propior*, That he was fitter for Mars than for Christ: and indeed it was thought, that in the space of nine yeares he had bene the occasion of the death of two hundred thousand men. Whereas his predecessors were wont to graunt priuiledges to begging Friers, he, to the Cantons of the Switzers (his confederats, the principall executers of his high enterprises) gaue the perpetuall title of *Defenders of the Ecclesiasticall libertie, with many Bulls, Standards, a Sword, and golden Cap*, and other gifts, that he might haue them readie at all his commandements. Neither was he for all that negligent in his Indulgences, whereby hee might rake in money; witness the Epigram:

*Fraude capit totum mercator Iulius orbem,
Vendit enim celos, non habet ipse tamen, &c.*

By fraud the merchant *Iulius* rakes in pelfe,
For heauen he sells, yet hath it not himselfe.

And this evidently ynough appeareth vnto vs by his Bulls, especially by that dated in the yeare 1505, whereby, being newly entred his Popedome, hee ordayned, That euery fifteenth yere annuities should be paid for benefices. And that he might referue to himselfe all libertie to do all things by his own mere authoritie, against the admonitions made vnto him from all parts, he renewed the Bul of *Pius* the second, against them that appealed from the Pope to a future Councell, in such sort that the Appealants were judged excommunicated, and their Appeals voyd; and with these goodlie Prefaces, *Out of the duesie of our Pastorall office, and the care of*

Bulla cuius initium Ex debito Pastorali officio, alia cuius initium, Suscepti regiminis cura sollicitat.

A the gouernement vnder taken soliciting vs, &c. But with what face and faithfulness let the Reader iudge, vnlesse it bee with that sinceritie which this Epigram describeth:

*Genua cui patrem, genitricem Gracia, partum
Pontus & vnda dedit, num bonus esse potest?
Fallaces Ligures, mendax est Gracia, Ponso
Nulla fides: in te hac singula Ime tenes.*

Conradus Grebelius in Epigram.

From Genua and Greece his parents blood,
At sea he had his birth, can he be good?
The Genowais be false, Greekes lyers be,
Trustlesse the sea: all this *Iulius* in thee.

B

Which truely he verified in effect in the whole course of his life. I would willingly omit these other verses of the same Author, but that all filthinesse with them is but a play.

*Venit in Italiam spectatus indole rara
Germanus, yedijt de puero mulier.*

C

To Rome a German went of faire aspect,
But he return'd a woman in effect.

D

Which he speaketh of *Iulius*. The same we find written by the Diuines of Paris, of two young gentlemen violated or forced by him, whom Queene *Anne*, wife of *Lewis* the twelfth, had recommended to the Cardinall of Nantes to carrie with him into Italie. Let vs adde this for conclusion, That when he was besieged at *Bononia* by the Grand Master *de Chaumont*, Generall of the armie of *Lewis* the 12, vnder colour of entertaining a treatie of peace, brought into the citie for his succours certaine companies of Turks, conducted by *Chapin Vitelli*: and in the meane time he published by his Bull, full pardon and large Indulgences to whomsoeuer should kill a Frenchman, that is, a Christian. So that not without reason our French Church at that time called that full power of Popes, a boisterous tempest, and a diabolicall word. And thus are we come to the yeare 1513.

An. 1513.

The Popedome of *Iulius* was imperious and barbarous. The Cardinals, who had felt his crueltie, before they would proceed to election, thought by prescribing conditions to the future Pope, to bridle his authorities; but presently after (saith *Guicciardine*) they themselves did abrogat them almost all, according as they were led, some with feare, and some with hope of fauour, all vncapable of a better State. This same was *Johann de Medicis*, Commaunder as Legat of the Popes armie, who had bene taken in the battell of *Raenna*, and hauing made an escape away, contrarie to his faith, was presently after created Generall of the warre against the Florentines. He was scarcely thirtie seuen yeares old, when, against custome, by a new example, hee was aduanced to the Popedome, by the craft of the younger Cardinals.

Guicciard. l. 2.

In his first act he made manifest what was to be hoped of the reformation of the Church in his time; for the pompe of his coronation was so excessiue, as well of them of his house and Court, as of all the Prelats, that no man but would confesse, That from the inundation of the Barbarians there had bene nothing seeme more proud

Guicciard. l. 26

proud and stately; seeing it is certaine, that hee on that day had spent an hundred thousand ducats: *And the wiser sort iudged* (saith he) *that such a pompe was not fit for Popes.* Next, he resolved to continue the Councell of Lateran, and to extinguish that of Pisa; which he easily did in reestablishing the five Cardinals which *Inluis* had forsaken, and by appeasing the mind of king *Lewis* the twelfth, whom the other Princes had forsaken, suspecting his power. Neuertheless the Clergie of France stroue against it, cleaving fast to their propositions, especially of the Pragmaticall sanction, as appeareth by the Acts of that Councell: till that vnder king *Francis* his successour, in the yeare 1516, notwithstanding the formall Ap- peale of the Clergie, by means of the Concordat, the Pragmaticall was abolished. And of this Councell (where a reformation was expected) came none other fruit than an imposition of tenthes on all Europe, euer vnder colour of inuading the Turkes, which indeed was neuer so much as dreamed on. Wherefore many Prelats in giuing their suffrages, added this clause, *Placuit quo ad Turcas, I am content, so it be for the Turkes, when the expedition shall be begun; the Bishops, namely of Durazzo, of Salamanca, of Tarnisino, of Grasso, of Chio, of Montuert, of Montmaran, of Seruia, of Licie, of Ferentine, of Perousa, of Sora, of Macerata, of Nabia, of Algava, and others.* And so the Councell was concluded, and dismissed; notwithstanding some Bishops tooke it hardly, that Christian people should bee so deluded, and pronounced with a lowd voyce, *Non placuit clausura Concilij, The shutting vp of the Councell pleaseth vs not;* as the Bishops of Trane, of Salmantica; the Generall of the Order of the Iacobines, and others. The pretence for this dissolution was, for that the Councell had now dured five yeares (which is so much the greater shame for them, that in so long time had done nothing but for their owne commoditie) *That the Prelats might goe visit & comfort their Churches: And to the end* (saith *Leo*) *that they may returne with greater ioy home to their own, filled with some spiritual gifts, we bestow upon them and their families plenary remission and indulgence of all their sinnes once in their life, and at the houre of death.* In the meane time let the Reader note here the height of his impietie and blasphemie. In this Councell *Anthoine Puccius*, in the ninth Session, making an Oration, feared not to attribute vnto him those words which the Psalmist had pronounced of Christ our Lord, *Psalm. 72. All the Kings of the earth shall worship him, all Nations shall serue him;* and therewithall he addeth, *All the kings of the earth know what power is giuen thee in heauen and in earth;* which the Lord had spoken of himselfe, *Math. 11. Iube, impera, manda, Command* (saith he) *whatsoever it pleaseth thee at all times.* In the same manner also the Archbishop *Stephan*, in the tenth Session, *All power is giuen vnto thee, &c. Iee which said all hath excepted nothing:* But would you know by what title? the sixt Session will shew you; because he is Christ himselfe, the *Leon* of the tribe of *Iuda*, the root of *Danid*, the *Sauour* and *Deliuere*: Which names *Saint John* in the Apocallyps attributed to Iesus Christ, and to him alone and none other ought it to be attributed. Adde these phrases, ordinarie euerie where in this Councell, *The royall race of the Soueraigne Bishops of Rome, The Empire of your Holinesse, Sess. 9. The Pope is the Prince of the Apostles, Sess. 4. He is Prince and King, Sess. 3. The Prince of the whole world;* contending with *Sathan* himselfe in blasphemies. *Sess. 1. Yea he is made to be God himselfe, The aspect of your Diuine Maiesie, Sess. 9. Most like vnto God, and who ought to be adored of all people, Sess. 3. & 10.* and with the same adoration wherewith Christ is worshipped: for to him they attribute these words of the Psalm 72. *All the Kings of the earth shall worship him,* namely, the eternall sonne of God. But Spouse or Bridegroom of the Church, that is his ordinarie Epithete

Concil. Lateranens. Sess. 12.

A Epithete often in that Councell. What monstrous and audacious boldnesse is here for a pretended Vicar? Canst thou Reader expect greater blasphemies than these for the reuealing of Antichrist? And thus in the Councell of Lateran all Christendome was deluded.

But truly in his affaires *Leo* proceeded verie seriously: for he ordayned *Laurence* (his brother *Peters* sonne) gouernour of Tuscanie, and established the Common-wealth of Florence in such sort, that it depended of him alone: hence is the ground of the soueraigne power of the Medices in that citie. *Alfonsina* also, the mother of *Laurence*, of the house of the *Vrsins*, was continually instant vpon him, to doe her sonne yet some further fauor: wherefore, for some light occasions by him

B sought (saith *Onuphrinus*) he set vpon by armes *Eraunors Maria de Roueria, Duke of Vrbin*, whom he suspected and hated, and deprived him of his whole Dukedome, and set his Nephew vp in his place; though his familiars blamed his vngratefull mind towards that Prince, who had safely receiued and kept them of his familie in their exile. But (saith *Guicciardine*) when against all faith and credit he had once begun to offend him, he dissembled not that he supposed it a thing necessarie utterly to ruinate him.

With the same mind also, he draue away *Alfonsus Petrucci* Cardinal, and his brother from Siena. Whereupon, *Alfonsus* a while after, impatient of griefe conspired against him, with many Cardinals, *Adrian de Corneto, Raphael Riario, Bandinello, Saule*, and others: but the conspiracie being discovered, they were deprived of their Cardinalship, and *Alfonsus*, as chiefe was strangled by a Moore in the castle S. Angelo, *Bandinello* condemned to perpetuall imprisonment, and a while after for a great sum of money set at libertie, yet wasie suspected he had first bin

C poisoned with slow-working poyson. Many others redeemed their liues with money, among which the Cardinal *de Corneto*, after reconciliation, departed secretly from Rome, and howsoeuer it happened, was neuer seen more in any place afterward. *Guicciardine* particularly noteth, That out of the suspicion that *Leo* had conceiued against *Alfonsus*, by reason of certaine letters intercepted, he had called him to Rome, hauing giuen him his safe conduct, and passed his word and faith to the Embassadour of the king of Spaine, that he should safely returne: But, that, when the

Guicciard. l. 13.

D Embassadour objected vnto him his violated faith and his perjurie, he answered, *That neuer any crime against the life of the Pope was assured by any safe conduct, how ample soeuer it were and full of pregnant causes, although it were namely and indiuidually expressed.* Now hereby he acknowledged, that whether hee had well or ill proceeded in his businesse, all the Colledge of Cardinals was much alienated from him: he therefore resolved to get himselfe new friends, and in one Morning, the Colledge consenting to it for feare, not of free will, he created one and thirtie Cardinals, among whom were two of his sisters sonnes, and some that had serued him before and after his Popedom, who for diuers causes were acceptable

E and obedient both to him and to the Cardinal *de Medicis*, but were not for any other respect capable of so great dignitie. Many of them also he made for money, to fill againe his emptied coffers. As likewise (saith *Lingius de Cirica*) *All the gold and silver by little and little raked and drawne out of Germanie, was carried to Rome as into a broken bagge and insatiable gulfe: the gouernement also of Churches was committed not to the best discerning, but to him that offered most.* Moreouer, he created thirtie Cardinals for the price of five hundred thousand Ducats. And this is euer the lawfull vocation, which they so much brag of. He addeth, that for to satisfie both his owne and his Cardinals greedie desire, he exacted great summes of money throughout all Europe, by his Legats, vnder colour of making warre against the Turkes; and no little summe

summe also by his Commissaries vnder pretence of building the Temple of Saint Peter: But (saith he) the stones which were bewen by day, were carried away priuily by night to the great Palace of Florence, and the money it selfe that was gathered, was not for the use of the building, nor against the Infidels, but was distributed among the Cardinals and the Popes friends.

Now this his prodigallitic being joyned with want, there was nothing so abominable which he inuented not, or hearkened not vnto, for to get in mony: therefore Guicciardine saith, He vsed verie licentiously the authoritie of the Apostolike See, when he followed the counsell of Laurence Pucci, Cardinall of the Title of foure Saints, he sowed abroad through all the world, without any difference of times and places, most ample Indulgences, not onely to succour the liuing, but also to deliuer the soules of the departed out of the paines of Purgatorie. And because it was notorious, that such Indulgences were onely graunted to draw money from men, which his Commissaries (who had bought those Commissions of the Popes officers) impudently demaunded, hee procured to himselfe the euill will of men in most places, and caused many scandalls, especially in Germanie, where his ministers for a verie small price sold those their wares, and in Tauernes played away at dice the power of deliuering soules out of Purgatorie. But that which most encreased their indignation, was, that Leo (who by reason of the facilitie of his nature, administered his Pontificall charge with lesse grauitie than became the Maiestie of so great a function) gaue to his sister Magdalene the money that came of the Indulgences in many Prouinces in Germanie, who appointed her Commissarie for that businesse the Bishop of Arembauld, a man worlde of such a Commission, which hee executed with exceeding great couetousnesse and extortion. So that the Preachers were not ashamed, by suggestion of his ministers, to publish in the pulpit, That at the found of the mony, as it was cast into the bason, the soules skipped for joy amidst the flames, and presently flew out of Purgatorie. Yea some also pronounced, That vpon the payment of this taxation all sinne was pardoned; not fearing to expresse particularly the most horrible, which my pen abhorreth to vtter.

No more modestie was vsed in France, England, Poland, and other countries, where the Commissaries were wont to assure the people, That hee which gaue ten soules should deliuer the soule for whom he gaue it out of the paines of Purgatorie, desperatly affirming, That God, whensoever they pleased, would presently doe it, according to that saying, *Whosoever yee shall loose on earth, &c. But if there was but one sartinng lese than ten soules, they could doe nothing. And this gaine (sayth Langius) displeaseth the holie children of the Church, seeing the power of the Vicar began to be called into question, and from whence should come this new doctrine in these later Prelats, which the ancient Popes had bene ignorant of: and yet he is a Monke that speaketh it. Martin Luther among others then arose, against whom Leo, in stead of reformation, cast forth his thunderbolts: but of that wee will speake more in his place. At last hauing kindled warre betweene the Emperour Charles the fift and Francis the first king of France, to driue the Frenchmen out of Italie, newes was brought vnto him to Maliagno, his place of pleasure, That Milan and Parma were taken from the French; whereupon he entred into such an excessse of joy, that the same night he fell into a little feuer, whereof a few dayes after hee dyed. Pasquil comparing Leo and Iulius together, drew the difference out of their names, and concludeth his Epigram with these verses:*

*Iulius est hominis, bruti Leo, Iulius egit
Quae suavit ratio, quod libet iste facit.*

Iuli.

*Iulius a mans name, Leo a bruit beasts had,
He did as reason will'd, this what his lust him bad.*

And *Samazarus* yeelding a reason, why, being at poynt of death, hee had not receiued the Sacrament, saith,

*Sacra sub extrema, si forte requiritis, hora
Cur Leo non poterat sumere, vendiderat.*

Why *Leo* receiued not at his last houre
The Sacraments, aske not, they were not in his power.

But more rightly, if he had said, Because he had in him no religion: For Cardinall Bembo, his Secretarie, alledging vnto him one day something out of the Gospell, he feared not to answer him, *it is sufficiently knowne to all ages, how greatly that fable of Christ hath profited vs and ours.* That man of sinne, the sonne of perdition, of whom the Church hath so long aforehand bene warned, thinke wee he could adde any thing to this? But their *Index Expurgatorius* hath commaunded those verses to be raied out of *Samazarus*. The writers of that age doe note some signes which portended his fall at hand: The Angell which stood on the top of the castle S. Angelo, vnder *Alexander* the sixt, was cast downe by lightning from heauen. At Rome also on the same day that *Leo* the tenth created one and thirtie Cardinals, a fudden tempest happened in the verie Temple where they were assembled, which struck and carried away the keys out of the hands of the Image of S. Peter there. And this was in the yere 1517, at which verie time *Luther* began to thunder out against the Pope.

OPPOSITION.

The Councell of Pisa was a manifest opposition against the Popes tyrannie, though in a better cause, as *Guicciardine* noteth, they of Pisa were no better than the others, but as the Angels of Sathan destroyed each other: And yet by occasion thereof were published many notable Treatises against the temporall power of the Pope. *Philip Decius* among others, a most famous Lawyer of Milan, in his writings publikely set forth, defended the cause of them of Pisa; That the Pope being hardened in simonie, and infamous in wicked manners, the power of assembling a Councell was come to the Cardinals, which in so vrgent euils are the fittest remedie; especially seeing their proceedings therein were approued by the authoritie of the Emperour elect, by the consent of the Most Christian King, and with the concurrence and assistance of the German and French Clergie, and that according to the Decree of the Councils of Constance and Basil. But Pope *Pius* the fift caused all his workes to be gelded by *Thomas Manriques*, as may be seen in the librarie of *Possewin* the Iesuite, who gathered those notes. But truely as it was a most grieuous & vniuersall euill, yet in diuers nations there openly shewed themselues both notable men, who acknowledged that tyrannie, and also whole corporations, that rightly and formally opposed themselues against it.

In Germanie *Bernard de Lublin*, writing to *Simon* of Cracouia in the yere 1515, against the Popes Primacie, maintained, That it cannot bee, that any one man should commaund the whole world; That it is sufficient to saluation to embrace

embrace the faith of Christ alone; That they which neuer heard any thing of the Pope, are not the lesse for all that saued; That we must stand to the Gospell, and lay aside the traditions of men, without which saluation may consist: but it is a miserable condition of Christians, who for the Decrees of men, may not giue their assent to the manifest truth, the Popes flatterers perswading them, that it is not to be endured, that any thing should be spoken of them, though in a right good and honest zeale; whilest, in the meane time, themselues take libertie to speake against whatsoeuer they list. In the Vniuersitie of Erford, *Sebastian Brand*, Doctour of Diuinitie, and Preacher of the Cathedrall Church of Strasbourg, in the yeare 1508, publicly inueighed against Roman Indulgences, in these words, *Deare friends, we should this Whit-Sunday haue opened vnto you our waies, but here is a Merchant-stranger, who boasteth he hath better; when he shall be departed hence, we will unfold ours; namely the doctrine of the Gospell after the sellers of Indulgences were gone. And the same against satisfactions which are performed by other mens workes; We haue some which goe to church, which pray, which sing, which mumble ouer their portuets, which celebrat Masses for vs; but who will goe into hell in our stead? This in his Sermon, which, of many, remaineth vnto vs; for it is a wonder that they haue left vs any: but he was for this occasion driuen away, and retired himselfe to Magdebourg, chiefly because he was wont to say to his Auditors, *The time will come when the Gospell shall be read vnto you out of the booke it selfe, some of you shall see it, but I shall not liue till then.* *James Alman*, Doctour of Diuinitie, in his booke set forth at Colonia 1514, of the Popes power, against *Thomas de Vio*, after Cardinall *Caietan*, Legat of *Leo* for the collection of Tenths; Of Indulgences by name; It seemeth not to me that the power of binding and loosing ought to be extended to them that be in Purgatorie, seeing that wheresoever in the Gospell it is promised or giuen, it is sayd; Whatsoeuer thou shalt bind on earth, and whatsoeuer thou shalt loose on earth, super terram, mention is neuer made of them that are departed out of this life. And hence it followeth, that the soules which are in Purgatorie, cannot be loosed from payne by bestowing of Indulgences, but indeed by suffrages. What shall then become of all the Iubilies, whereby for so many thousands of yeares true remission by Popes is promised for the deceased. And *Ludolf Castrik*, Curat of *S. Michael* at Magdebourg, preaching against Indulgences, admonished the people to aske remission of sinnes at Gods hands, for Christs sake alone, giuing them hope of a reformation, whereby they should shortly be taken away. And *Conradus Celtes* at Vienna, a most learned man in his time, many of whose writings yet remaine, was excommunicated, for that he condemned the Roman Hierarchie and doctrine; but being borne out by the Emperour *Maximilian*, he made little account of it. Wee read likewise, that about this time, in Germanie arose one that was held for a Prophet, who ran about from Church to Church, preaching repentance to Christians, and that vnlesse they obeyed and repented, they should vtterly perish, these were his words, *Awake, O yee Christians, out of the heauie sleepe of wickednesse and blacke darkenesse of death, and circumsise your eares and your hearts, for to heare with attention my words; For yee haue cast the law of the Lord into the sakes, and his words into the filthy sinkes of obliuion and contempt, &c. Yee haue wasted the patrimonie of Christ on harlots, and haue also fulfilled your vnbriided lusts in adulteries and incests, and your insatiable comotousnesse with thefts and sacriledges. Lastly, the Temple of God by your wickednesse and great iniquitie, is made a steeves, and the house of theeues and robbers, in which soundeth forth, not hymmes of prayes to the king of heauen, but blasphemies, &c.**

Ioh. Alman, de domino naturali, Ciuili, & Ecclesiastico.

Joseph. Grundberg, in speculo Visionis impresso Norimberge. Anno 1508.

In

A In Fraunce, in the beginning of that age, a little after the yeare 1500, flourished *James Faber* of Estaples, a man of excellent learning and knowledge, but chiefly in Diuinitie. *Auentine* testifieth, that he had heard him sixe hundred times, together with *Iose Clithou*, Doctour of Diuinitie, his Master, saying, *That Lumbard had confounded and troubled the truth and the most pure fountaine of holie doctrine, with contaminated and muddie questions, and streames of opinions.* But his Pfalter, printed in the yeare 1508, and his Commentaries on the Gospels and Epistles of *S. Paule*, doe testifie what his judgement was in many principall points of Christian Religion, by occasion of which, he was so vexed by the Sorbonists & brought to that trouble in his old age (such was their rage) that king *Frauncis*, then prisoner in Spaine, was forced to write from thence for his safegard, in fauour of his learning. And there need no further prooffe thereof vnto vs, than this, That the Diuines of Spaine, in their Index Expurgatorius, in our time, commaunded many places and whole Pages to be rased out in the later editions; aboue all, that his Commentarie vpon *S. Iohn*, should be wholly abolished, because it could not be well amended: That is to say, because all of it wholly repugned against their corruptions, traditions, inuentions, presumptions of men and imaginarie authorities. About the same time, grew into reputation *William Budé* of Paris, Master of requests to king *Frauncis* the first, who in many places of that famous booke *de Assé*, describeth the state of the Church in his time; The Clergie men in all sorts of vices, wickednesse, and wanton dissolutenesse, worse than the worst of the people; the Prelats, ignorant, enemies of learning, hauing no care of the saluation of Christians, whom they contrariwise cast headlong into hell, both by their ill teaching them, and by being vnto them examples of all wickednesse: moreover, Epicures and Libertines, and worse if may be. He saw in his time, with what violence the Pragmaticall sanction was shaken. Therefore, after hee had discoursed that the riches of his time was nothing to that of auntient times, except onely (saith he) in one kind of men, who must in no wise be excepted: These are the Priests, whom now almost alone next after Kings and Princes, we see to be the richest and most giuen to riches. Here must I needs exclaime, O wretched as well as fortunat Fraunce; Is it possible, thou shouldest striue now to abolish by wicked ambition, the institutions of thy Elders, confirmed by so many holie Decrees, and approued by the continuance of so many yeares? And now by the abuse of a favourable law, shouldest make hast to loose a singular prerogative, not obtayned by flattering the Pope, by wresting or by begging it, but required as a recompence of the merit of our Elders, that thou mightest use in the establishment of sacred things, that auntient and peculiar right, proceeded a majorum gentium Pontificibus, from those Bishops of the Primitiue Church? And with what face then alledgest thou that peculiar Sanction, wherof thou so much boastest, as of a certain honor of Religion? whence hast thou the libertie or confidence to cal thy selfe Most Christian, vnlesse thou wilt keepe it by the same Religion, whereby thou hast gotten a glorious name and a law, witnesse of thy pietie? O fault, pleasing to those thine enemies, who enuie this Palladium of thy felicitie, and perhaps of the Kingdome, as a gift come downe from heauen, which being either taken away or cut off, thou wilt thinke thee no longer fortunat. Take heed I pray thee, thou belecue not too much those earth-borne men, whom antiquitie therefore called Giants, who heaping vpon large Titles vpon Titles, after the example of the *Aloids*, seeme to warre against God, and thinke to climbe vp into heauen to offer violence to the inhabitants there. And hee leaueth not for vs to ghesse whom hee meaneth: For of these things (saith hee) publicque consent layeth the blame on the Head of Christendome, who if hee be not well conditioned

Index Expurgat. Hispanie. fol. 110. v. q. ad 111. & 110.

Iii

ned

ned, the inferiour members draw from him the causes of diseases; wherefore wee see A
it to bee the wish of godlie men, so oft as that indignitie is set before their eyes, that God
would either fashon better the Pillar of the Church, or place some fitter in his roome.
Neither yet (sayth hee) am I ignorant that the Church is builded vpon a most firme
Rocke by a cunning hand, so that it cannot bee ouerthrowne by any force, neither ayrie,
nor earthlie, &c. But now pietie and religion the gardians of this house, complaine with
a loud crie, that the proportion which the hands of the Architect did modell forth at
first, is not now kept; which is a notable dishonour for the head. The cause of this un-
seemely disproportion they lay vpon the Merchant Mercurie, (to wit the Pope) who since
the time hee governed the light of the world and began to bee the chiefe coach-man, hee
did not burne the world as Phaeton is said to haue done, but rather ouer-shadowed it B
with most horrible thicke darkenesse; So that from thenceforth it commeth to passe, that
in the holie Camp (that is, in the Church) is nothing done rightly nor in order. And
here hee putteth himselfe forth to speake of the abuses of the Church, namely
them that proceeded from sale, whence he shewed that the present gouernement
was nothing like to the institution of Christ; that if any man cast his eyes on the
vniuersall face of the Clergie, on their pompous prouision and their designs,
hee is presently constrained to say, that the Spouse hath renounced her bride-
groom, and denounced vnto him, that he is to keepe household by himselfe. And
there againe he maketh a comparison of Christ and the Apostles with the Pope
and Court of Rome: And then hee passeth to the discipline of the Church, violat- C
ed by them who ought to preferre it from all impuritie: who will beleue (sayth
hee) that these men, that doe thus, know what is the good and right faith? And who
knoweth not that the chosen Stones of the Sanctuarie not long agoe, haue bene so disper-
sed and cast downe, that the Maiesie of the Church is decayed, and now the Spouse of God
herselfe, as forgetfull of her coniugall faith, hath not onely turned aside from her bride-
groom, but euen without any respect of modestie, licentiously wandred about by the high-
waies, and by the streets, and prostituted herselfe for money in euerie Prouince? who
remembreth not, that the Pastors as fugitiues, are become not onely forsakers of the flock,
but drivers and stealers of it away? And haue wee not seene the chiefe Heads of Pre-
lates behaue themselves so preposterously and impurely, as in steed of ordering things in D
good seemelinese, and teaching the daunce called Eumelia, so mollifie mens hearts and
make their mindes gentle, they lead them the warredance Pyrrhicha, in armour; altoge-
ther abhorring the holinesse of order (hee meaneth Iulius.) They which should bee the
chiefe annointers of the Champions for the holie Combates, and who ought to bee the
Authors of waging godlie warre for their altars and bownds against prophane peoples and
Infidels, are not they themselves the butchers of Christian forces, setting them at warres
one against the other to the destruction of that sacred name? And there hee declareth
the wrath of God fallen both vpon Alexander and him. what hope (saith hee) of
saluation can these men haue, who beeing chiefe Priests, governing the sterne of the Ship,
as noone day runne is against the rockes of impietie? And when they which ought by E
their good life to shine and giue light to the Lords familie, strike into our eyes the horrible
darkenesse of error and blindnesse of mind? &c. Can I beleue that they haue the know-
ledge of good faith, who holding the Altar and sacred things vnder the Lords mantle,
yea and kissing the Lord himselfe (as Iudas did) neuertheless make no account of his Pre-
cepts and Institutions, and embrace things directly opposite and contrarie? &c. And what
man is there (I pray you) who if hee consider the state, motion, course, habitude, inward
and outward affections, and the verie Sessions of the Church, such as wee haue seene them
of late, can iudge that they make any account at all of the sacred Oracles and monuments?

A to wit, of the holie Scriptures. For we see that the Pontificall iurisdiction hath so de-
generated from the auncient charitie, that there where was wont to be the bosome of e-
quitie and benignitie, is now found to be a shop of contentions, and of impious snares to
intrap. Thence are those pit-falls of Processe, and cautions of Pontificall rites, of pur-
pose set forth for to deceiue the Lords familie. There are the profits of americiaments on
Prelats, which plainly augment the pages of receipts. Thence againe the sacrilegious
faires of those things which cannot without impietie be in humane commerce. I omit
now to speake of testeras non modo veniales, sed etiam vnales, Indulgenes set to
sale, which giue largely by a sordid or filthie bountie, impunitie of wickednesse, and ab-
solution for breach of sacred lawes. Therefore who seeth not, that the sacred Canons,
made in better times, to direct, as the rules of the Clergie, and to fashion posteritie by the
prescriptions of the Fathers, are now become leaden rules, such as in times past (as sayth
Aristotle) were the Lesbian rules of building? For as leaden rules and soft giue not e-
uen direction for the right frame of building, but being flexible are applied according to
the commoditie and pleasure of the builders; so we see that the Popes Canons, by vse of
the Rulers of the Church, are made flexible as lead or wax: so that now of a long time the
Institutions of the Fathers, and Decrees of Popes, are not used for the gouernement of
manners, but applied for the getting in of money. But the Iesuites thought they had
found out a fit remedie, when by their Spanish *Index Expurgatorius*, they com-
manded all these places to be rased out. But wee will adde yet this ouer and a-
boue, out of another Treatise, The auncientnesse, or rather worme-eatenness of the
Canons, is now of no more vse, but as a doting old woman is cast out of the pleading place, C
and reiected to the deskes of Libraries; for the Canonically discipline of the holie Ghost is
long agoe cast downe from the bridge of our assemblies (he alludeth to the Latine pro-
uerbe) being more than sixtie, yea than six hundred yeares old, &c. would to God that
of this faith, now almost buried, we held at least but the reliques and asbes, in regard of
which faith God called the dispensers and dispersers thereof his faithfull; who inspi-
red of God, full of godlie zeale, of the spirit, and of God himselfe, in times past were the
pillars, honour, and ornament of the Church: now, and of a long time, hardly retaineth it
teetorium inane Ecclesie, a slight plaistering ouer of the Church, the colour and image of
religion instituted and taught by Christ; if wee will iudge of the whole by the greatest
part. And he had told vs a little before the reason: The ship of sociable and ciuile dis-
cipline hath bene left vnto vs by Christ the builder of the Church, which hath been fur-
nished by him, or by his authoritie and direction, with all manner of necessarie prouision:
and he hath promised vs wind in the poupe, to bring the passengers to their wished hauen,
if the Church had continued to hold the rudder vpright, and to receiue into her sayles the
blowing of the spirit, namely, consulted the Scriptures, which proceeded from the
holie spirit.

Among the Italians was then admirable, *Iohn Picus* Earle of Mirandula, whose
workes were printed in the yeare 1504: Among the nine hundred Propositions
which he publicly disputed at Rome, are these, The true bodie of Christ is locally in
heauen, sacramentally on the Altar: By the power of God one same bodie cannot be in di-
uers places at one time; to wit, because there would be implication of contradiction,
which he maintained out of *Thom. & Aquinas*. Also according to *Scotus*, By these
words precisely, This is my bodie, without expressing the words going afore, to wit, The
day before he suffered, consecration cannot be made; because consecration dependeth
not of certaine words, but on Christs institution. And when the Doctors of Pa-
rishad reprehended this his Proposition, Neither the Crosse, nor any Image, is to bee
worshipped with the worship of Latria, also in that manner that *Thomas* setteth downe;

In his Apologie he maintaineth, that the same is Catholike, and the contrary false. **A** When also they had condemned his Theses of the Eucharist, he vndertook to defend, That without conuersion of the bread into the bodie of Christ, and the annihilation of the same, the bodie of Christ is present according to the truth of the Sacrament: Yet euer, to keepe himselfe from being mistaken, he spake of what is possible, not of what is done. No doubt if he had beene free, he would haue spoken more freely. In a certaine Epistle of his to the Emperour Maximilian, in the yeare 1500, Alexander the sixt raigning Pope, he sheweth indeed with what feruentnesse he was carried to a reformation: *I beseech thee* (saith he) *by the faith and pietie I possibly can, that thou accomplish that thy most holie purpose, of setting the Christian Commonwealth into her auncient libertie, so soone as possibly may be: It is shaken by outward enemies, rent in peeces by inward, and this sheepe-fold, enclosed about, and consecrated by the blood of Iesus Christ, hath suffered, and doth daily suffer, much worse from wolues in sheepes cloathing, than from the wolues that assaile it in their owne skinne. Set therefore your hand vnto it, most excellent Emperour, and excite therunto by all meanes the Christian kings; shew thy selfe a faithfull minister to Christ the King of kings, who will presently deliuer his sheepe both from enemies, and from perfidious Pastors. But the euent answered not his prediction.* *Iohn Francis* also, his brothers sonne, degenerated not from him. In that conflict betwene the Councell of Pisa, and of Lateran, handling this question, *In matters of Faith, which is to be preferred, the Pope or the Councell,* he answereth out of the Decree it selfe, *It is written in the Glosse of the Decretals, Distinct. 19. The Pope is bound to require a Councell of Bishops when matters of faith are treated of, and then the Councell is greater than the Pope. Whereupon the Archdeacon of Bononia approving this Glosse, saith, It were a dangerous thing to commit our faith to the iudgement of one man. And S. Bernard speaketh in the same sence, saying, What greater pride can there be, than that one man should preferre his iudgement before a whole congregation, as if he alone had the holie Spirit? And after he had sayd that the greater number ought to carrie it away from the lesser, ceteris paribus: But* (sayth he) *if the greater part would decree any thing against the diuine Scriptures, and against those things that cannot be violated without grieuous sinne, the rest (which are the lesser part) holding the contrarie, the lesser number ought to be stucke vnto, as it happened in the Councell of Arimini, and in the second Ephesine Councell: Yea, which is more, a plaine rusticke fellow, children, and sillie old women, are rather to be beleued than the Pope and a thousand Bishops, if these speake against the Gospell, and those for the Gospell.* Handling also this question, *whether Councels or Popes may erre,* out of him is easily decided, seeing he presupposeth that they might erre from the holie Scriptures, hee sheweth, that many Councels haue erred, many Popes fallen into heresie; and it hath often fallen out, that he which was accounted chiefe President of the Church, either did not preside or gouerne by right, or else could not preside at all: *For* (saith he) *Historie teacheth vs, that a woman hath bene beleued, and taken for Pope; and in our age I remember, that a certaine learned man of approved manners, and that had obtained honors in his religion pronounced, though not publikely, that he which was created Pope, was not Pope, because he had exercised the office of Pope, before he was chosen by the two parts of the Cardinals; against the lawes of the Church, which decree, That such a man is not onely farre from being Pope, but is also unfit and vncapable for the Popedome, as hauing an Anathema or curse lying vpon him. And what then became of his ordinations, and missions of his Bishops? which hee seemeth to haue spoken of Iulius the second. We remember* (saith he) *also another, beleued and adored for Pope, whom excellent men thought, that he neither was, nor could be Pope; for hee beleuing not any*

Ioh. Franc. fide ordine crediti.

Theorem. 4.

A

B

C

D

E

A God, exceeded all height of Infidelitie; which he testified by his most wicked workes, in buying the Popedome, and exercising therein all kinds of wickednesse: Yea confirmed it also by his most detestable speeches, for it was affirmed, that on a time he had confessed to certaine his domestike friends, euen whilest he held the Papall seat, That he beleued there was no God. In which words, by all likelihood, he meaneth Leo the tenth, for that he speaketh as an eye witness of it. He adderth, *I haue heard of another Pope, who in his life time had declared to a familiar friend of his, That he beleued not the Immortalitie of soules: but his friend being dead, appeared vnto him as he wasched, manifesting that by the iudgement of God his soule which he had beleued to bee mortall, hee should proue to be immortall, to his exceeding torment in eternall fire.* And here hee preuenteth an obiection, What then shal become of those words, *Orani pro te Petre, &c.* I haue prayed for thee Peter, &c. And he resolved with the best interpreters, That they are to be referred to the faith which Peter had confessed, *Thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God,* not of his successors, nor of the Church of Rome it selfe; according to the Cardinall de Alliaco, the Abbot Panormitan, Nicholas de Lyra, and others. So much the neerer reformation of the Church, and consequently to the kingdom of God, by how much the more neerely he had knowne either the infirmities or error thereof.

In the Oration that he made to Leo the tenth, and in the Councell of Lateran, for reformation, he concealed nothing from them; the corrupt manners in all sorts, the adulterated Lawes and Canons, religion and modestie extinguished among the chiefest: and to the matter, *Pietas in superstitionem penit prociuit, &c.* Pietie is almost turned into superstition, &c. These are the diseases, these the wounds which thou must heal and cure, O Soueraigne Bishop, otherwise if thou refuse to cure them, I feare least he whose place thou holdest on earth, will not now vse fomentation, but will drie vp and consume the diseased members with fire and sword. I certainly beleuee, that he hath already giuen signes of his future medicine, &c. Are not the virgines, dedicated to God in Brixia, rauished from out the most religious Temples, and become a prey to souldiers? Are not the Priests in Rauenna slaughtered? Are not the Nunnes famous in times past for holinesse, prostituted in the discomfiture at Prato? What other thing doe we heare, than that the Temples haue heretofore bene committed to bawds and buggerers, Catamitis; That the flockes of Christ the good shepheard, haue bene deliuered to detestable wolues; that the Couents of virgines in most cities, haue bene conuerted into obscene lurking holes and houses of harlots? &c. Why make I mention of light matters, and passe ouer the multitudes of harlots, and troupes of prostituted boyes, exoletarium greges, the Priests office bought and sold one of another, &c. And after he had thus vehemently inueyed, Neither is there any maruell (sayth he) for all this euill, as Iohn Chrysostome noteth, proceedeth from the Temple; And S. Hierome saith, That he found none that seduced the people but the Priests, &c. Beare in mind, I pray you, that old High Priest Heli, punished for not punishing the wickednesse of his sonnes; for it is needful that they which rule ouer others, be not onely innocent themselves, but resist the wicked, and repress their euill facts and crimes: And then, as the holie historie of Kings doth witnesse, with a flesh-hooke hauing thre teeth they tooke away the flesh out of the pot, which was accounted vnto them for a verie great sin, because thereby men abhorred the offering of the Lord: And now by their multitudes of euill examples the ignorant people are discouraged from diuine worship & from all pietie. In these daies they lay with the women at the doore of the Tabernacle, but in ours they breake into the sacred houses and carry away from thence the women for the fulfilling of their lusts, & meritorij pueri à parentibus commodantur, the parents for money let out their sonnes to be abused; and they

Cardinal. de Alliaco in quest. V. superiarum. Abbas Panormitan. extra de sentent. Excom. Nichol. de Lyra in Mat. c. 16.

Orat. Ioh. Francisij Pici ad Leonem in Concilio Laterano.

are pardoned, which ought to keepe themſelues undefiled, euen from all lawfull pleaſure of the bodie: And theſe men are promoted to degrees of Prieſthood, after they haue paſſed away the flower of their youth in being abuſed againſt nature. &c. Moſes the Law-giuer, though a moſt meeke man, yet was moued to exceeding great anger, when he ſaw the people turned away from God, and puniſhed them ſeuereſly for it. Chriſt Ieſus both God and man, the paterne of all vertues, moſt patiently ſuffered the iniuries done vnto himſelfe, but not the diſhonour done to God his Faſther, when he draue and whipped the ſacrilegious buyers and ſellers out of the Temple. The one puniſhed the worſhippers of a golden Calfe with a great ſlaughter; the other caſt out the Doves and Turtles out of the Temple that were there to be ſold. And wilt not thou repreſſe, and baniſh from all honours the worſhippers of young Heifers, which in verie great numbers are not onely ſtabled vp in the Citie, but likewiſe beare rule, and goe apparelled with gold, ſcarlet, and pretious ſtones, in Royall manner, that with their goodlie aſpect, they make verie many men brutiſh, and deſtroy them? wilt thou permit the ſacred houſes to be prophaned with all ſorts of wickedneſſe, and ſo many Circean monſters to grunt in them? wilt thou ſuffer ſo many thouſand Mere-maids to procure, as much as in them lyeth, ſhipwracke to the ſhip, by God committed vnto thee? Canſt thou endure that the bloud of Chriſt ſhould be made Merchendiſe of? And yet we haue ſcene what little care this good Pope had of it, whether we conſider his Decrees, or his example. But becauſe this excellent man knew, that not onely the manners, but the doctrine alſo wanted reformation: The holie Scriptures (ſaith he) of the old and new Teſtament, are to be renewed and conſidered with the auncient and correſt Coppies of the firſt originall (to wit, Hebrew and Greek) that they may be altogether purged from the errors, which by the iniurie of time, and careleſneſſe of the Booke-writers, haue crept into them: The ſolemne ceremonies, of which haue bene a long time ſome difficulties, repreſented to the former Synods, are to be determined of and confirmed; the daile prayers to be reduced to a ſetled and approved order; and the true Hiſtories ſeuered from Apocryphall fables; ſo principall men are to be preſcribed their duties, ſo the end that this wicked opinion, the ruine of our Common-wealth, That what ſocuer pleaſeth is lawfull, may be wholly remoued and utterly baniſhed from the minds of men. How farre is he from them, that will haue the vulgar tranſlation of the Bible onely to be authenticall; and prepoſterouſly require that the Originall be altered according to it: How farre alſo from them, which confound not onely the Canonick Bookes with the Apocrypha, but alſo daily forge vnto the poore people new reuelations, new Legends: which matter he ſo largely handleth in his fiſt booke, that the Reader may ſooner ſee it there, than I can write it forth. But in this was that great man deceiued, that would hope for better things from Leo the tenth, than from others; who onely differed from others in this, that his poiſon being ſweeter, ſo much the more daungerouſly inſinuated into the bowels of the Church.

We haue aboue ſpoken of Baptiſta Mantuan Carmelite, & we bring him againe here, becauſe he liued till the yeare 1516 in ſuch reputation, that many made him equall to the beſt auncient Poets that liued vnder Auguſtus: He diſſembled not, that many things diſpleaſed him in the Church of Rome, their cold ſacrifices and ſeruices, ſluttriſh altars, and many vaine toys and curious, of which he ſaith,

*Et licet his olim nugis iuueniliter aures
Præbuerim; tamen ut melius cum tempore factum
Iudicium, his hac mihi pernicioſa videri
Cæpit, & ex grauium cuncta abigenda virorum.*

Though

Baptiſta Man-
tuan. Faſtor, 12.

Though once I youthfully did lend mine eares
To theſe vaine toys, yet better as by yeares
My judgement grew, this queſtion gan to ſeeme
Pernitiouſ to be doom'd, as graue men deeme.

Detefting being old, that which he embraced being young. But in his ninth Eclogue he ingeniouſly ſaith, That there is no beaſt ſo wild and fierce, that hath not his denne; no man ſo vicious which hath not honor giuen vnto him in the Court of Rome, where the ayre is peſtilent, and withall wonderfull, ſo that it ſuddenly transformeth men into Woules and Foxes: the earth is ſo ſubiect to malignant influences, that thereby are daily engendred new monſters: Which is more elegantly and ſignificantly expreſſed by him in his verſes:

*Mille lupi, totidem vulpes in vallibus iſtis
Luſtra tenent; Et quod diram ac mirabile dictu,
Ipſe homines (huius tanta eſt violentia cæli)
Sæpe lupi effigiem, morſque aſſumere vident,
Inque ſuum ſauere gregem, multaque madere
Cæde ſui pecoris: factum vicinia videt;
Nec ſcelus exhorret, nec talibus obuiat auſis;
Sæpe etiam miris apparent monſtra figuris,
Quæ tellus affecta malis influxibus edit:
Sæpe Canes tantum in rabiem verſantur, ut ipſos
Vincant cæde lupos, & qui tuſela fuerunt,
Hoſtiles incunt animos, & ouilia maciant.*

Ecloga 9.

A thouſand Woules, as many Foxes hold
Their holes in thoſe dales (griuous to be told,
And wondrous) I haue ſcene (ſo ſtrong's that aire)
Men take the ſhape and guiſe of Woules, to ſhare
And forrage their owne flockes, enoy'd with fat
Of their ſlaine ſheepe. The neighbours laugh thereat,
Yet not detect, nor ſuch attempts withſtand
Of ſtrange formes come downe, which that land,
With griuous influences plagu'd, doth breed.
The dogs are oft ſo mad, as they exceed
The Woules in ſlaughter: and who Warders were
Are werriers, and fierce foes, their flockes to teare.

For couetouſneſſe and deceit.

*Si quid Roma dabit, omnes dabit, accipit aurum,
Verba dat, heu Roma nunc ſole pecunia regnat:
Exilium virtus patitur, &c.*

Ecloga 5.

If Rome giue aught, tis toys, it takes your gold,
Giues vaine falſe words: now onely coyne doth hold
The ſway at Rome alas: vertue doth exil'd paſſe.

For

For crueltie and tyrannie.

*Roma quid insanis toties? quid sanguine gaudes?
Quid geris imbelli spicula tanta manu? &c.
Tu similis colubro, quoties grauis ira venenum
Suscitat, & mota lumina bile rubent.
Sic fremis ut frendens cum ferrea vincula mandis
Cerberus, & stygias murmure turbat aquas.
Tu fratres in bella vocas, in pignora fratres,
Nec Iouis imperium, nec Phlegetonta times, &c.*

Rome why so raucest thou, in blood delighting?
Why bearest thou armes in hands not fit for fighting?
Thou like a serpent art, when rage doth rise,
And raise thy venome in thy blood-shot eyes;
So fretst thou, as when Cerberus doth bite
His yron chaines, and Stix with noyse affright.
Thou brothers setst at warre, against sonnes their fires:
Thou fearest not heauens commaundement, nor hell fires.

Againe,

*Viure qui sancte cupitis, discedis Romã:
Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum.*

Who would liue holily, from Rome away,
You may not there be good, all else you may.

And in another place,

*I pudor in villas, si non patiuntur easdem
Et villa vomicas; Vrbs est iam tota lupanar.*

Packe modestie to rownes, vnlesse (no newes)
Townes haue some sores, the citie's now all stewes.

In so much that he seemeth, describing that monster, which would haue deuoured the womans infant in the Apocalyps, constrained to saue her selfe in the desert, to shew that it signified the Papall Seat:

*Monstrum immans potens, hominum tot milia, aperta
Absorbere gula, quot sanguinolenta volabat
Sensities. Monstrum illud erat seu bellua partum
Virginis extento cupiens extinguere collo,
Cuius ab aspectu, sumptis diminitus alis,
(Vt sacer Egea vates canit incola Patmi)
Fugit ad extrema loca virgo incognita terra:
Virgo fuit primo fruticans Ecclesia sacro,
Christigena soboles eius, quos bellua adegit
Quarere desertis aliena penatibus arua.*

A mightie mankind monster to englut
So many thousand men with greedie gut,

As blondie rage could with: That monstrous beast
The blessed Virgines child to kill adrest;
From whose foule sight she taking heauenlie wings
(As th'holie Prophet, Pathmos inmate sings)
Of the vtmost earth, to vnknowne piaces fled:
The Church at first a virgine was, and bred,
The Christians were her offspring, whom the Beast
To seeke strange lands, leauing their home-gods, prest.

That Rome is that horrible beast which by deuouring innumerable Christians endeouoreth to swallow vp the purer Church, who hauing left their dwellings are constrained to flie into the desarts. And moreover, with bitter & deep fetcht sighes he exhorted *Leo* to prouide especially for three things, The peace of Italie, The discipline of the Court of Rome, and the reformation of Faith, sicke euen to death: which he better expresseth in these verses;

*Led tria presertim restant cura atque labore
Digna tuo; bellum est primum, quo seffa laboras
Italia, & pleni humano iam sanguine campi:
Est aliud, Romana graui maculata veneno
Curia, qua spargit terras contagia in omnes:
Postremum est oppressa fides, exposita rapinis
Vndique, & in pradam populis proiecta cruentis.
At hac subsidium magnis clamoribus orant,
Sancte Pater, succurre Leo, Respublica Christi
Labitur, agrotatque fides iam proxima morti.*

Three chiefe things rest worthie thy paine and care,
The Warre is first, wherewith Italians are
All tir'd, and fields with humane blood are filld:
Another is the Court of Rome, defil'd
With venome, which to all lands is conuaid:
Last is the Faith, opprest, and open layd
To rapine, made to blond-succours a prey.
These of thee with lowd cries for helpe doe pray,
Helpe holie Father *Leo*, Christs estate
Doth fall, and Faith lyes sicke now at deaths gate.

And in all these things we haue scene that *Leo* followed a quite contrarie course, as appeareth by the judgement of many great men that liued vnder the Popedom at that time.

But now we come to that which was done by whole corporations. There was not any nation vnder *Leo*, which presented not vp their grieuances against the vnlawfull proceedings of the Court of Rome, which violated all *Concordats*, refused elections, reserued the principall dignities for the Cardinals, vnmeasurable in distributing expectatiue graces, vnmercifull in exacting annuities, which measured Indulgences according to the quantitie of money, redoubled the tenthes vnder pretence of making warre against the Turkes, bestowed benefices and Ecclesiasticall offices to the vnworthie, yea to Mule-keepers, and drew all causes, without

Gratumina nationis Germanice.

diffe.

Remedium contra grauinam nationis Germanicę
Ioh. Maioris
dist. 24. q. 3.

difference to Rome. Of which things are extant whole bookes presented to Emperours and Kings, together with their necessarie remedies; especially in the yeres 1516 and 1517, which are our bounds. At which verie time also flourished at Paris *Iohn Maioris*, an excellent professor of Diuinitie, whose Theses we haue, of the power Royall and Papall, handled at large. *Dist. 24. q. 3.* First, The Pope hath not any temporal domination ouer Kings, &c. 2. For if thou say, he succedeth Christ, & Christ is Lord of all: On the contrarie, thou canst not proue that Christ, according to his humanitie, is Lord of all, seeing he said to *Pylat*, My kingdom is not of this world. And that being graunted, yet the consequence is of no force, & impossible to be proued; for oftentimes the Lieutenant hath not so great authoritie as his superior, whose Lieutenant he is: For Christ instituted the Sacraments, gaue the law of grace, and may reuoke all diuine positive law, yet this cannot the Pope do. 3. If the contrarie should be graunted, then would follow this conclusion, Constantine gaue nothing to *Syluester*, but onely restored vnto him his due; the contrarie whereof is said 96. *D. C. Constantinus*, & 12. *Q. 1. C. Futurum*. 4. The Popes themselves confesse, that temporall iurisdiction pertaineth not vnto them, & that they will take nothing from the right of Kings. *Innoc. 3. in C. Nouit de iudicijs*, & *Alexand. in C. Causam. Qui filij sunt legitimi*. And in that famous chapter, *Per venerabilem*, in the same title, where *Innocent the third* saith, That the king of France acknowledgeth not any superior in temporall things, and therefore may dispence with his sonne, as with his inferiour. But if thou say with the Glosse, he acknowledgeth not any de facto, in deed, but yet he ought de iure, by right; I hold this to be a Glosse of Orleans, which corrupteth the text, because if it were so the Pope had not sufficiently answered to that gentleman of *Mont-pellier*, requiring a dispensation for his bastard, that thereby the king might dispence with him: For the Pope sayd, The king of France is a supream Soveraigne in his kingdom in temporall things: If he had spoken de facto, his answer had bene none; for the gentleman might haue answered him, I acknowledge not, or will not acknowledge a superior de facto. 5. Many deuout kings haue bene canonized by Popes, that neuer acknowledged the Bishops of Rome to be about them in temporall things, and in this haue died. Therefore it is a signe that the Bishops of Rome haue not domination ouer all in temporall things. Item, Kings haue not their powers immediatly from the Bishop of Rome, neither doe they take any influence from him in temporall things, but haue their kingdoms by the consent of the people, by succession, by purchase, by donation, or by some other title: For ciuillie power dependeth not of the spirittuall power of the Pope, as the Captaine dependeth of his Generall, but as two powers not subordinat, of which neither dependeth of the other: For he that possesseth a kingdom is not vassall of the Bishop of Rome, neither is the Emperor his subiect in any manner. And these were the Maxims of the French Church at that time.

But of the same time we haue two notable instruments, one of Germanie, the other of Fraunce: as for the first, *Leo* had sent his Legats into Germanie to exact tenthes, vnder colour of making warre against the Turkes; and they had prepared an eloquent Oration, to induce the Princes thereto. But they consulting about that matter with a notable personage, he declared vnto them, That Germanie had alreadie been ynough, and more than ynough taxed: That after peace was made among Christian Princes, and that they were well disposed to that hoile warre, it would then be time ynough to thinke on tenthes: That since the time that Popes haue mixed sacred things with prophane, or rather forsaken the sacred to busie themselves onely in ciuile matters, there hath bene no meane nor end of miseries and calamities, there hath bene no care had of the flocke of Christ, and contempt of diuine things hath abundantly growne, Christ sold, and the whole world

A world polluted vnder pretence of religion, and brought to extreame ruine with this filthinesse and contagion: will you (saith he) destroy the Turke? I praise your purpose: but I greatly feare, lest yee erre in the name; seeke him in Italie, not in Asia: Against him of Asia, euerie of our kings is strong enough of himselfe to defend his owne limits; But for to tame the other, all Christendome is not sufficient. That other, who hath elsewhere enough to do with his bordering neighbours, hath yet done vs no harme; but this may rargeth euerie where, and thirsteth after the blood of the miserable. Yee can by no meane appease this Cerberus, but with a golden riuier; there is no need of armes, nor armies; the Tenths will be of more force, than troopes of horsemen, and regiments of footmen. It seemeth vnto me, when I diligently consider the matter, that a two fold way is proposed; on the one side, gold is demanded, which superstition commandeth; on the other side, if we refuse it, the Popes excommunication is threatned. Take which way of them yee please: But O foolish and superstitious opinion of them that belecue, That the God of heauen, beholding all things with the eyes of iustice, will be led and turned at the becke and pleasure of the Florentines, will be angry with him that giueth not, and againe pacified with him that giueth! The excommunication of the Vicar of Christ is not to be contemned, but yet not alwayes to be feared; especially when it is done for humane affections. I feare the indignation of Christ, but of the Florentines I feare not: And now indeed is in hand the affaires of Florence, not of Christ. The last Summer, with great expence and charges, was warre made against *Frauncis Duke of Vrbin*, who being cast out of his Dukedome, but first appeased with money, *Laurence de Medicis* succeeded in his place. *Iulius* the second being not prouident ynough, that he left no more gold; there was inuented a certaine new fraud; against all the Cardinals that were the richest, that they had conspired the Popes death, and thereupon were their goods confiscated. I speake not of the Crosses erected in euerie towne, propitiions according to the measure of the giuers. I omit the comedie of *S. Peters Church*, full both of laughter and of indignation: The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, crieth the Prophet: but it is not the Temple of the Lord; it is *Laurence* buildeth, and not Peter; the stones in the night wander away. I faime nothing here, most excellent Princes of the Roman Empire; why is the world solicited for the Church of *S. Peter*, whereon there is but two Masons onely in that worke, and one of them lame; sauing that of late in the great concourse of strangers, is stirred up a tumult of artificers, there running and shouting; there were seene foolish painted Angels, receiuing gifts from the giuer, and carrying them vp on high, &c. Consider now what is to be done, euerie day will now bring forth new care: The Duke of *Vrbin* being hunted away, the like fortune is threatned to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and then shall wee salute *Laurence de Medicis*, or the Florentine, Duke of *Tuscanie*. Thus haue yee now briefly the summe of the Tenths, and the Ambuscadoes of the Turke (to wit, of the Pope) by meanes of superstition, robbing your verie bowels. And this was then the iudgement of Germanie.

The other followeth, A solenne Appeale of the Vniuersitie of Paris, assembled the seuen and twentieth of March 1517, in which, after they had protested, that they intend not to speake or doe any thing against the Catholike Church, or against the Popes power, bene consulted, well counselled, they declared, That by this power he (the Pope) is not made *impeccabilis*, exempt from sinne: So that, if he commaund any thing to be done that is vnjust, which hath bin suggested vnto him by naughty insinuation, he ought to beare it patiently if it be not done; and if he decree any thing against the commaundements of God, he must not be obeyed, yea he may be by right resisted. But if he be so ayded by the power of the Prince, upon the false suggestion or euill counsell of flatterers or deceiuers; that he cannot be resisted, and the remedies of resisting be

Exhortatio vniuersitatis ad Principes in Decime prelationem consentant.

A be taken away, yet by naturall right there remaineth one thing, which no Prince can take away; namely, the remedie of Appeale, seeing it is a certaine defence competent to euery one by diuine, naturall and human right which cannot be taken away by the Prince. And there they approve the Councils of Constance and Basil, and vrge the reformati- ons there ordayned, which they specific in particular; as the remedies against Si- mony, a prohibition not to raise or pay Annuities, and other statutes, confirmed by the nationall Councell of Fraunce, held at Bourges; and consequently streng- thened by the perpetual Edict of Charles the seuenth. In preiudice of which things notwithstanding, say they, Leo the tenth, in a certaine assemblie held at Rome, which is against vs, conuocated we know not how, but not in the spirit of the Lord, with which nothing can be decreed or ordayned against the law of God and sacred Councils: which as- semblie, gaping after their lusts and commodities, and expecting by these meanes, gold and siluer to be brought vnto them at their wish out of the kingdome, and out of the terri- tories of Dauphinie, enuying these Statutes that hindered it, they haue laboured to abro- gate them. And for prooffe, that this Council (to wit, of Lateran) is vnlawfull, they alledge, That against the Catholike Faith, it condemned the Council of Basill, and particularly the pragmaticall Sanction; and in this deed, king Frauncis by cunning meanes was deceiued, who then was in Italie, amidst the noise of armes, and that vnder pretence of certaine Concordats, which he commaunded to be published; not sufficiently considering, how great dammage it would bring to his realme: Out of which, they conclude, Wee the Rector and Vniuersitie of Paris, feeling our selues grieued, endammaged, and oppressed, doe appeale from our Lord the Pope not well counsellled, and from the abrogation of the sayd sacred Council of Basill, and of the Statutes of the pragmaticall Sanction depending vpon it, and from the edition of the new Statutes, and yeelding consent thereto, vnto a future Council lawfully assem- bled, &c. Protesting instantler, instantius, instantissime, most instantly, to prosecute this Appeale by way of nullitie, of abuse, of iniquitie or vniustice, and otherwise the best we may to reserve the election and choise vnto our selues, &c. And moreover, all the principalls there present, vnder- signed the same in solemne maner, with all the formalities requisit thereunto.

B But besides these oppositions among themselues, in the kingdome of Bohemia and Prouinces of Morauia and Silesia, the Churches in great number continued, and openly opposed themselues against the Papacie, and by publique preachings impugned the abuses of the Romish Church. These same, in the yeare 1508, presented againe a confession of their faith to Vladislauus king of Hungarie, to- gether with an Apologie, wherein they vehemently confuted the Calumnies vsu- ally laid against their doctrine, and plainly laid open the reasons, for which they had iustly and lawfully departed from the Church of Rome, which are lon- ger than can be here inserted; such notwithstanding, as that the Reader may judge worthie the reading, wherein he shall find the same doctrine which wee hold, and defended by the same arguments wherewith we maintaine ours: There is onely this one difference, that by the grace of God both they and we haue pro- fited in his knowledge in tract of time, hauing learned by vexations and conflicts to expresse the same more clearly. Also, in the mountaines of Languedoc, Prouence, Dauphinie, valleys of Piedmont and other places, continued in the same faith, puritie and simplicitie the Churches of the ancient Waldenses, whose footsteps we haue followed & clearly traced out for the space now of more than 300 yeares. These were accused to our good king Lewis the twelfth by some Car- dinals & Prelats, of most enormous vices, and of most wicked opinions, and there- upon

Professio fidei fratrum Wal- densum Regi Vladislao in Hungariam missa.

An. 1508. Responso execu- toria Fratrum Waldensium contra duas li- teras R. P. Angulani sacre Theologiae do- ctoris ad eun- dem, data An- no 1508.

A they incited the king, their cause vnheard, without any forme of law, to extermi- nat them as forcerers, incestuous and heretikes. But they being aduertised of this, sent from amongst them their deputies in all humilitie to his Maiestie, to declare vnto him their innocencie. And the Prelats conuicted in their consciences of the calumnie, were instant vpon the king not to heare them; but the king made them answer, That if he were to make warre against the Turke, he would first of all heare him. Vpon the declarations therefore of the said deputies, hee sent into the places, namely of Merindol and Cabrieres, M. Adam Fumee, his Master of Requests, and one Doctor Parui, a Iacobine Frier, his Confessor, to search and enquire both in- to their life and religion; who related in that whole discourse, which they made plaine out of their acts, That infants were baptized, the articles of faith were taught, the Lords prayer, the ten commaundements, the Saboth day obserued, the word of God preached, no shew of wickednesse or fornication to be percei- ued; onely they would admit no Images into their Churches, nor ornaments be- longing to the Masse: which being vnderstood, the king did sweare, That they were better than himselfe and the rest of his subiects. And the same testimonie of their in- nocencie, euen at the same time, Claudius Seisielius, Archbishop of Turin, yeeldeth of them, albeit he writ against their doctrine. To conclude, there were not wan- ting in all places, such as for this profession constantly offered themselues to the fire, as in England Thomas of Bongay, &c. of Eccles, Iohn Frith, William Tindall, men greatly commended both for their doctrine and sanctitie of life, and others of whom mention is made in books which expressly handle the same subiect. And these things bring vs euen to the preaching of Martin Luther, who, as yee shall hereafter heare, being stirred by the spirit of God, caused at this verie time the found of the Gospell to ring through all Europe.

Caroli Moline- us de Moz. arch. Francorum.



CONCLUSION.

Hese are the Progressions of that Mysterie of Iniquitie whereof the Apostle Saint Paule foretold, That it began to worke euen in his time, that it did insensibly creepe into the Church by secret and indirect passages, by fraud and wicked meanes, till at length it should bee as a frontlet vnto her, couering her countenance, and taking from her all shame, vntill her pride ascend to that height wherein the Apostle Saint Iohn in his Reuelation describeth the Roman Church; in whose forehead is written, A Mysterie, Great Babylon, the mother of whoredomes and abominations of the earth: and all this (saith S. Paul) κατά την ἐνεργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ, according to the o- peration or efficacie of Satan, working and exercising his power in his ministers with signes and lying wonders. Adde also, that God did send τὴν ἐνεργειαν τῆς πλάνης, strong delusions to those who receiued not the loue of the truth, and pleased themselues in iniquitie, not obeying those Admonitions and Oppositions which from time to time were iterated vnto them by his seruants, that they should belecue lyes; because

2. Theff. 2. Apoc. 17. 5.

2. Theff. 2.

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because it was foretold that an Antichrist should come, that there should be a great Apostacy or reuolt, that the kings of the earth should with one accord agree thereto, *ματ γράμην, to giue their power to the Beast*; for so doth the Apostle call her: yea rather, saith he, because the counsell of God (which worketh all things to his glorie) would haue it so: That they should conspire together, and giue their kingdoms to the Beast, until the word of God should be fulfilled: That the whole world may the rather know, that the endeouours and counsels of the world, or the Princes thereof, are able to doe nothing against God; and how farre soeuer they seeme to wander from his prouidence, yet, will they nill they, must they submit themselves to his iurisdiction, and all their endeouours tend to his glorie; when he shall see the conspiracie of the sonne of perdition with his kings, as that of *Judas* the sonne of perdition with the Pharisees, to redownd to the victorie of the Lambe, and the saluation of all his, and as it were to be recapitulated, by the vertue and conduct of the supreme and soueraigne counsell, whereof *S. Peter* saith to the Iewes, *Him haue you taken* (that is Christ) *by the hands of the wicked, and haue crucified and slaine him*; But being deliuered by the determinat counsell and foreknowledge of God, *τῆ ἀρισμένη βουλῆ καὶ προγνώσει τῶ θεοῦ*: No otherwise than as *S. Iohn* speaketh here of Antichrist, or the man of sinne, *God hath put into their hearts to doe his will and pleasure, γράμην αὐτοῦ*: But what is that? that they should giue their kingdom to the Beast, to consent to his exaltation against the Lambe: To the end it may not seeme wonderfull or strange to any, that hauing overcome and troden vnder foot all obstacles, which from time to time be opposed against him, he make his owne way, as *S. Paul* saith; because it was necessarie he should ascend to that height, it was as necessarie, as *S. Iohn* saith, *That the word of God might be fulfilled*. And God by that selfsame power which remoueth all impediments, shall with the like facilitie end the remainder of his worke in his time.

Now then we haue declared the Progressions, or proceedings, and that by the degrees obserued in historie, or out of the bookes and instruments common to vs both, or from their owne Authors, and especially the writings of Monkes, of them for the most part which applied their ministerie to this Myserie: for there were none other that wrot for many ages together but onely they. The Oppositions also we haue poynted at from time to time, according as it pleased God to stirre them vp either from among themselves, or from elsewhere, who set themselves either against the oppressors or corrupters of the Church; being themselves in the meane time forced and carried away for the most part, either by the violence of the streame, or by the forcible endeouors of the aduersaries: Because it was so foretold, and that this victorie was reserved alone to the Lambe, to the spirit of his mouth, to the brightnesse of his comming. Which things are of so much the more greater weight, in as much as our aduersaries, the ministers of Antichrist, hauing gotten the vpper hand of all, haue with all diligence and industrie left nothing vndone whereby they might with continuall care and craft extinguish and deface our proofes, by abolishing, withholding, or corrupting the instruments and writings of good men, from time to time in all ages. By which meanes we are forced to seeke right out of the instrument of their owne pleading, out of their owne writings, for to decide and defend our cause; to produce witnesses out of their bosom, and testimonies from their owne mouth; to make (seeing Gods will is so) euen *Balaams* Ass to speake, the verie beast that carrieth them; to vtter their Histories, Councils, and Decrees, to the rebuke and reproofe of themselves and their doings

ings. But it remaineth for recapitulation, to set before our eyes in what state wee found both the See of Rome and Roman Bishop at first; and vnto what state from that by degrees at length we haue brought him, and now see him brought.

As touching therefore their spirituall function, the Bishops of Rome in those first ages, as we haue seene, were indifferently called *Bishops and Priests*; behauing themselves as brethren towards others, yea by their neere neighbours were named *Brethren and Collegues*; they were consulted withall, and did themselves also consult with others about the affaires of the Church, controuersies, schismes, and heresies, living simply in their profession, and dying vertuously in the confession of the name of Christ: they glittered not in any other purple or scarlet than with their owne bloud, the Crosse was their onely glorie. But nor long after we might perceiue in some, that spirit which from *Saint Pauls* time wrought, which vnder pretence of the dignitie of the citie, drew vnto it selfe the cause of the neighbors, would haue their counsels accounted for Decrees, and turned the honour voluntarily offered them into right of homage, seemelinese into seruitude. That stinging notwithstanding of ambition was oftentimes bearen backe by the persecutions, and many times also blunted by the vertuous Oppositions of the ancient Fathers. But when, after that by *Constantine* peace was restored to the Churches, through the fauour of Princes, they encreased in honors and riches, behold this spirit continually watching ouer the worke, and not loosing any moment of time; gathereth heart and strength to it selfe by degrees. And because that by reason of the dignitie of the citie the first Seat was willingly granted vnto it, they contend, That their Church ought to haue dominion ouer other Churches; That like as Rome (I meane the Commonwealth thereof) ruled ouer other cities and Provinces, so the Bishop of Rome, like as a Monarch, ouer other Bishops; That therefore from all parts of the world they should appeale vnto him; from him expect commaundements, which all men were held absolutely to obey: Whereas he on the contrarie ought to depend of none; might be judged of none, neither yet of all together. And hereof came those falsifications that wee haue seene of Councils and Decrees, those suppositions of Acts and Histories; those prophanations of the hollie Scriptures, and shamelesse wresting of them to a contrarie sence: Hence are also those contestations and protestations of some of the greatest men in all ages; against that domination which they arrogat to themselves ouer other Churches and Bishops, which they on the other side, besides and against all right diuine and humane, either by none, or by a false title, complained to be vsurped, not sticking to pronounce, That it proceeded from none other, and pertained to none other than the forerunner of Antichrist, or Antichrist himselfe. Yet thinke not for all this that they any thing slacked in their purpose. By *Phocas*, the murderer of the Emperour *Mauritius*, his Lord, was the Bishop of Rome declared Vniuersall Bishop: he laboured to be so declared, so farre was he off from blushing at it. Now from thenceforth, carried with full sayles, hee maketh no difficultie of any thing: As Emperours and Kings in a confused troubled world had need of his helpe or endeouour, he got authoritie in their dominions: Hee winneth the Archbishops to his side, by alluring the most ambitious with commissions and offices, and hauing wooen them; hee binderth them vnto him by a Pall; and that at first was sent them freely, and onely as a token of good-will towards them, afterward by ordinance made necessarie, and a badge of subiection, at length by degrees it grew to be sold, taxed, exacted, the price thereof euery day

day encreasing, of which the Archbishops from time to time complayned. After that hee obtained of the Princes, That the Clergie, the Lords lot (sayth hee) *and inheritance*, should bee exempt and free from all temporall jurisdiction; whereupon followed licence of all vices, impunitie of all crimes, and so by little and little withdrew from their lawfull and naturall Lords, them whom hee had marked with his character, by voluntarie seruitude, yea and liege homage bound them vnto himselfe. By their ministerie and meanes (and not without mysterie) hee sitteth and presideth in the Councils of Kings, exerciseth his kingdome in their realmes, and his tyrannie in the consciences of kings and their people, whilest he bindeth them to his pleasures by his censures and excommunications, and as he will loseth them from all ductie and obedience. He setteth Princes one against the other, or else bandeth their nobles and people against them, and maketh many to sheath their swords in their owne bowels. By which and by such like meanes hee obtained at length a Soueraigne Empire in spirituall things throughout the West. And because the East yeelded not vnto him, hee excommunicated those Churches, and chuseth to himselfe from among his owne, Patriarches of the Easterne Churches; imaginarie indeed, but yet future Images of his vniersall Monarchie which hee arrogateth to himselfe: who were resident with him, representing the person, or vizer rather, of the Orientall Church. Yea when hee celebrated the Masse, hee commaunded the Epistle and Gospell to be read in Latine and in Greeke, signifying both Churches; but in Latine first, and with seuen candles lighted, in Greeke afterward with two onely lighted, for to shew the supereminencie of the Latine Church: Yet who knoweth not that the Greeke Testament is the originall, and the Latine but a translation taken out of the Greeke? At last hee pardoneth all sinnes out of his fulnesse of power: thereby affecting the Maiestie of God, who alone pardoneth, and of Christ the Lambe of God, who alone taketh away sinnes. Yet truely hee giueth not those pardons, but selleth and maketh merchandise of them, and vnder that pretext wasteth and despoyleth the whole world. Then hee instituted Iubilics at certain set times, which by degrees hee shortened, being truely his generall Martys and Faires, in which he prostituteth, setteth to sale, and vttereth his Indulgences. At his will and pleasure moreouer, hee openeth heauen, curseth the earth, quengeth Purgatorie, shutteth hell: as if he were God he maketh Saints, bindeth diuels, commaundeth Angels, maketh himselfe President in generall Councils, Head of the Catholike Church, yea Spouse thereof; which Titles are due vnto none but to Iesus Christ alone, incommunicable to any creature: God on earth, made out of earth, commaunding in heauen; he ordaineth a god to be worshipped on earth, which he will haue to be beleued, and doth beleue to be God, whom he causeth to be carried about on horsebacke before him, for to get to himselfe the greater reuerence, euen for the most part among his vilest carriage, among scullions and lackeys. And all these things vnder the name of Christ, and vnder pretence of his Vicarship, Because (sayth he) after Christs glorious resurrection, *all power was giuen him from the Father in heauen and in earth*: In so much that in the Masse, which the Seat being vacant, is celebrated for obtaining a new Pope, this Tractus of the Prophet is sung, *The Head thereof shall proceed out of it* (to wit, of Israel) *and a Prince shall come from the middelt of it*; which was spoken of our Lord Iesus Christ. There is also that of Saint Iohn in the Gospell, applied to the future election, *I will not leaue you orphans, I will aske the Father*

Cerem. Roman.
l. 3. Charta
6. c. 7.

Cerem. Roman.
l. 1. Sect. 1. g. de
officio Missæ A.
sol. sede vacante.

A Father and hee shall giue you another Comforter: which was spoken of the holic Ghost; so that now there is nothing so blasphemous that they are ashamed or dare not vse. Further, so soone as hee is elected, and hath put on red hose and shoes, he is carried and set vpon an Altar, the seat of their God, and there worshipped; consequently with religious worship due to God. What need more? In the verie Scholes; Leo the tenth being Pope, they feared not to dispute (Note Rea-der, how farre they extended his Vicarship:) *whether the Pope might abrogate that which is decreed in the writings of the Apostles; whether he might ordaine any thing contrarie to the doctrine of the Gospell; whether he might add to the Creed a new article of Faith; whether he haue greater power than S. Peter, or but equal; whether hee may commaund the Angells, or can take purgatorie quite away; whether hee be but meere man, or as it were God; whether with Christ he partake of two natures Diuine and humane.* How many enormities are committed in these words, yea in the least of them? How manifoldly they offend the Diuine Maiestie? When therefore wee call to mind all these things, how can wee otherwise applie or expound that propheticall place of S. Paule, *He exalteth himselfe against all that is called God, ἰσοβαρια or that is worshipped?* For let them shew vs in all these sixteene ages any other: so that hee sitteth as God in the Temple of God, shewing himselfe that he is God: In the Church it selfe; so that wee must not seeke him among the Turkes in Assyria: yea, if we beleue him, hee himselfe is the whole Church, which he contracteth into his own person: the Head and the bodie, the Bridegroom and the Spouse both together. And to whom againe besides may we applie the Reuelation of S. Iohn, *Of the beast ascending out of the earth, which had two hornes like the Lambe, but spake like the Dragon; of the woman sitting vpon a Scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemie?* For where is there more speech of Christ, and lesse beleueing him? where more giuing him kisses together with buffetings? where so monstrous, so outragious blasphemies, vnder that most holie name? Is not this properly to put on Iesus a purple garment, to put a reed in his hand, and to say vnto him in mockerie (as if he saw nothing in humane affaires, especially in the gouernement of the Church) *which of vs was it that smote thee?* And thus much for his spirituall domination.

D Now of the temporall. Wee found the Bishops of Rome vnder persecution had learned by the Testament of our Sauour, not to affect worldlie power, but to be readie contrariwise to suffer cruelties from earthlie Princes: By the Epistles of S. Paule and S. Peter, and also by their examples, to honor the kings and powers of the world, to obey the froward and those that were hard to be pleased; not to rule as Lords, *ne quidem in Domini cleris*, from whence came the name of Clergie. And surely till the time of Constantine and some time after, they had not any temporall jurisdiction: yea and after that by the gifts of Christian Princes they were enriched, for many ages they spake and liued submissiuely after the manner of vassals, and seruants, and as other subjects; suffered both generall and prouinciall Councils to be called and assembled, without contradiction, by Christian Emperours and Princes, and submitted themselues vnto them and their ordinances, and at their commaundements came and went, without complaining, without so much as muttering of these their documents or pretensions. But if it were a thing so important to the honour of Christ, and the safetie of the Church, as they would make men beleue, that this Vicar of Christ should be acknowledged through all the world, girded and armed with two swords; where was now their zeale, that they suffered with such negligence their rights of so great moment to perish, to

Cerem. Rom. l. 1.
sect. 1. c. 6.
Erasm. in 1 ad
Tim. c. 1.

2. Thess. 2. v. 4.

Apoc. 6. 13. v.
11. c. 17. v. 3.

restored by the substitution of the Popes authoritie in it, so that as many as would **A**
 not worship the Image of the Beast (that is, the glorie of this Empire renewed in
 him) should be killed. And this in the meane time saith Saint Paule, κατὰ ἐνεργειαν τοῦ
 2. Thess. 2. v. 9. Σατανῆς, ἐνεργειᾶς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐν ἀδελφῇ τοῦ ἀδικίας, not so much by open force, as by the
 10. 11. effectuall working of Sathan, &c. and in all deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse: or
 as Saint Iohn sayth, by the enchantment and cup of that Harlot, of that Roman
 Courtisan, who hath so made drunke the Kings and Princes of the earth with
 her flatteries and enticements, that they strieve who shall most bee set on fire with
 her loue, and ruinat each other to get highest into her fauour; so drunken are the
 inhabitants of the earth with the wine of her fornication: miserable people whose
 Princes, for to win her fauour, made them drinke downe all her inuentions, abu- **B**
 ses, Indulgences, Iubilys, Croysados, as they call them, and other abhominati-
 ons without number, and without measure, that being stricken with giddinesse,
 they might lose the vse of their senses.

Now is also this Antichrist ὁ ἀντιχριστος, surnamed *The man of sinne*, not with-
 out mysterie, not without a notable emphasis. And truly in this Seat, more than
 in any other State, we may easly obserue verie many *Neros, Caligulas, Helioga-*
bales, monsters of all kind vniustice, of tyrannie, of impietie, prophane **C**
Necromancers, Atheists, and worse, if may be; and of which their owne Histories
 doe euerie where testifie: For which cause it was beleued by many, That so
 great was the pestilent infection of this Chaire, that with the contagion thereof
 it instantly infected whomsoeuer sat in it. So that, because impietie in so high a **C**
 degree should bee ordinarie and vsuall, it gaue occasion to Saint Paule to call him
the man of sinne, and to Saint Iohn to tearme him *the Whore*, πορνῆς, by excellencie:
 In which fence the Euangelists sometimes, a prostituted woman, a *sinner*, be-
 cause shee maketh a continuall trade of sinning. But let vs yet enter a little fur-
 ther: Antichrist is properly called *The man of sinne*, not onely because hee daily
 practiseth sinne, but because hee seeketh gaine by sinne, because he soweth, plan-
 teth, produceth, and multiplieth sinne, by innumerable cunning practises. In a
 word, if we beleue him, he abolisheth all finnes of omission and commission, bee
 they neuer so haynous and horrible: Yea which is more, for to get in greater **D**
 store of money, that which is with God no sinne, that which is indifferent, hee
 by his lawes and prohibitions maketh to be sinne, and exaggerateth it farre aboue
 that which is truly sinne. Which things are sufficiently proued by the bookes
 of *the Taxes of the Apostolicall Chauncerie, and sacred Penitentiaries*, which yet
 are sold at Rome, printed at this verie time in Paris, at the signe of the Golden
 Sunne in Saint Iaques street; and these bookes are no lesse commonly vsed a-
 mong his brokers, than Kalenders with husbandmen, or the booke of Customes
 and Entries among merchants. In which bookes are sold and taxed at a deere
 rate, dispensations and absolutions of all kinds, of consanguinitie carnall, spiritu-
 all, in regard of degrees, or for want of age, for imperfection of members, na- **E**
 turall or accidental, or according as they are more or lesse noble or profitable;
 for irregularitie, for vicious promotion, or ministerie without promotion (what
 kind of consecration by their owne rules may thereupon follow?) for bastardize,
 for Bigamie, for all manner of maimes, or for murder of all kinds, of a Clergie-
 man, of a Lay-man, of father, mother, sonne, brother, sister, wife, &c. And these
 same much lesse taxed than of the least Priest: Also, for impoysonings, enchaunt-
 ments, witchcraft, sacrilege, simonie, and their kinds and branches; for lapsu car-
 nis

A nis, fornication, adulterie, incest without any exception or distinction; (which I
 abhorre) for sodomic, brutalitie: so they particularly expresse them. Of which
 most horrible and enormous crimes the absolution is rated at a lesser price than
 is any the least dispensation for the eating of flesh, of butter, milke, or cheese, on
 dayes forbidden by the Pope. Neither are they ashamed to adde in these plaine
 words, *These kind of graces are not giuen to the poore, because they are destitute of*
goods and meanes, and therefore for them there is no comfort. And it is to bee noted,
 That in our time they censured by their *Index Expurgatorius*, made by the com-
 maundement of the Pope, and of the Councell of Trent, that famous man a-
 mongst them, *Claudius d'Espense*, because he had sayd, writing vpon the Epistle to
B *Titus*, That it was a great opprobrie to the Church, that those bookes came to
 the hands of men, but much more, that they were put in execution; in which
 more impunitie and wickednesse might bee learned in a moment, than in all the
 Summits together. Let the Reader vouchsafe to see the place it selfe, so he take
 heed it be not an edition corrupted by their falsifyings. But let vs prosecute, see-
 ing the matter so requieth, both the merchandize and the merchants: They sell
 dispensations for oathes, for commutation of vowes, for Offices, Breuciaries,
 Prayers, Psalters for appointed houres, for to say them after an other manner
 than is vsed in their Diocesse or after the Romane fashion, or also for to say them
 backwards: (What inuentions to get money!) Also for reducing Masses to the
C proportion of the fruits, permission to say them both before day-light, and twice
 in a day: Dispensations also of meats for the person, Familie, Kindred, Colledge,
 Citie, Diocesse, or Prouince, all taxed by proportion: Leauē to carrie about
 the *Corpus Domini* (which they call here, *to carrie God to play*) once, twice, thrice
 a yeare or oftner: to change his name, surname, and signe; *Cui bono?* to passe from
 one Monasterie to an other, to visite the holy Sepulcher, to vse Trafficke with
 Infidels, by carying vnto them Marchandize lawfull and vnlawfull; for the Iewes to
 haue their Synagogues publike, or priuat; for the Christians to eat of a beast kil-
 led by a Saracen: VVhea in the meane time these good Bishops, as we haue seene
D haue made no conscience to take a yearely pension from the Turke; So that in
 things indifferent and in things wherein conscience ought to be vsed, they make
 no difference, but determine according to their own pleasure; they are often more
 scrupulous in triuolous matters, than in matters of weight, and farre more rigo-
 rous and stricter in the obseruation of their owne inuentions, than of the Com-
 maundements of God. And how farre and wide, how diuersly is Simonic ex-
 tended and spread abroad amongst them? is it not by them forcibly thrust vpon
 the whole world? That heresie, which they deriue from Simon Magus, the pro-
 phane selling of all things, which they will haue to be accounted holie, how farre
 is it from S. Peter? Indulgences for a certaine price, generall or particular; for
 buriall before the Altar, in the Quire, in the body of the Church, on the left
E side, or on the right; to be granted to such as die excommunicate, or desperate;
 The continuall and ordinarie traffike of all benefices, with cure, or without cure;
 of Comparable, of Incompatible, Vancancies, Preuentions, Resignations, Com-
 menda's, expectatiue, cases reserued, expeditions according to certaine clauses
 and formes infinite, farre surpassing them of the ancient Law, so that hardly would
 the volume of a Calepine suffice to containe, but the names onely: And truly,
 how laborious a worke it is to be able to know those intricate turnings and win-
 dings, and so many cunning subtilties! Sure it is needfull to bestow more time in
 them,

*Claud.
 Espensans
 in Epist. ad
 Tit. c. 1.*

thom than in the knowledge of all the liberall sciences, than in Philosophie, or in the whole law. And with these are imployed al the bankes of the Money-changers and Vsurers in Europe; with the trottings vp and downe of these, the Post-horses of al places are wearied; hence are so many officers, so many brokers both in the Court and dispersed all the world ouer, more in number, and of more kinds, than hath bene euer knowne in the West and East Empires; yet out of Simonie alone haue these men not onely their maintenance but excesse and pride. Infomuch that they haue brought the Mamelukes and Ianizaries into the Popes Court, and thought it not sufficient to haue drawne to themselues all the Romane titles, but they must borrow also from Souldans and Infidels both offices and markes of offices. And therefore when we consider this traffike of sinne, how great a facultie or facultie of sinning the Pope hath brought in by his dispensations and absolutions, for sins either already committed, or to be committed, euen the most execrable, for money; shall we not say, that he is truly that *Man of sinne*, who at so easie a rate and so lightly giueth leaue and indulgence for all sinnes, and also giueth way to all crimes without difference, against the law of God and against Nature: Seing it is manifest by the Tables of his Mart, to euerie man, how much each sinne will cost, that he may know at what rate to free himselfe from punishment. Seing he would persuade the world, that whosoever hath satisfied this his Table of Rates, hath sufficiently satisfied God, and need no more care for Gods justice. I pray thee Reader, if Sathan himselfe were there in person, for to open the flood-gates and sluices of sinne, that it might as a deluge overflow the whole world, could he find any more fit inuention than this? This was not the meaning of Saint Paule, when he said, That *sinne hath abounded that grace might superabound*, who by the justice of God, and by the holinesse of the law, representeth vnto vs the hor- rour and filthinesse of sinne, and the wrath of God kindled against it, yea against those sinnes that seeme vnto vs more light; which wrath cannot bee quenched, and is not to be appeased by any humane merit, by any price, but by the blood alone of the onely begotten Sonne of God shed for sinners, vnto whom alone, by a right and perfect faith, and earnest repentance, wee ought to haue recourse: How then from one and the same fountaine can there proceed doctrines so con- trarie? And seing the one is truly of Christ, and the other vnder his name, whose can this be but the doctrine of Antichrist? Of whom it is sayd, *Os loquens grandia, A mouth speaking presumptuous things, &c. A mouth opened vnto blasphemie against God, &c.* In this shamefull traffike (I say) in this infamous selling of sinne, whereby the Harlot prostituted vnder euerie greene tree hath engaged all sorts of men, doe wee not perceiue it by these words of Saint Iohn, *Hee made all, both small and great, rich and poore, free and bond, to receive a marke in their right hand or in their foreheads, and that no man might buy and sell, save he that had the mark.* For indeed, what condition of men are exempted therefrom; for dispensation, for absolution, for benefit, office, warfare, fraternitie, for all occupations of great or of base esteeme, for hauing done euill, or for to doe euill, can free himselfe from this buying and selling? Are not these therefore those Merchants of which Saint Iohn speaketh, *The Merchants of the earth are waxen rich of the abundance of her pleasure*, which distilled from the gulfes of her excesse, and from her sacrileges? And when we more neerer consider, that this Babylon, this heape of confusion, this losie building, hath none other foundation than absurdities, none other matter than iniquities, none other mortar than impieties, may wee not necessarily con- clude

Dan. 7. v. 20.
Apocal. 13.
v. 5. 6.

Apocal. 13. v.
16. 17.

Apoc. 18. 3.

A clude with the Apostle, that God hath sent vnto men a *strong delusion*, that they should receiue that *Man of sinne*, that Antichrist, that they should beleene lyes, because they would not receiue the loue of the truth, that they might be saved? Whilst that man of sinne therein applaudeth them, applying as it were Narcotickes vnto them, whereby his pleasing allurements stupefie them, without all sence or feeling of conscience or remorse of sinne.

I omit his other doctrines, of the merites of men, whereby the merite of Christs passion is brought to nothing; his daily sacrifice of the altar, whereby that onely and perpetuall sacrifice of our Lord Iesus on the Crosse, is abolished Christian Religion swallowed vp and conuerted into Ceremonies, into superstition, into idolatrie, Strations, Reliques, Agnus dei, little Images, blessed graines, new Lawes, new Sacraments, new Gospell, and (if God had not hindered it) a new Christ, and a meere Alcoran obruded in stead of the Gospell: for of these things haue wee spoken in their place more largely. But surely if we list to obserue his seate, and his furniture: he sitteth at Rome, on the Citie of seuen hills; there ye may see him ride in sollemne manner about the Citie, mounted on a white Horse sumptuously caparassoned, the Horse led by the hand of an Empe- rour or a King, if any be present, if not, by the greatest person there, he himselfe gorgeously apparelled in scarlet, weareth a Tiara or Diadem on his head, adorned with a triple Crowne, which they commonly call *Regnam, Kingdome*, in token, say they, of *supream dignitie, both Sacerdotall and Imperiall*, enriched with most rare gemmes and pretious stones. There followeth him a troupe of Cardinalls, glittering also in scarlet. But if he goe forth of the Citie, he hath his *port-mantues*, the ladder, covered with red cloth, twelue red standars, then follow Noblemen carrying the standars of the Citie, a Barber, and a Taylor; then foure Noblemen carrying foure Caps of crimson veluet on the ends of staues, some of the measure of three or foure hand-breadth, who are called *Scutiferi honoris*. Thus his whole furniture is of scarlet colour. When therefore S. Iohn saith in the Apocalyps, *Come, I will shew thee the damnation of the great whoore, with whom the Kings of the earth haue committed fornication; then presently after he describeth a woman sitting upon a skar-* let coloured beast, commaunding an Empire, adorned meereley with scarlet: shee herselfe, arrayed in purple and scarlet, and gilded with gold, and pretious stones and pearles, and in her forehead, in titulo in title, (these words) a name written, a Mysterie, that great Babylon, not really that auncient Babylon, but in a Mysterie that mother of whoredomes and abominations of the earth, camall againe, boueall measure, spirituall beyon all shame, What shall I neede to name him, seeing he manifesteth himselfe and speaketh heere sufficiently? And doth it not seeme, that Satan hath taken pleasure to performe this worke, that he might shew vnto the world a Master-peice of his art, and as it were reproach vnto vs our blindness, when he brought forth as it were on a Theatre this Man? that of so long a time before, so plainly, so clearly, the spirit of Almighty God, by the mouth of his Prophets and Apostles, hath fore-warned vs of the coming of Antichrist, of his conditions, doings, behauiour, seat, apparell, and furniture; Who would euer haue beleued, that he now comming directly in the same habit, in the same posture and manner, should so farre preuaile with vs, that any man should receiue him, that any should worship him? and for so many ages, and the Ceremoniall booke of the Popes, printed at Venice in Nouember 1516, and dedicated to Leo the tenth.

2. Theff. 2. 10.
11.

Cerem.
Roman
Chart. 140.
141. 150.

Apocal. 17. v.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. &c.

Now

them than in the knowledge of all the liberall sciences, than in Philosophie, or in the whole law. And with these are imploied al the bankes of the Money-changers and Vsurers in Europe; with the trottings vp and downe of these, the Post-horses of al places are wearied; hence are so many officers, so many brokers both in the Court and disperfed all the world ouer, more in number, and of more kinds, than hath bene euer knowne in the West and East Empires; yet out of Simonie alone haue these men not onely their maintenance but excesse and pride. In somuch that they haue brought the Mamelukes and Ianizaries into the Popes Court, and thought it not sufficient to haue drawne to themselues all the Romane titles, but they must borrow also from Souldans and Infidels both offices and markes of offices. And therefore when we consider this traffike of sinne, how great a facultie or facultie of sinning the Pope hath brought in by his dispensations and absolutions, for sins either alreadie committed, or to be committed, euen the most execrable, for money; shall we not say, that he is truely that *Man of sinne*, who at so easie a rate and so lightly giueth leaue and indulgence for all finnes, and also giueth way to all crimes without difference, against the law of God and against Nature: Seing it is manifest by the Tables of his Mart, to euerie man, how much each sinne will cost, that he may know at what rate to free himselfe from punishment. Seeing he would perswade the world, that whosoever hath satisfied this his Table of Rates, hath sufficiently satisfied God, and need no more care for Gods justice. I pray thee Reader, if Sathan himselfe were there in person, for to open the flood-gates and sluices of sinne, that it might as a deluge ouerflow the whole world, could he find any more fit inuention than this? This was not the meaning of Saint Paule, when he said, That *sinne hath abounded that grace might superabound*, who by the justice of God, and by the holinesse of the law, representeth vnto vs the hor- rour and filthinesse of sinne, and the wrath of God kindled against it, yea against those finnes that seeme vnto vs more light; which wrath cannot bee quenched, and is not to be appeased by any humane merit, by any price, but by the bloud alone of the onely begotten Sonne of God shed for sinners, vnto whom alone, by a right and perfect faith, and earnest repentance, wee ought to haue recourse: How then from one and the same fountaine can there proceed doctrines so con- trarie? And seeing the one is truely of Christ, and the other vnder his name, whose can this be but the doctrine of Antichrist? Of whom it is sayd, *Os loquens grandia, A mouth speaking presumptuous things, &c. A mouth opened vnto blasphemie against God, &c.* In this shamefull traffike (I say) in this infamous selling of sinne, whereby the Harlot prostituted vnder euerie greene tree hath engaged all sorts of men, doe wee not perceiue it by these words of Saint Iohn, *Hec made all, both small and great, rich and poore, free and bond, to receiue a marke in their right hand or in their foreheads, and that no man might buy and sell, saue he that had the marke.* For indeed, what condition of men are exempted therefrom; for dispensation, for absolution, for benefit, office, warfare, fraternitie, for all occupations of great or of base esteeme, for hauing done euill, or for to doe euill, can free himselfe from this buying and selling? Are not these therefore those Merchants of which Saint Iohn speaketh, *The Merchants of the earth are waxen rich of the abundance of her pleasure*, which distilled from the gulfes of her excesse, and from her sacrileges? And when we more neerer consider, that this Babylon, this heape of confusion, this loftie building, hath none other foundation than absurdities, none other matter than iniquities, none other mortar than impieties, may wee not necessarily con- clude

Dan. 7. v. 20.
Apocal. 13.
v. 5. 6.

Apocal. 13. v.
16. 17.

Apoc. 18. 3.

A clude with the Apostle, that God hath sent vnto men a *strong delusion*, that they should receiue that *Man of sinne*, that Antichrist, that they should beleene lies, because they would not receiue the loue of the truth, that they might be saued? Whilst that man of sinne therein applaudeth them, applying as it were Narcotickes vnto them, whereby his pleasing allurements stupefie them, without all sence or feeling of conscience or remorse of sinne.

I omit his other doctrines, of the merites of men, whereby the merite of Christs passion is brought to nothing; his daily sacrifice of the altar, whereby that onely and perpetuall sacrifice of our Lord Iesus on the Crosse, is abolished Christian Religion swallowed vp and conuerted into Ceremonies, into superstition, into idolatric, Strations, Reliques, Agnus dei, little Images, blessed graines, new Lawes, new Sacraments, new Gospell, and (if God had not hindered it) a new Christ, and a meere Alcoran obruded in stead of the Gospell: for of these things haue wee spoken in their place more largely. But surely if we list to obserue his seate, and his furniture: he sitteth at Rome, on the Citie of seuen hills; there ye may see him ride in sollemne manner about the Citie, mounted on a white Horse sumptuously caparaffoned, the Horse led by the hand of an Empe- rour or a King, if any be present, if not, by the greatest person there, he himselfe gorgeously apparelled in scarlet, weareth a Tiara or Diadem on his head, adorned with a triple Crowne, which they commonly call *Regnum, Kingdome, in token*, say they, of *supream dignitie, both Sacerdotall and Imperiall*, enriched with most rare gemmes and pretious stones. There followeth him a troupe of Cardinals, glittering also in scarlet. But if he goeth forth of the Citie, he hath his *port-mantues*, the ladder, covered with red cloth, twelue red standards, then follow Noblemen carrying the standards of the Citie, a Barber, and a Taylor; then foure Noblemen carrying foure Caps of crimson veluet on the ends of staues, some of the measure of three or foure hand-breadth, who are called *Scutiferi honoris*. Thus his whole furniture is of scarlet colour. When therefore S. Iohn saith in the Apocalyps, *Come, I will shew thee the damnation of the great whoore, with whom the Kings of the earth haue committed fornication; then presently after he describeth a woman sitting upon a skar-*

D *let coloured beast*, commaunding an Empire, adorned meereley with scarlet: shee herselfe, *arrayed in purple and scarlet, and gilded with gold, and pretious stones and pearles, and in her forehead, in titulo in title*, (these words) a name written, a Myserie, that great Babylon, not really that auncient Babylon, but in a Myserie that mother of whoredomes and abominations of the earth; carnall as boue all measure, spirituall beyond all shame, What shall I neede to name him, seeing he manifesteth himselfe and speaketh heere sufficiently? And doth it not seeme, that Satan hath taken pleasure to performe this worke, that he might shew vnto the world a Master-peice of his art; and as it were reproach vnto vs our blindnesse, when he brought forth as it were on a Theatre this Man? that of so long a time before, so plainly, so clearly, the spirit of Almighty God, by the mouth of his Prophets and Apostles, hath fore-warned vs of the coming of Antichrist, of his conditions, doings, behauiour, seat, apparell, and furniture; Who would euer haue beleueed, that he now comming directly in the same habit, in the same posture and manner, should so farre preuaile with vs, that any man should receiue him, that any should worship him? and for so many ages, and Satan himselfe in him? And moreover all these circumstances are described in the Ceremoniall booke of the Popes, printed at Venice in Nouember 1516, and dedicated to Leo the tenth.

2. Thess. 2. 10.
11.

Cerem.
Roman
Chart. 140.
141. & 150.

Apocal 17. v.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. &c.

Now

Now at that very time, *Martin Lusher*, after many others, being impatient of the blasphemies ouerflowing all Europe, in Germanie thundered out against the Pope; that *Augustine Monke*, Doctor of Diuinitie, of meane parentage, of no authoritic, in the end of the world, accompanied with some few men of the same condition, carried with the same zeale, and moued with the same spirit, at whose voyce (the voyce certainly of almighty God, thundering by them) innumerable people throughout all Europe were stirred vp, who either being made drunken slept the sleepe of death, or being yet halfe asleepe had need of these instruments to awake and animate them. These men durst amidst so great splendor of his Babylonish pompe and pride, and so great painted brauerie, call the *Beast* by his proper name, in the midst of swords, waters, and fires, of the rigor of magistrats, furie of the people, and rage of officers: Whereupon all nations, young and old, women and children, by their meanes openly professed and maintained the same: they astonished, beat downe and confounded with their humilitie, his pride, with their patience, his crueltie, and with the puritie of their doctrine, by the great grace of God they restored the Gospell to light; and in the constancie of their martyrdomes, they brought as it were to life againe the faith of the Primitiue Church: In so much that in a short time whole nations departed from the Roman Seat, many Kings and Princes, euen of them who had most contributed to that monstrous building, now triumph loden with his spoils. There appeared from all parts godlie and learned men, who kindled with the zeale of God, with their labours stoutly endeouored to cast downe to the ground that tottering pile, and brought it neere to an vtter ruine. Is not this according to that of *S. Paule*, *And then shall the wicked man be reuealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth?* Of *Saint Iohn* also, *Those Kings shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolat and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burne her with fire.* Yet this Whore endeuoreth to take courage, and set an impudent face on the matter, *She saith in her heart, I sit being a Queene, and am no widow, and shall see no mourning.* I cannot erre, whatsoever they say, my filthinesse is elegancie, and the blaines budding forth from my vchastitie, pearles and precious stones. She multiplieth so much the more her blasphemies against Christ the Sonne of God, she rageth against his sacred word, she adudgeth it of *insufficiencie, of imperfection, of ambiguitie, dangerous & deceitful*, and worse if may be, making it wonderfull inferior to the Roman Church, the same Church, in the meane time, of which the Pope maketh himselfe superior, & alone, greater than is represented in generall Councils; How much superiour and higher will he haue it about the holie Scripture, the word of God, and consequently God himselfe? And thereby he appeareth the more evidently to bee the same whom we seeke, the Antichrist poynted out by the Apostles: Therefore, after we would haue applied Balme for her sore, if she might perhaps be healed, which shee obstinately refused, wee haue laboured to procure a holie reformation in the Church, against which the Papacie is so much the more enuened with rage, bringing in worse Popes of purpose in hatred thereof, and uttering more absurd assertions, as, *the infallibilitie of traditions, and the vnprofitableness of the word written with the finger of God, and inspired into his Prophets and Apostles.* May we not lawfully now say with the Prophet, *we would haue cured Babel, but she would not be healed: forsake her, and let vs goe euerie one to his owne countrey.* Let vs now wash our hands of her, and expect what God hath determined of her, especially seeing her iudgement is come vnto beaumen on the contrary, *the Lord hath set forth our righteousnesse.*

2. Thess. 2. v. 8.

Apocal. 17. v. 16.

Apocal. 18. v. 7.

Ierem. 51. v. 9.
10. 21.

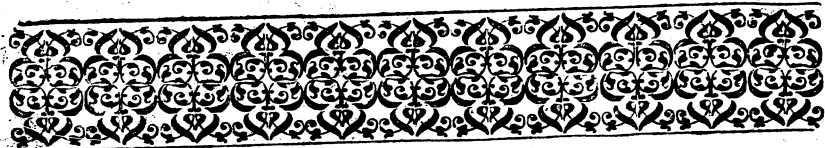
A *scousnesse.* And what then doe we wait for from the same counsell, the same prophesie, and therefore from the same certaintie, but that those Kings, and the same States, who haue worshipped her, finish the worke of God, who will put into their hearts to fulfill his will and his pleasure, to execute his sentence? And let not the present state of things astonish vs, in one day, in one houre, in a moment are his workes performed, and this worke without doubt must be performed. And long agoe, as of a thing alreadie done, neere at hand, and most certaine, the Angell cried out and redoubled it, *It is fallen, it is fallen, Babylon:* But God forbid also that we should neglect that other crie that followeth, *Goe out of her my people, we to whom God hath giuen to know her, yee which know her but too well, take heed it bee not to your damnation.* Can any man now pretend an excuse? *That ye be not partakers of her sinnes, and that ye receiue not of her plagues,* least being defiled by the contagion of her Idolatrie and enchauntments, yee be made partakers of the sentence long agoe pronounced against her, of eternall fire, which remaineth for her. But, because we are for the most part incredulous and stupide, let vs pray vnto God, of his meere mercie to draw vs, as a *Lot*, out of this spirituall Sodome, as *S. Iohn* calleth it, to pull vs to himselfe by the hand of his Angels, to grant vnto vs that wee looke not backe againe, and that we may, before he powre downe his judgements on Babylon, get to his holie mountaine, to that little Segar, his Church, how small and contemptible fouer it be in the eyes of the world; *Is it not a little one (saith Lot) and my soule shall liue?* Now to him Father, Sonne, and holie Ghost, for the bottomelesse depths of his judgements, and of his graces, be praye and glorie world without end, Amen.

Apoc. 17. v. 17

Apoc. 18. v. 8.

Apocal. 18. v. 4.





Errata.

<i>Fol.</i>	<i>Lin.</i>		<i>Fol.</i>	<i>Lin.</i>	
214	25	more pernicious traditions.	474	42	succeed to.
263	37	Tarracina.	473	18	in his owne presence.
272	1	imploerth his helpe.	475	3	he that would but know.
278	4	night of my.	481	3	spittle of their.
309	24	giue thee his.	506	16	(as it was thought.)
311	3	acknowledged.	545	38	concourse of people.
378	2	at Douer.	559	45	decreed in these words.
378	47	a longer day.	586	8	Corpus Christi.
388	42	after riches.	593	14	excommunicated.
401	18	to wauer.	594	36	might more easily be discerned.
401	39	Abbot of S.Albons.	609	45	his succellor.
417	<i>ult.</i>	not so much.	612	43	he being.
441	<i>ult.</i>	and by their digressing.	615	21	as visited.
446	40	of the eternall judgement.	629	<i>ult.</i>	or if he had had more care.

FINIS.

