

Who Invented the Roman Catholic Church? The Investiture Controversy and the Fall of Western Orthodoxy

At the Council of Sutri, in 1046, Holy Roman Emperor Henry III, deposed three claimants to the papacy (Gregory VI, Benedict IX and Sylvester III), and nominated his own candidate Clement II. Clement II was enthroned as pope and subsequently performed the imperial coronation of Emperor Henry III. The immemorial tradition of the Emperor's mandate to nominate the pope was thus maintained, and order was restored to the Holy See. After the repose of Clement II in 1047, Henry appointed Damasus II to take his place. However when he returned to Rome, he found that the deposed Benedict IX was occupying his see. He appealed to Emperor Henry, had Benedict IX, thrown out of the city, whereupon Damasus took control of his see. His reign only lasted for 23 days however, towards the end of which he became violently ill and died. Contemporary chroniclers posit that he was most likely poisoned by supporters of Benedict IX.

After the untimely deaths of Clement II and Damasus II, no German bishop was willing to take up the papal office. So, the emperor looked to Lotharingia and to his cousin Bishop Bruno of Toul to take up the mantle as pope. Bruno was much beloved by the Roman church, for his virtue and reputation as a man of great learning. He accepted the Emperor's request and arrived at Rome as a pilgrim, where he was duly consecrated as pope. Among his entourage as he entered Rome were the young monks Hildebrand of Sovana, Frederick of Lotharingia (future Pope Stephen IX), and Humbert of Silva Candida. Some notable accomplishments during his time as pope included allying with the Byzantine empire to quell the Norman mercenaries in Southern Italy, who had been hired by the local inhabitants to repel Saracen attacks from North Africa, but had developed into cruel despots over the people they were hired to protect.

However, in Leo's correspondence with the Byzantine emperor and Patriarch Michael Ceralarius, there arose a dispute over the Roman Church's use of unleavened bread in the eucharist. This was a recent development in the Roman church, and leavened bread had been the normative practice in both the East and West up until the 1040s when the practice had been introduced at Cluny Abbey in France. Leo IX introduced the practice in the Roman church upon assuming the papacy and it soon spread to parts of Southern France as well. Another innovation introduced by Leo IX during his pontificate was mandatory celibacy among all the clergy within his see, down to the rank of subdeacon.

In his replies to Constantinople, Leo IX appealed to the forged Donation of Constantine, asserting Rome's primacy over the major sees of the ancient world including Constantinople. In 1054, Leo sent a delegation led by Humbert of Silva Candida to Constantinople carrying a letter written by himself. Upon their reception in the city, a lively debate ensued between the two parties covering their differing views upon azymes, clerical celibacy, the filioque and papal supremacy. Humbert, who was known for being a brash and blustery German cleric, made an abrasive impression upon the patriarch during their first meeting, and the patriarch refused to meet him in person after that. On July 16, 1054, the legates entered into the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia and slapped a papal bull excommunicating the patriarch and his bishops upon the altar. Before leaving Constantinople, they admonished the Latin churches in the city to refrain from receiving communion from the hands of the Greek priests under pain of excommunication. At the request of the emperor Constantine, Patriarch Michael brought back the legates to settle the

dispute. However when the Latin party discovered that the new negotiations were to be held in a synod without the presence of the emperor they left for a final time on July 21.

The delegation arrived back in Rome after the death of Leo IX, without him ever having knowledge about the bull of excommunication issued in his name. Patriarch Ceralarius did not hold Leo responsible for the actions of his legates, since he didn't believe that he approved of the excommunication despite their disagreements. Humbert's actions met with opposition in the West as well. Archbishop Herman of Cologne went so far as to petition the Emperor Henry III to arrest Humbert and his compatriots, since he did not believe that they were acting sincerely on behalf of the recently reposed pope.

The following year, Henry III's powerful counsellor, Gerbhard of Eichstatt was selected pope with the cooperation of both the emperor and the Roman legation which was firmly under the control of Hildebrand of Sovana by this point. He was accompanied by Hildebrand to Rome from Germany, where on April 13, 1055, he was enthroned as Victor II.

The reason that Hildebrand was not elected to the papacy at this point, despite the fact that he wielded a great deal of authority in the Roman church, is explained by Bishop Benzo of Alba in his book *Ad Henricum*. When the three monks Hildebrand, Humbert (of Silva Candida) and Boniface, arrived in Germany to participate in the election of Pope Leo's successor, they were told by the Archbishop Herman of Cologne that since they were monks, they had no business in participating in a papal election. Citing the rule of St. Benedict, Herman labelled the monks as *Sarabites*, that is, monks who acknowledged no authority over them and were not under the obedience of an abbot. He advised the Emperor Henry to imprison them, until the Roman delegation arrived at the Council of Mainz. Benzo goes on to describe that the Romans were astonished by the mendaciousness of the monks, and that at the request of the bishops, the emperor bound them by oath, to never accept the office of the papacy or participate in papal election. After the delegation of Romans accompanied the papal elect to Rome, the recalcitrant monks followed. Hildebrand and his co-conspirators were not accepted into the pope's secret councils. Nevertheless Hildebrand was used as a *de facto* counsellor, and acted as a legate.

Hildebrand went on to form connections with the Pierleoni banking family, and its head Leo, the son of Benedict (Baruch), who had (ostensibly), converted from Judaism in the eleventh century, and used the finances of his powerful ally to influence papal affairs from behind the scenes.

At this time many of the dukes and nobles of Lotharingia were agitating for greater independence from the Holy Roman Empire. After the death of his father Duke Gozelo in 1044, Duke Godfrey the Bearded was seeking to be invested with his father's territory, however Emperor Henry III denied his claim by hereditary right. After initial setbacks in his conflict with the emperor, Godfrey retreated to Italy, where he secretly married Beatrice of Canossa in April, 1054. The united houses of Lotharingia and Canossa, presented a serious challenge to the Emperor's power in Northern Italy, and the new power-couple sought an alliance with the Normans in order to advance their aims. Henry III, was thus prompted to make a second trip to

Italy (March-November 1055), and Godfrey fled, while Beatrice went with Matilda of Tuscany to Florence, where the pope and emperor were holding a council. Matilda of Tuscany, had already been betrothed to Godfrey the Bearded's son, Godfrey the Hunchbacked, to add to the dynastic alliance. Among the approximately 120 bishops who attended the council, were Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen, as well as the bishops of Naumburg and Regensburg.

Despite Beatrice's attempts to justify herself before the Emperor at Florence, Henry imprisoned both her and Matilda and brought them back to Germany. He further arranged the marriage between his five-year old son Henry with Bertha of Turin to counter the consolidation of the Houses of Lotharingia and Canossa. He also transferred the Duchy of Spoicto and the March of Fermo to Victor II. Along with the Council of Florence this demonstrates the continuing alliance between the papacy and the emperor up until this point.

Victor II, was the former imperial chancellor who had been responsible for the recall of most of the imperial troops sent to aid Pope Leo against the Normans in 1052/1053, therefore he was not in favour of continuing Leo's anti-Norman policy. Despite the fact that the Normans continued to encroach upon papal and Byzantine possessions in Italy, Victor did nothing to oppose them.

However, while Henry III was in Italy for the Council of Florence, he contacted various South Italian princes, and sent Bishop Otto of Novara to Constantinople in order to set up an alliance with the Byzantines against the Normans. While there were no negotiations with Cerularius, the diplomacy was successful, and it is likely that Victor some part in the pact as well, at least giving his tacit approval for the negotiations.

It is important to note, that at no point during his reign as pope did Victor II, confirm the bull of excommunication, delivered by Humbert and his legates in Constantinople in 1054. This is probably due to the fact that he respected the oath that Humbert and his companions had made to the emperor.

In the meantime, Victor sent Hildebrand to France, in order to implement papal reforms there. After Victor and Henry's meeting at Goslar on September 8, 1056, where they discussed plans to counter the Norman threat, Henry fell ill, and died on October 5, 1056.

The emperor had entrusted his son's care to Victor, and after his death the pope secured the transfer of authority to Henry IV, by demanding the magnates of the entire kingdom to swear an oath of loyalty to Henry IV. Between the time of Henry's death to December, Victor led the six-year old king to Aachen, and placed him on the royal throne.

Now that the Holy Roman Emperor was a child-king under the regency of his mother Agnes, Victor looked to the alliance of Lotharingia/Canossa for military support. In the future schism between the two competing papal claimants Alexander II and Honorius II, Godfrey would become the dominant backer of Alexander II against the imperial party represented by Honorius.

It is important to give some background on where the practice of using unleavened bread in the West originated. The innovative practice originated at the abbey of Cluny in the 1040s, and then was brought to Rome by Pope Leo and his legates (Hildebrand had been a monk at the abbey of Cluny). It then began to gain prominence in France after Hildebrand was sent by Pope Victor II, to implement papal reforms there. Leavened bread was still the universal practice in England up until the appointment of Anselm as Archbishop of Canterbury in the 1090s, in Spain up until the Council of Burgos in 1080, and in most of Germany until the submission of Henry V to Pope Paschall II in 1111, at which point the Holy Roman Empire adopted the practice throughout the realm. The excuse for adopting the use of unleavened bread in the national Orthodox churches of the West by the reforming bishops that infiltrated their hierarchies was that it was the common practice in Rome. It was only a generation or so after the Great schism that Western theologians began to come up with contrived theological explanations for the innovative practice, which had been unknown in the Christian West for a thousand years. It has been suggested that the Cluniac reformers adopted this practice from the Jewish tradition, which uses moxa (unleavened wafer), for their religious rituals, but further investigation is required to verify this influence. However, given the influence of Kabbalah and Talmudic theology on the Catholic church during the Renaissance just a few generations after the investiture controversy, it's not inconceivable.

To further support the claim that unleavened bread was never used in the West until the eleventh century, is the fact that the Orthodox East had been criticizing the non-Chalcedonian Armenians for using unleavened bread ever since they started introducing it into their liturgy in the sixth century. At no point leading up until the polemical letters of Leo of Ohrid, in the eleventh century did the Eastern Churches ever critique the Western churches for using unleavened bread, even during the Photian schism, the most recent rupture before 1054.

On May 23, 1057, Frederick, Leo's former chaplain and Legate to Constantinople and future Pope Nicholas II, was appointed the abbot of Monte Cassino. Monte Cassino was an extremely powerful monastery in Northern Italy, with 80,000 inhabitants, and with Frederick as abbot he began to rigorously implement papal reforms in the surrounding region.

Just over a month later, Victor travelled with Hildebrand to Arezzo in order to settle a dispute between the bishops of Arezzo and Siena, where the dispute was settled in favour of Arezzo in a council held on July 23, 1057. According to the accounts, besides Hildebrand there was also present Gerard, bishop of Florence (the future Pope Nicholas II), and Frederick abbot of Monte Cassino. Five days later, with only Hildebrand in attendance Victor died, which gives some credence to Benzo of Alba's accusation that Hildebrand poisoned four of his predecessors.

On July 27, 1057, Frederick returned from Arezzo to Rome. He was followed four days later by Bishop Boniface of Albano who announced the death of Pope Victor II. People flocked to Frederick at the time and pressed him for suggestions as to who should be the next pope, probably because he had been such a prominent member of the recently reposed Pope's inner circle.

In response to their question as to whom he would recommend as Victor's successor, he reportedly suggested five people: Humbert, cardinal bishop of Silva Candida, Bishop John of Velletri (possibly the future papal claimant Benedict X), Bishop Okter of Perugia, Cardinal Bishop (Peter) of Tusculum, and Hildebrand, subdeacon of the Roman church. But after an assembly convened in Rome could not agree on any of the above candidates, or whether they should wait for Hildebrand's return, they demanded that Frederick himself become pope.

Without the approval of the Holy Roman emperor, Frederick was brought to the basilica of S. Pietro in Vincoli near the Pallara, and elected Pope on August 2, 1057. A jubilant crowd escorted him to the Lateran, and the following day, they led him through the whole city to St. Peter's, where according to the accounts all the cardinals gathered together with the clergy and people, and consecrated him as Pope Stephen IX.

While the election did not appear to be directed against the monarchy, with a child king and a weak regency, Stephen was in no rush to inform the imperial court of his election. It wasn't until December, that he sent a delegation led by Hildebrand, Bishop Anslem of Lucca (the future Pope Alexander II), to Germany in order to obtain approval from the empress Agnes. By the time that they returned on March 29, 1058, Stephen IX had already died in Florence, probably after a bout of malaria. His reign lasted less than eight months.

Despite his tenure being short, Pope Stephen IX's rule as pope brought about a major turning point between the papacy and empire. Stephen had inherited the Duchy of Spoleto and the March of Fermo, which had been granted by Henry III. With the marriage between his brother Godfrey and Beatrice, who controlled Lotharingia and Canossa, the two brothers had de facto control over Central Italy.

Stephen IX showed himself to be a reformist pope, when he confirmed the property and the rights of Cluny in his first documented act on March 6, 1058. Despite this he reverted back to Leo IX's hostility toward the Normans. Towards the time of his death he was planning to send a legation to Constantinople composed of Cardinal Stephen of S. Grisogono, Desiderius, the abbot-elect of Monte Cassino (and future Pope Victor III), and Mainard the future cardinal bishop of Silva Candida, in order to enlist the Byzantine empire's aid against the Norman threat. However, before they left he died, and the planned expedition was cancelled.

The Chronicle of Monte Cassino, describes how when Stephen was elected pope, he took all the money from the treasury of the abbey to Rome in order to finance his campaigns against the Normans. The monks of Monte Cassino were so distraught, and the people of Rome so scandalized that the Romans sent a certain Bracutus from Trastevere to poison him, resulting in his death. Before his departure from Rome to Florence in March, 1058, he declared there was to be no papal election before Hildebrand returned from his mission to the empress. Following his burial, some monks from Monte Cassino returned to their monastery with the treasure that had been appropriated by Stephen.

Another notable aspect of Stephen IX's reign was his support for the patarine movement in Northern Italy. The patarines were a crypto-gnostic sect that gained popularity among the laity and lower clergy in Northern Italy in the eleventh century. They were opposed to clerical marriage in all forms often violently so, and accused the married clergy of being guilty of the heresy of Nicholaitanism referring to the Nicholaitian schism of the first century, in which a clergyman Nicholas of Antioch, gave up his wife up to adultery, and became a cuckold. He preached that the grace of God made it permissible for people to lead a libertine lifestyle. To compare legitimately married clergy to this odious character from church history was a deplorable tactic for the patarines and Gregorian reformers to use in furthering their aims. A few decades after the Great Schism, and by the time the reformers had consolidated their control over the Western Church, the patarines revealed themselves for what they really were when they began attacking lay marriage and secular married couples, at which point the reformers, no longer having any need of them, stamped out the movement.

Although the Roman church had attempted to enforce clerical celibacy at different times up until the eleventh century, it wasn't until the Lenten synod of 1049, convoked by Pope Leo IX, at which mandatory celibacy was enforced for the first time among the clergy of the Roman see down to the rank of subdeacon. Up until 1049, clerical marriage was ubiquitous in the West. Priestly celibacy, was only enforced piecemeal by the Gregorian reformers, in Northern and Southern Italy over the course of the late eleventh century, in France as reform-minded clerics infiltrated the bishoprics there during the decades following the Great Schism, in Spain as monastics were sent from the Abbey of Cluny leading up to and following the Council of Burgos in 1080, in Germany up until the capitulation of Henry V to the reform papacy at the Concordat of Worms in 1122, and England where mandatory celibacy was never fully implemented. Ulrich of Imola a noted eleventh century opponent of the patarines writing in his overlooked *Defense of the Married Clergy*, recounts an anecdote involving Pope Saint Gregory the Great, who was contemplating enforcing clerical celibacy at one point during his reign around the turn of the seventh century. He ordered some fish to be brought to his room, and when the plate was presented to him, he saw a horrific vision. Instead of fish he saw on the plate the skulls of infant children. The vision was enough to discourage him from enforcing clerical celibacy within the Roman church, and it proved prophetic in a wider historical sense.

During the investiture controversy the wives and children of legitimately married clergy were often killed or sold into slavery by the reformers and the patarines. In the Spanish empire, the barranga system was a widespread practice which allowed supposedly celibate priests to secretly keep concubines. Of course the concubines did not possess the same rights as secular wives of laymen, and they were often disposed of when it became expedient for the priests to do so. In North and South America, it was not uncommon for Catholic priests to rape indigenous women and then kill the offspring resulting from the rape, in order to cover up the crime, and prevent immediate scandal. Mass graves of indigenous children have been found all over the western hemisphere. Ironically enough, the Gregorian reformers supposedly "moral" opposition to what they labelled as clerical concubinage, led to centuries of rampant real clerical concubinage in the Roman Catholic Church.

Soon after the death of Stephen IX, Cardinal Bishop John of Velictri was elected Benedict X as his successor by the Roman nobility, notably the Tusculani and Crescenti families. Although he didn't want to accept the office, he felt that his elevation to the papacy represented Roman resistance against German intrusion in the apostolic see. He was elected before Hildebrand returned and did not have the consent of the imperial court, however he was considered to be the legitimate pope until the five cardinal bishops returned to Florence and declared his election to be illegal.

On December 6, 1058, with the consent of Henry IV and the regency, Bishop Gerard of Florence was elected as Nicholas II by the reformers, in Siena. The imperial court charged Godfrey of Lotharingia to accompany Nicholas to Rome. On the way they held a council at Sutri where Benedict was deposed. Godfrey's army from Tuscany Benedict's supporters in Rome, and Benedict fled, to Passarano and then Galeria. Hildebrand then travelled to Capua where he enlisted the aid of the Norman leader, Richard, to attack Benedict. After the Normans laid siege to Benedict's dwelling in June, Benedict surrendered himself. He submitted himself to Nicholas, who in turn allowed him to return to Rome and dwell near Santa Maria Maggiore.

Gerard, before he became Pope Nicholas II, had been appointed Bishop of Florence on January 9, 1045, most likely with the approval of Boniface, Beatrice's first husband. He participated in the Lenten synod of 1049 held by Leo IX, which prohibited simony and clerical marriage, and he participated in a large synod organized by Victor II at which Henry III was present.

Two months after Stephen IX's death on May 15, 1058 Hildebrand and Anselm of Lucca returned from Germany where they had travelled to obtain confirmation for Stephen IX's election as pope. At Florence they elected Gerard as the reformist pope, with the likely collaboration of Godfrey of Lotharignia and Guibert of Ravenna, the German chancellor and imperial vicar who represented the imperial regency in Italy. Guibert of Ravenna, would eventually go on to become Pope Clement III, and widely viewed as an anti-pope by popular history. But at this time he was a supporter of Hildebrand. A delegation sent by Hildebrand to Augsburg obtained the regency's consent for the papal election, which granted their approval for Nicholas on June 9, 1058. In December 1058, in the presence of a group containing Wibert of Ravenna, and most likely Godfrey and Beatrice, Gerard was officially elected as Nicholas II.

On January 24, 1059, Hildebrand arrived at the Lateran palace where the papal elect was consecrated. Nicholas then rode through the city to St. Peter's, where he was enthroned according to Bonizo of Sutri.

It was at St. Peter's that Bishop Benzo of Alba witnessed the innovation of the papal coronation ceremony, with the introduction of the papal tiara instead of the traditional miter, for the first time. At the ceremony, Hildebrand, who had recently been appointed archdeacon of the Roman church, crowned Nicholas with a diadem. On the lower circlet was written, "The crown of the kingdom from the hand of God." and on the upper, "The diadem of the empire by the hand of St. Peter." Benzo asserted that Nicholas had been born in adultery, and that, since it was

contrary to canon law for anyone born of adulterous union to be made a cleric, Hildebrand held this information as blackmail over Nicholas' head, coercing him into obedience and making him his creature. The accusation of Nicholas' birth from an adulterous union was repeated by the imperial regency when it excommunicated him towards the end of his reign.

On April 13, 1059, 113 bishops gathered at the Easter synod in the Lateran basilica to sign a papal electoral decree which radically changed the procedures for future papal elections. Primary authority for electing the Roman pontiff was placed in the hands of the cardinals. The participation of the Roman citizenry in elections was greatly reduced, and the emperor's authority was clearly defined. For the first time, clerics were explicitly prohibited from receiving churches or property from laymen.

In the sixteenth century, it was discovered that there was an original and a forged version of the papal decree of 1059. Version A restricts the king's role to deciding in papal elections only when the cardinal bishops are unable to select a suitable candidate among the Roman see. In that case it falls to the king to select one from another. Version B, on the other hand states that the king's decision was to be respected in all circumstances, whether they were regular, or whether a candidate was to be elected insider or outside the Roman see.

The notable signatories of Version A included Anselm of Lucca (the future pope Alexander II), Benzo of Alba, Gregory of Vercelli, Humber of Silva Candida, Desiderius of Monte Cassino, and Peter Damian. Cadalus of Parma and Wibert of Ravenna did not sign, and also of interesting note, Hildebrand's name was nowhere to be found. His signature appeared on Version B.

The consensus of modern scholars is that Version B was the authentic version of the decree and that version A was a forgery, created during the papacy of Hildebrand as Gregory VII, or possibly Victor III.

Guido of Ferrara stated that the participants in the council called by Nicholas, declared that going forward anyone who approved of the election of any pope without the consent of the emperors or his successors, would be subject to the sentence of perpetual anathema. The purpose of this clause in the decree was to prevent the election of multiple candidates to the papacy by the Roman nobility, as had happened during the reign of Henry III, and most recently with Benedict X.

The popes elected by the Roman nobility were known to deplete the papal treasury, by distributing vast sums of money to gain approval. According to Guido, whoever distributed the most money became pope. The regency itself gave its approval for this decree.

Copies of Version B were widely distributed in Italy and Germany, and those of Version A in France, where the Roman see was widely criticizing the local control of cardinal priests and deacons. It is important to note that the reformers were not predisposed towards citing other

versions of the decree when it came to furthering their aims, while it was the members of the imperial party who objected when the decree was not adhered to.

In August of 1059, Nicholas convened a council in Melfi, the old capital of Apulia, with about 100 Latin bishops present. The land had recently been captured by the Normans from the Byzantine empire. The council facilitated various aspects of the reform movement, and allowed for Nicholas to meet the Norman leaders Rich of Aversa and Robert Guiscard. Robert made an oath of loyalty to the Roman see and the papacy, promising to place the churches on Norman lands under its jurisdiction. Up until that point most of the bishopric of Southern Italy had been under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. Another provision of this oath of loyalty was that, in future papal elections the Normans were to support the candidacy of reform-minded cardinals.

The German regency objected to the papacy's sanction of the Norman occupation, posing the question as to how the papacy could grant lands to the Normans to which it had no claim over. The Normans effectively abolished the Roman nobility's ability to manipulate the papacy, and radically altered the Holy Roman empire's relation to the papacy.

At the insistence of the patarines, in the winter of 1059, Nicholas sent Peter Damian and Anselm of Lucca to Milan. They successfully negotiated with Archbishop Guido over issues related to simony and clerical marriage. Of paramount importance was the fact that Milan agreed to accept the superiority of the Roman church.

At the end of 1059, Nicholas sent Anselm of Lucca to Germany to report to the regency on developments in Rome, to calm tensions caused by papal policy towards the Normans. Guibert, Henry IV's imperial chancellor, attended the council, indicating that there were still normal relations with the German court.

Stephen, a cleric from Burgundy who had arrived in Rome along with Leo IX, was subsequently appointed as cardinal priest of S. Grisogono after the election of Stephen IX on August 2, 1057. He had been assigned to some of the most important missions of the Roman see, and towards the end of 1060 and the beginning of 1061, he was sent by Nicholas on a mission to the imperial court, carrying a personal letter from the pope. Shortly before Stephen's arrival, the German court and bishops had convened a council that declared the pope to be excommunicated and deposed, and banned him from being commemorated in the mass.

Contemporary historians wrote that the Germans had deposed Nicholas for chastising Archbishop Anno of Cologne and his perceived excesses. From the Roman side the reformers argued that the papal electoral decree was no longer valid if Nicholas was not the pope. As for Anno's excesses, Anno had conspired with several German nobles and kidnapped Henry IV, declaring himself regent. The motive for this was that they resented Bishop Henry of Augsburg's control over Agnes and sought to reassert their own control. Benzo of Alba claimed that Nicholas excommunicated Anno under the influence of Hildebrand, who dictated his every action. Anno sent Nicholas a letter of excommunication, and Nicholas died soon after. Benzo

asserted that Hildebrand had Nicholas poisoned, perceiving that he had become a liability whose usefulness had run its course.

Although Nicholas' election had depended on imperial approval, through the influence of Hildebrand the Roman see's patronage and military support shifted from the Germans to the Normans and the House of Lotharingia/Canossa. He was the first pope to receive a coronation, and to receive a crown marked with both imperial and religious inscriptions. He issued the first papal decree forbidding lay investiture. Up until the end of Nicholas' tenure as pope the Holy Roman Emperor had maintained good relations with the Roman see, but after Nicholas' excommunication, the Gregorian reformers would clash with the German regency, until decades later when the former emerged victorious.

With their alliance with the Normans consolidated, the reformers elected Bishop Anselm of Lucca, as Pope Alexander II, without the approval of the imperial court. The Roman nobility on the other hand, still recognized the papal electoral decree and appealed to Henry IV to select a candidate, and an agreed candidate was found in Bishop Cadalus of Parma, who was elevated to the papacy as Honorius II.

Before being named Pope, Anselm had been active in the diocese of Milan, where he supported the patarines. He was possibly in attendance at the election of Nicholas II, and may have accompanied him to Rome. He was present at the Easter synod of 1059, and signed the papal electoral decree.

In 1060, Anselm travelled to meet Henry IV, and he was invested as archbishop of Lucca in his presence. A few days after Nicholas II's repose, Hildebrand brought him to Rome, where he was elected pope on September 30, and enthroned on the following day. Benzo sharply criticized Anselm, castigating him as a traitor for breaking his oath to Henry IV, and abandoning the see that he had received from the emperor in Lucca, while accepting the papal throne without his approval.

Hildebrand's motivation for selecting Anselm as pope probably stemmed from the German regency's rejection of the reformers' ambassador Cardinal Stephen and their excommunication of Nicholas. Because of the weak position of the regency and their inability to project their power into Italy, he could ignore the rights of the emperor in papal elections, with little to no consequence. The reformers elected Anselm as Alexander II, at the same time as Roman delegates were travelling to Germany in order to gain approval for Cadalus of Parma's election to the papacy.

In stark contrast to both Stephen IX and Nicholas II, this time there was fierce opposition to the reformers' candidate for the papacy in Rome. The opponents of the reformers among the Roman nobility blockaded the route from the Lateran to San Pietro in Vincoli, where Alexander's enthronement was due to take place since the way to St. Peter's was also blocked. According to Benzo it took a coalition of Normans who had been paid off by the reformers to clear the way. At this point the stage was set for a civil war in the west between the Gregorian reformers and their

allies among the Normans and patarines, and the Roman Orthodox party represented by the German regency and the Roman nobility.

Cardinal Beno writes that the cardinals entreated the emperor to elect Bishop Cadalus of Parma, in order to avoid the meddling of Hildebrand in yet another papal election. He goes on to say that this enraged Hildebrand in yet another papal election. He goes on to say that this enraged Hildebrand, and that he plotted with the Normans to elect Bishop Anslem of Lucca as Alexander. When Alexander learned of this plot, he gave a sermon in which he declared that he was unwilling to remain as pope without the consent of the emperor.

Beno writes that when Hildebrand heard Alexander state during the liturgy, that he had sent a letter to the emperor stating that he sought his approval of his election, he was furious. As soon as the mass was over, he had a group of soldiers snatch Alexander from the altar and take him to a nearby room. There, he was stripped naked and beaten, until he revealed what the contents of his letter to the emperor were. Hildebrand stated that from now on, Alexander's salary would be restricted. Beno asserted that Hildebrand contrived to control all the finances of the Roman church, and that he amassed a great fortune.

Both pro-reform and anti-reform sources from the time, indicate that Hildebrand was the real power behind the Roman see at this point. The same sources state that most of the Roman population opposed Alexander's election, and that he had little military support. However, he had the support of the Normans and the house of Lotharingia/Canossa.

The excommunication of Nicholas II, by the Holy Roman Emperor and the German bishops, gave the Roman nobility a chance to reassert themselves. They sought to repair relations with the monarchy that they had damaged when they had neglected to attain imperial confirmation for their own papal candidate Benedict X. A group was sent to Germany composed of bishops, cardinals, senators and the most distinguished nobles. At the Council of Basel of October 28, 1061, Bishop Cadalus of Parma was elected as Honorius II.

Cadalus was a native of Lombardy who had been invested by Emperor Henry III in 1045. He always had pro-imperial tendencies, and when the delegation of Lombard bishops met with Guibert, the imperial chancellor of Italy, they travelled to Germany to inform the regency of their decision, and to gain the approval of the king according to the papal electoral decree of Nicholas. Bishops Gregory of Vercelli and Dionysius of Piacenza, both notable opponents of the patarines in the Lombard region, reportedly promoted Cadalus as the papal candidate of their choice. Cadalus was notable among the Lombard bishops for his connections to the imperial ambassador Guibert, and his good relations with Henry III which continued with his widow Agnes. Although Anselm had been elected by the reformers as a compromise candidate to appease the German regency, by excommunicating Nicholas, the schism was now in full effect. Although Hildebrand had previously been willing to collaborate with the empire, now his aims were set on removing imperial control over the Roman see, and making the pope the indisputable head of the universal church. At this time most of the Italian bishops still supported the emperor, especially the Lombard bishops in the North.

After he had been elected as pope, Cadalus returned to Parma, in preparation for his journey to Rome. In November, 1061 he set out for Rome with an entourage of Italian nobles, but the mission was aborted after a terrible rainfall and coming up against a blockade established by Beatrice. When the regency learned about these incidents, they sent an envoy Alba, with a directive for Benzo to go to Rome and make preparations for Cadalus' arrival. Benzo began his journey to Rome, probably soon after he reached the imperial envoy in December, 1061. As he traveled throughout Tuscia, he rallied many nobles to his cause, and assembled a large militia. As he entered Rome, and crossed over the Tiber river, he met with an eager crowd chanting canticles. Over the course of several days he made the case for Henry IV, to the citizens of Rome, and most of them were won over. Alexander and Hildebrand were nowhere to be found.

A hippodrome was chosen as a venue for Benzo to speak at, and Alexander appeared to defend his position. According to Benzo the crowd grumbled when they saw him. Benzo then made his opening statement, referring to Alexander as Anselm, refusing to use his pontifical name. He asked Anselm why he had abandoned the see granted to him by the emperor in Lucca and invaded the Roman church with the aid of the tyrannical Normans, Hildebrand (whom he referred to by his favourite moniker for him Prandellus), and money lenders (the Pierleoni). He further accused him of acceding to the papal throne, with the aid of the Norman Richard of Capua, who had slain three Roman nobles who protested against his unlawful election. He finally admonished Anselm to return to his diocese in Lucca, and to travel to the Emperor to seek his forgiveness. Otherwise, he would be subjected to canonical sentence.

Anselm (Alexander), then replied by acknowledging that he had received his episcopacy from the emperor. He said that he would send a delegation to the emperor to offer an explanation for his actions. After this he left, followed by the shouting and jeers of the assembled crowd. The following day, a meeting of the Roman senate was convened at the palace of Octavian. After naming all the key participants individually, Benzo addressed the room. He affirmed that the Romans had sent a legation to the emperor to select a pope in accordance with the will of God. With the shouts of approval of the bishops and nobles of Italy, Germany and Burgundy ringing throughout the room, Nicholas declared that Bishop Cadalus of Parma was elected. When Hildebrand was informed of these events, he conferred with Leo (of the Pierleoni), Celsius Fragipani and Johannus Brachiuto.

Benzo went on to declare that the earth is moved by four men: Leo Iudeus (Pierleoni), Anselm (Phariseus), the false monk Hildebrand, and the tyrannical Norman, and that these evil forces must be repudiated. Because of the poor state of affairs in Rome, the senate had entrusted him as the royal legate to arrange for the lawfully elected Pope Cadalus/Honorius II, to come as soon as possible, and a delegation was sent to Germany. Finally, Benzo brought another development related to the Eastern Empire. He divulged that he had been sent a letter from a wealthy businessman of Amalfi named Pantaleus, who presented himself as patricius, and who acted as a diplomat between Constantinople and Italy. To Pantaleu, things looked so promising for Cadalus that he suggested that Benzo act to renew the alliance of the two

emperors, banish the Normans, and firmly establish Cadalus as the Roman pontiff. Benzo reacted with enthusiasm to the proposal which boded well for Cadalus and the western empire.

At this time, Cadalus set out with an army he had assembled from the nobility of Parma. On March 25, 1062, Cadalus arrived in Sutri where he was met by Benzo and a group of Roman senators and their allies. Together they entered Rome, where as Benzo reports Alexander tried to retreat, but Leo Iudeus and Hildebrand were conspiring.

In an attempt to calm tensions, Alexander addressed a crowd of people saying that the bishop of Alba had enlightened him about the will of the king. He said that Cadalus of Parma should wait outside the city after his arrival they would all meet at the porta of the Crescenti (Porta S. Petri). Then, he would respect whatever Guibert's decision was, and then would announce his decision to the public. Three days later, Alexander stated that they would enthrone whichever Pope was decided upon according to the Roman custom.

Hildebrand was not willing to accept this attempt at reconciliation however, and a battle was fought in front of the Vatican between the reformers represented by the Normans, and the imperial party. Hildebrand's forces retreated at nightfall, across the Tiber, where Cadalus was unable to cross, and the Normans were able to gain reinforcements.

On April 14, 1062, the two opposing forces of Cadalus and Hildebrand clashed on the campus of Nero on the west bank of the Tiber. By all accounts Hildebrand's forces were definitively beaten, and Cadalus' forces entered St. Peter's. The only reason that he wasn't consecrated at St. Peter's is because his supporters insisted that he be consecrated in S. Pietro in Vincoli where Alexander had been consecrated.

Cadalus and his forces did not feel strong enough to remain in the city, and at night they retreated to the west side of the Tiber. During the night, Hildebrand and Alexander's forces recouped their strength, and the next day it was impossible for Cadalus to cross over to the east side of the Tiber and to be enthroned in S. Pietro in Vincoli.

Eventually, emissaries of the Eastern Emperor Constantine Dukas arrived from Constantinople with a letter acknowledging Cadalus as the rightful pope and offering him the role of mediator between the two emperors. This recognition emboldened Cadalus, that he was entrusted to carry out such a role, but he was running out of funds, and he was not in Rome.

Around the middle of May, Duke Godfrey arrived with an army at Ponte Milvio, requesting that both candidates return to their respective episcopal sees, so that the emperor might make a decision regarding the schism. Alexander understood that Godfrey was on his side, and unbeknownst to both Cadalus and Alexander, Archbishop Anno of Cologne and other German nobles had recently kidnapped the boy-king Henry IV in March and assumed control of the regency. Godfrey was close to Anno, and this event marked a great turn in the fortunes of the reformers. Benzo records how Godfrey deceptively promised Cadalus that the king and his mother would not change their minds regarding his election, and that by his (Godfrey's) power,

Cadalus would attain the papacy. According to Benzo, Godfrey left immediately and escorted Alexander back to Lucca, while Cadalus, believing that he had won, withdrew with his forces to Parma.

What lay behind the coup in Germany, was the alienation of many nobles and bishops, to the influence that Bishop Henry of Augsburg had over Agnes. According to many contemporary sources, she was easily influenced and relied almost solely on the advice of the bishop of Augsburg, and earlier on in her reign as regent, Guibert of Parma. Seeing the Removal of her son as the solution, these discontented nobles began to plot against her in the spring of 1062. Archbishop Anno of Cologne was the ringleader of this conspiracy. He was the perfect candidate, given that he had been invested by Henry III, and been the prime mover in the regency's excommunication of Nicholas II.

Just after Easter (March 31st, 1062), Anno sailed down the Rhine river to St. Swibert's island, where the king and his entourage were sojourning at the royal palace of Kaiserworth after having celebrated Easter in Utrecht. After a banquet, Anno invited the twelve-year old king to inspect the ship that he had arrived claiming that it had been especially fitted to host a banquet. The moment that Henry stepped on board, the oarsmen quickly moved the ship into the middle of the river. The frightened child leapt overboard, and if one of Anno's accomplices hadn't jumped in to retrieve him he would have drowned. The coup-plotters then sailed to Cologne with their hostage. When they arrived a crowd followed them complaining that the kidnapers had committed lese-majeste, and deprived the king of his freedom. The empress made no protest, but grieving for her son resigned herself to the situation and gave up all her governing authority, and took on holy orders becoming a nun.

After the kidnapping of the king, the balance of power shifted in regards to the schism. Cadalus had lost the support of the empire, and become vulnerable to the hostile forces of the reformers. Needless, to say the psychological impact of the events of Henry's youth would go on to shape his attitude towards the church and papacy into his adulthood. He had lost his father at age six, and was kidnapped and taken away from his mother six years later. With the regency now firmly under Anno's control he was able to influence the realignment of the regency towards the reformers and at the council of Mantua in 1064, Alexander was officially recognized as the pope by the imperial court.

By Godfrey's maneuvering he had managed to keep Cadalus out of Rome. At this point, both Cadalus and Alexander were convinced that the emperor would choose himself as pope. A partial resolution was reached at the Council of Augsburg convened by Anno from October 24-29, 1062. The king arrived with Anno and most likely Godfrey, along with representatives from Rome and the churches of Lombardy and Germany. Anno began the council by stating that the Roman church was in dire straits because of the schism. He petitioned the attendants to decide earnestly which man should be pope. Serious charges were laid against Alexander, most notably that he had obtained the Roman see by the shedding of blood after having paid the Normans. A decision was made to send Anno's nephew, Bishop Burchard of Halberstadt to

Rome with letters from the king and certain prelates, presenting the allegations against both candidates to both sides, and then to make a judgement.

Burchard met Alexander in January, 1063, in Burgo S. Queries on the South Tuscan coast. Burchard supposedly asked Anno why he had accepted the papacy without the consent of the king, and when he received a satisfactory answer, he recognized him as the legitimate pope. Burchard then went to Rome, where after conducting an investigation, he ruled in favour of Alexander.

With Godfrey as his escort, Alexander probably arrived in Rome from Sutri at the end of January, 1063. He immediately rewarded Anno for his support by renewing his appointment as archchancellor to the Roman see. Adam of Bremen, one of Anno's fiercest critics asserted that Anno, was a power-hungry conspirator, infamous for his greed, corrupting the church, and advancing his family and friends into key positions of power. Indeed, Anno's nephew Burchard was well rewarded for his role in Alexander's confirmation by being gifted with the pallium by Alexander. Furthermore, in 1063, Anno coerced Henry into overruling the election of the archbishop of Magdeburg, in order to have his brother Werner appointed to the see. A twelfth-century historian fiercely criticized Werner's appointment to the see, stating that he did vast amounts of harm due to his incompetence and that free elections had been ignored. In similar fashion, to consolidate his power and influence in the Kingdom of Germany, Anno had his other nephew Conrad invested as archbishop of Trier, despite the protests of the clergy and laity. This time, Conrad was murdered and the clergy and people installed their own candidate, whom Anno attempted to denounce to the pope with no success.

On September 24, Anno replaced Guibert, Cadalus' main supporter, as chancellor of Italy with Bishop Gregory of Vercelli, who was supportive of Alexander. At this point Anno was becoming very unpopular within Germany, and by 1064, his influence was diminishing. His support for Alexander was opportunistic and not because of any sort of support for ecclesiastical reform.

After returning to Rome, Alexander was determined to deal with the threat posed by Cadalus, since he had not been formally condemned at the Council of Augsburg. He called his first synod in Rome at the Lateran on April 20, 1063, just after Easter, with more than a hundred bishops and abbots attending. Regarding Cadalus, they accused him of trying to steal the papacy through simony. Having failed to do so, they charged that he had attacked Rome, where his forces murdered countless people. The delegates concluded by condemning him and imposing a sentence of excommunication. Additionally, the council re-affirmed the decrees of the council of Nicholas II of 1059, regarding the regulations for the lives of priests (clerical celibacy).

In response, Cadalus assembled his own bishops and clerics at Parma, and condemned Alexander's election. He argued that he was the pope since he was canonically elected by the king acting for the Roman people as patricius. Alexander, on the other hand was not canonically elected by the Roman priests or people, but by the Normans, the enemies of the empire. Benzo,

who was present at the council goes on to say that Cadalus declared that he was elected not by his own efforts, but by the ineffable piety of omnipotent God, to whom he offered obedience. Benzo prayed that God would interfere with the duplicitous plan of the arch-devil (Godfrey), and the conspiracy of Annas and Kaiphas (Anno and Alexander), and extend the virtue of his arm over his elect.

In Rome, the excommunicated Cadalus had inflamed his supporters, who, according to Benzo, urged him to take up arms and return to Rome. His partisans still controlled the Leonine side of the Tiber, with St. Peter's and the Castel S. Angelo, and the area around S. Paolo, despite the fact that S. Paolo was administered by Hildebrand. Support for Cadalus was so strong in the city that Godfrey had to call in the Normans to pacify the irate citizens. Cadalus set out for Rome in May or June, but was delayed by Godfrey's forces in the mountains and in the forests.

However they eventually made it to the city, and Benzo describes how in May or June of 1063, Cadalus entered into Rome with his forces, like Jesus into Jerusalem and prayed at St. Peter's. Cadalus then proceeded to seek refuge in the Castel S. Angelo, as the guest of Cencius, son of the prefect, Stephen. Making a call to war, Cadalus proclaimed that for the reconciliation of the Catholic faith, and for the defense of the Roman empire, with the favour of God, I have returned to St. Peter and to you. Despite the fact that the reins of the empire were firmly in the hands of Anno and his allies, Cadalus was declaring his loyalty to the institution that had elected him, and distinguishing himself from Alexander and the reformers, who were allied with the Normans.

Hildebrand having secluded himself in prayer (Benzo of Alba, Peter Crassus and Cardinal Beno accused him of sacrificing to demons and performing magic, charges which were repeated in the decrees of the council of Brixen in 1080), emerged and rallied the Normans with a call to war, ordering them to expel Cadalus. Benzo describes how the Normans ran through the piazzas screaming, "war, war", before being routed by Cadalus' forces, who fought all the way to the top of the Coelian hill, just south of the Lateran. Assembling at St. Peter's, the supporters of Cadalus, sang hymns and gave thanks. A month passed, and hostilities began anew. Cadalus appealed to the suburban counts for his help, and they leaped into action, as his main fighting force in the battles.

After a brutal struggle, Benzo said that the Normans petitioned for peace, and pledged to leave Roman land, under oath. The Romans who fought for Cadalus agreed to spare the Romans who had fought with the Normans, and hostages were exchanged. Believing that they had won, Cadalus' allies returned to him, jubilantly singing the kyrie eleison. The entire city was ecstatic, and they proceeded to the basilica of Saint Peter with their lord-elect. On the designated day, Cadalus sat at the entrance to the cathedral as the pope.

Hildebrand begged the Normans not to give up the struggle. They replied by saying that the battle was hopelessly lost, and that if they stayed and fought they would surely die. But the resistance of the reformers was given a second-lease when Godfrey arrived along with more

Norman soldiers accompanying him. The battle began anew, and the Romans supporting Cadalus begged Benzo to write to the king asking for support which he did. A legate delivered the letters to Adalbert and Henry in Germany toward the end of September or early October 1063. He brought back a brief message to Cadalus from the king although it was really Anno speaking for him, describing Cadalus as the rightful pope and asking him to continue in the struggle. Needless to say, no help was forthcoming.

Benzo also writes that it is around this time that Pantaleu, patricus of Amalfi and an ambassador for Constantinople, arrived in a ship at Rome. At the Castel S. Angelo, they greeted Cadalus as a hero, who would deliver them from their oppressors (Godfrey and the Normans).

Henry IV had still not come of age, and was under the control of a regency which was partial towards Alexander. Therefore, there was no hope of him ever reaching Italy. The longer the conflict remained in a deadlock, the more Cadalus lost support. Eventually Cadalus left Rome, probably at the beginning of 1064, with a single retainer and a mule. Hildebrand and Alexander were now in control of the city.

In 1063, Alexander and Hildebrand had sent a delegation to France led by Peter Damian, to implement ecclesiastic reforms in the kingdom. Unbeknownst to the reformers, Peter Damian sent a letter to Anno in June, 1063. In his letter, Peter praised Anno for, struggling against Cadalus whom he referred to as the “beast of Parma”, and in favour of Alexander. However, he also encouraged Anno to proclaim a final judgement on the matter of the schism, to finally settle the issue.

Hildebrand was furious, since from his perspective the schism had already been resolved at Augsburg, and Cadalus had lost. Now Peter was reopening the issue to an uncertain outcome. Peter sheds some light on just how enraged Hildebrand was in a letter he wrote to Alexander and Hildebrand during the season of Lent in 1064. He sent them a copy of the letter that he had sent to Anno, swearing that the version he had sent to them wasn't altered in any way, adding that he had not sent the letter out to other regions. He referred to Hildebrand as “my Holy Satan” , his favourite nickname for the irritable archdeacon, and begged him to take pity on his servant.

The council of Mantua (May 31 - June 3, 1064), was hosted in the city of the same name by Countess Beatrice. Anno arrived at the city with a militia of three hundred men and a sizable number of bishops and princes. With a huge number of men, Cadalus settled nearby in Aqua Nigra, which was outside of the control of Beatrice and Godfrey. He sent Legates to Anno demanding that he be made president of the council, which Anno refused. Unwilling to enter into hostile territory, Cadalus sent observers every day to report to him on the proceedings of the council which he did not actually attend. Alexander arrived with many bishops, abbots and princes from Italy, but Hildebrand was conspicuously absent.

On the first day everyone assembled in the church, and after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, Alexander spoke about the need for peace and order. Anno began by listing formal complaints from the king and the princes against Alexander, that he had assumed his office by means of simony, that he had gained the support of the Normans enemies of the Empire, and that by their aid, and against the canons and the will of the king, he had held onto power. Anno concluded by saying that he was authorized by the king to determine what was true.

Alexander responded by pointing out that his accusers were not present, but that in any case it was of no consequence since “students cannot accuse their magister.” He swore that he was free from simony, and asserted that he had been elevated to the papacy under the old Roman custom by those who had the right to elect and consecrate the pope. To the accusation that he had received help from the Normans, he said that he could say nothing, but that when the king comes to Rome to receive the imperial crown, he will see for himself what is true.

The implication of Alexander’s statement was that, because he had been consecrated and enthroned, he identified as pope, and he could absolve himself of any charges by taking an oath. He didn’t feel the need to prove that his election was legal because it adhered to the norms set out by the papal electoral decree of 1059. The council moved to accept Alexander and confirmed his election. Alexander then accused Cadalus, calling him a heretic. The next day, Anno was not present, and the supporters of Cadalus, no doubt feeling that their candidate had been given short shrift, broke up the meeting, calling Alexander a heretic and threatened him with the sword. Almost everyone else fled, but Alexander stayed, and Beatrice entered with her people and restored order. On the third and fourth days, there were peaceful discussions, after which Alexander returned to Rome, and the imperial delegation returned to Germany.

The implications of the council of Mantua were staggering. Despite the council being dedicated to the legality of the elections, the papal decree of 1059 played virtually no role, and Alexander would simply disregard the emperor’s rights. The Council showed that the balance of power had shifted in favour of the reformers.

Cadalus retreated to Parma, where he continued to recognize himself as pope. He was still a notable figure to those like Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen, who supported him as the candidate of the regency. It appears that seizing the opportunity of Anno’s absence at Mantua, Adalbert replaced him as the most powerful man at court.

Adalbert was more than just an ordinary archbishop, his sphere of influence included the entire North. Adalbert was intent on establishing a northern patriarchate, and although he did not obtain approval from Rome, he exercised the position without the title. A noted chronicler of the time, Adam of Bremen wrote about the rivalry between the two archbishops Adalbert and Anno, and praised the former for his loyalty to the king, while pointing out the latter’s corruption in promoting his friends and family.

Benzo continued to play a role as a diplomat in the king’s court, especially with Adalbert, whom he had known since 1055. Whether Henry intended to be crowned by Alexander

remained ambiguous, and Cadalus still hoped that he would be recognized as pope. For Anno, who held the office of archchancellor to the Roman church, this situation carried great political weight. Since the papacy was the main patron of the diocese of Cologne, Anno was determined to avoid controversy between the papacy and the imperial church. These considerations, more than any sort of commitment to the ideals of the reform are most likely what governed his conduct.

Early in 1065, Benzo met Henry at Quedlinburg in Saxony, where Adalbert and other imperial supporters were present. The king asked Benzo to speak about the situation in Rome. Benzo wanted him to follow the examples of his predecessors, and come to Italy, for the sake of the Italians, the Romans, and at the request of the emperor of Constantinople. Alexander also wanted Henry to come to Italy to receive the imperial crown from him in Rome, and to acknowledge his authority as pope.

Benzo declared that Apulia and Calabria awaited him so that he might deliver them from the Norman oppressors, but that first the cause of the evil Badaculus (Godfrey) and Prandellus (Hildebrand) must be eradicated. He acknowledged Godfrey as a problem, but stated that Rome was resolutely for him. His two main concerns were Hildebrand plotting behind the scenes, and Anno who he warned against as an enemy in the king's house. He praised Adalbert as a resolute force for the sake of good in the imperial church. Adalbert, who was asked by the king to reply, complimented Benzo for understanding both the Greeks and Romans, and for resisting the two-headed antichrist (Alexander and Hildebrand). When he returned to Rome, Benzo was delegated to announce to Cadalus that the king would be arriving with power and majesty. Benzo departed from the imperial court receiving many gifts from the king.

At the Vatican Benzo relayed the message of the king and the princes to the Romans. He declared that when the king arrived, Apulia and Calabria would soon be freed. The message was received with joy throughout Italy, and messengers transmitted the good news to Cadalus. The festivities celebrating Henry's coming of age began on Easter Sunday, 1065, at Worms with a sermon preached by Adalbert during mass. Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz gave the blessing, while Adalbert girded Henry with the sword, and Godfrey acted as shield bearer, signifying Godfrey's position as chief vassal of the realm.

In early 1065, at around the same time that Adalbert had charged Benzo to go to Rome in the name of the king to deal with Alexander and Hildebrand, Alexander sent Cardinal Mainhard of Silva Candida to the king to arrange for his coronation in Rome, which he had promised to do in Mantua. Mainhard arrived at Easter during the assembly of princes at Worms to celebrate Henry's coming of age, and despite Alexander's alliance with the Normans, Henry accepted. The expedition was planned out for May. The young king desired to establish himself as ruler by receiving the imperial crown, thus he had conflicting policies towards Cadalus and Alexander.

Anno, realizing that his position in the German church had become rather precarious, wrote letters to Alexander, declaring his loyalty, and laying out his plan. He said that he and

Godfrey would lead an army to Rome to help the papacy. He also relayed that five days before they were to depart, a messenger of the king arrived in Augsburg declaring that the expedition had been postponed until the fall. He laid out in great detail the plans that he and Godfrey had worked out to take their army to Italy through France and Burgundy and there unite with the royal army in Verona.

Peter Damian wrote a letter to Henry between 1065 and 1066, appealing to him to decisively support Alexander. While praising Henry he accused some members of his court (Adalbert of Bremen?) of being partial towards Cadalus. In a barely veiled threat, Peter admonished Henry saying, "Be careful, I repeat, O king, lest while allowing the sacerdotium to be divided, your empire too, which God forbid, should be divided."

Peter warned that unless his subjects corrected their ways that after his reign could be given to foreigners. However Henry was still disinclined to go to Rome and be crowned. After Cadalus had receded into the background, not exercising any significant authority outside of his own diocese in Parma, Alexander faced a new threat from Richard of Capua, his Norman ally, who had taken over Campagna and intended to march on Rome. Alexander sought the aid of the king as his only option, and dispatched the empress Agnes to the imperial court during the winter of 1066, to persuade her son to mount an expedition to Italy to defend the Holy See and receive the imperial crown.

Henry IV was ready to protect the pope, and in February 1067 he went to Augsburg, where expeditions to Italy usually began. Acting quickly, Hildebrand appealed to Godfrey to come to Italy to deal with the Norman threat, and after hearing about this, Henry told the princes that Godfrey had betrayed him, and cancelled the expedition.

According to Bonizo, Godfrey, who hated the Normans, journeyed to Italy with Matilda to defend the papacy, Alexander was able to resume his alliance with the Normans. Royal supporters in Italy criticized Godfrey for having acted out of animosity towards Henry. Although the emperor himself did not come to Italy, in 1068 the princes convinced him to send three legates to Rome. In the first months of that year, he sent a delegation consisting of Anno, Duke Otto of Bavaria, and the Italian Archbishop Henry of Trent.

The itinerary of the legates on the way to Rome, was an odd one and perhaps influenced by instructions given by Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen. First, the three imperial envoys stopped to see the excommunicated supporter of Cadalus Archbishop Henry in his diocese of Ravenna, and then proceeded to meet with Cadalus himself. To make the situation worse, when Anno arrived in Rome only to discover that one of his rivals, Archbishop Theodorich of Stabio, had arrived earlier to inform Alexander about his mistreatment of the monastery of S. Remalci. In the presence of the judges of the Roman church, Alexander commanded Anno to relinquish his control over the monastery. To top things off, on the way back to Germany, Otto stopped to meet Godfrey at Piacenza.

The Italians reproached Otto for disloyalty to the king, and of remaining in Italy to conspire with Godfrey. The delegation was a failure on all counts.

Towards the end of the papacy of Alexander, one notable figure who began to take precedence in the ecclesiastical politics of the Roman see, was Cardinal Hugo Candidus. Leo IX had created him cardinal priest of San Clemente, and due to his loyalty to the emperor, he cooperated in the election of Cadalus at Basel in 1061. Archchancellor Guibert, another supporter of Cadalus, was a close advisor and ally to him. Both of them likely participated in the excommunication of Nicholas by the German court in the fall of 1060. However, Hugo seems to have remained in the good graces of the reformers, since in 1065, Alexander appointed him as a papal legate to Spain in order to spread ecclesiastical reforms there. In 1071, he was again appointed as a legate to Spain, and was also tasked with assignments in Southern France. After the repose of Cadalus in 1071/1072, and the consecration of Guibert of Parma as archbishop of Ravenna at the Lenten synod of 1073, the Cluniac monks accused Hugo Candidus of engaging in simony during his legations to Spain and France. What really upset the monks of Cluny however was their diminished influence over the Spanish church, given that Hugo had placed Cluny directly under papal authority.

Hildebrand, was most likely the one to push for Cluny being placed under papal authority, as well as Guibert's appointment as archbishop. One possible reason for this unexpected move on Hildebrand's part, is that at the same council, delegates of Henry IV were excommunicated for inspiring Hugo's ecclesiastical policy, and that Hildebrand wanted Hugo and Guibert to replace them as advisors to the king.

A few weeks after the Lenten synod, Alexander reposed, and Hugo was able to return the favour. Hildebrand was participating with several other clerics in the burial of Alexander in the Lateran basilica, when according to Benzo they called out "Hildebrand, bishop". Startled, Hildebrand ran toward the pulpit to calm the crowd, but Hugo intervened and addressed them. He stated that since the time of Leo IX, it was Hildebrand who had promoted the Roman church, and that there was no better candidate to become the Roman pontiff, and because of this they must elect him.

Benzo, commenting on the death of Alexander, shortly after the Lenten synod of 1073 had the following to say: "Truly, those (popes) whom Prandellus planted were like grass, they lived as long as he wished. Finally, when it pleased him that the man of Lucca, whom he called Alexander, should depart, he ordered Archigenes (a famous physician; Juvenal) to come and cut open a vein, so that through loss of blood the souls might be divorced from the body. And this was done." After exonerating Hugo, and consecrating Guibert as Archbishop of Ravenna at the Lenten synod of 1073, it appears that Hildebrand had no further use for Alexander, and was ready to take over the reins of the papacy himself.

One of Gregory VII's first decisions as pope was to send Hugo on another delegation to Spain, in a letter dated April 30, 1073, to Bishop Gerard of Ostia, and subdeacon Raimbald, legates to France. However, as he made his way to Spain Hugo came into contact with his allies

in Northern Italy, where he informed them of Gregory's election. Bonizo writes about Cencius, son of the prefect Stephen, who had supported Cadalus, and been an opponent of Alexander and Gregory for some time. Bonizo mentions another Cencius, son of a Count Gerard, and accuses him of luring Hugo away from Gregory.

What turned Hugo against Gregory was most likely his support for the empire, which Gregory had become increasingly hostile towards. At the Lenten synod held in the beginning of March, 1075, the list of 27 propositions known as the *Dictatus Papae* were promulgated making unprecedented claims to papal authority which were based on forged documents like the Donation of Constantine and the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals which Gregory and the other reformers believed to be authentic. With this list of decrees, the concept of ultramontanism was officially enshrined in policy in the Roman church for the first time in its history, and would only continue to grow over the centuries, reaching its zenith in the pronouncements of the First Vatican Council of 1870. Among the most pertinent decrees related to the empire and lay investiture: That only the Roman pontiff can by right be called universal. That he alone can depose or reinstate bishops. That in a council his legate takes precedence over all bishops, even if he is a lower grade to them, and he can pass a sentence of deposition against them. That he alone may use the imperial insignia. That all princes must kiss the feet of the pope alone. That it may be permitted to him to depose emperors.

Hugo was most likely present at the Lenten synod of 1075, and was excommunicated. Whether Guibert of Ravenna was present and what his relations were to Gregory at that time is disputed. Later in the year, Hugo supported Guibert in a dispute over the appointment of an archbishop of Milan, Tedald, the imperial candidate, emerged triumphant and was consecrated by the bishops.

Tensions between the empire and the papacy only escalated in the ensuing years. In 1076, Henry convoked the synod of Worms, at which nearly the entire German episcopate excommunicated Gregory, citing his tyrannical domination of the Roman see, and his egregious assault on the rights of an anointed king, and called upon him to descend from the papal throne. Immediately after the council, letters containing the decrees of the king and the imperial bishops against the pope were brought into Italy by bishops of Speyer and Basel and by Count Eberhard. In Piacenza, a popular assembly of north Italian princes and bishops (including the whole Lombard episcopate), called on the pope to abdicate, and swore under oath to never obey Gregory as pope in the future. Another council of Lombard bishops held after Easter, and organized by Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna, allegedly excommunicated Gregory a second time.

However, Henry's failed expedition against the Saxon rebellion in his kingdom led the German princes to conspire against him, and at the assembly in Tribur which ran from October 16 to November 1, 1076 a plan was devised to submit Henry to the papacy. Bishop Altmann was present at the assembly as the legate of Gregory VII. Before the assembly concluded the princes extracted a concession from Henry, whereby he agreed to submit himself to the pope's judgement at an assembly in Augsburg on February 2, 1077.

A small faction of the princes actually wanted Henry deposed, while most of them only wanted to humble him. Gregory was determined to depose the young king which is why he wanted to travel to Augsburg for the trial. Such a show of power in a foreign territory far from the Roman see, and not only that the most powerful Christian empire in Western Europe, would have definitively cemented the pope's precedence over the secular authority.

However, Henry was advised by his allies to intercept the pope on his way to Germany in order to avoid this outcome. As he made his way into Northern Italy, all the bishops and nobles came to greet him. The Lombard bishops, who had been excommunicated by Gregory and endured continuous assault from his patarine allies, put themselves at his disposal for the purpose of deposing the pope. Henry conveyed to the bishops that he intended to reconcile with Gregory. Gregory caught wind of Henry's entrance into Italy, and fearing that the king intended to capture him, retreated to Canossa, the fortress of his close ally Matilda of Tuscany.

Henry received no sign from the pope for the first three days that he demonstrated his penitence before the gates of Canossa. He was finally admitted into the fortress and appeared before Gregory tearful, barefoot, and clad in wool all bereft of imperial regalia. Absolving Henry and his entourage from their excommunication, and binding him in oath to the papacy, Gregory led them to the chapel, where after exchanging the kiss of peace they celebrated mass. Henry then dined with the pope, who admonished him to keep his oath and refrain from contact with excommunicates.

In Gregory's account to the German princes about the proceedings (January 28, 1077), Gregory explained that he had had no other choice but to absolve the king. He went on to assure them that with the oath that Henry had sworn to him, their interests would be assured on his behalf. A copy of the oath which was sent to the princes, begins with a promise to do justice according to (Gregory's) judgment or make an agreement according to his counsel 'in respect of the princes' grievances. Secondly, the king guaranteed the pope's safety if he crossed the Alps or travelled elsewhere in the imperial territories. Henry also guaranteed the safety of the papal entourage and envoys and promised to assist the pope in the case of any impediment that may be against his honour.' The oath basically gave the pope de facto control over German politics provided that the princes continued to cooperate with him.

Henry remained in Italy for a time, asserting authority over his kingdom there, and visiting Piacenza, Verona and Pavia. Gregory VII also tarried in northern Italy until early September, delaying his return to Rome in the hope that he would be able to cross the Alps and settle the conflict between Henry and the princes.

During the emperor's absence the princes had set up Duke Rudolf of Swabia as an anti-king over them and fortified the Alpine passes against Henry. The emperor then put all of his attention into securing the eastern Alpine route into Germany, which involved gaining the patronage of the princes who controlled the duke of Carinthia and the patriarch of Aquileia. The

rebel Berthold I of Zohringen, a partisan of Rudolf, was deposed and Liutold of Eppenstein was invested with the duchy of Carinthia and the march of Verona. Sieghard of Aquileia had previously appeared at the council of Tribur as a papal legate, but from now on he remained loyal to the king. Henry celebrated Easter (April 16) in Aquileia with Sieghard and Liutold entered into Bavaria by way of Carinthia.

The only supporters of Rudolf's election in Germany were the staunchest members of the "deposition faction" of whom Rudolf was the leader namely the three south German dukes, the Gregorian bishops and the Saxon rebels. Siegfried of Mainz played a prominent role in the election of Rudolf, crowning him in his diocese on March 26, 1077. Rudolf ended up receiving papal recognition from Gregory as king of the Germans in 1080.

After his coronation in Mainz, Rudolf planned to make a 'royal journey' through the kingdom, but it became evident that he had overestimated his support. From June 1077 until his death in October 1080 he never left Saxony except to campaign against Henry.

For three years (1077-1080), Gregory remained neutral, saying that it was necessary for the pope to hold a council in Germany to determine who was the lawful king. When Henry arrived back in Germany in May and June 1077, he was received enthusiastically in Regensburg, Ulm and Nuremberg. Henry managed to assemble an army of 12,000 knights, and then proceeded to march into Swabia, causing Rudolf to flee into Saxony.

During this time, Henry set out with the objective of cleaning house, deposing bishops and lords who were loyal to the anti-king and installing his own supporters in their palace. This was despite the decree in the Lenten synod of 1078 held by Gregory in Rome which prohibited lay investiture under pain of excommunication. In order not to alienate the emperor, the excommunication only applied to the receiver of lay investiture, and not the secular authority who bestowed it. In late 1079, after the return of two of his legates from Germany, Gregory probably decided to renew the excommunication of Henry. Despite the papal decree of the previous year, Henry continued to fill bishoprics according to the traditional custom. Gregory most likely realized that Henry had no intention of relinquishing his control over the imperial church, and the recent victory of Rudolf's forces at the battle of Fiercheim might have impressed the pope with the idea that the anti-king had more influence in the kingdom than had previously appeared, (even though Rudolf's influence effectively never extended beyond Saxony and his own duchy in Swabia).

At the Lenten synod of 1080, the excommunication of Henry was renewed and the previous prohibition on lay investiture was superseded by a new decree which excommunicated the secular authority who conferred investiture along with the clerical recipient. According to Gregory VII, Henry had incurred excommunication by refusing to adhere to the decrees of the Lenten synod of the previous year which excommunicated anyone hindering the holding of a conference between the two rival parties of the anti-king and the emperor.

Henry's first response to his excommunication was recorded at the council of Mainz on May 31, 1080. In attendance were nineteen bishops and several German princes. They concluded that 'Hildebrand should be utterly rejected, and another, worthier than he, should be elected to the apostolic see.' In contrast to the synod of Worms in 1076, this time the entire German episcopate, except for those in the party of the anti-king, sided with the emperor.

Henry immediately set out to meet the Italian bishops in Brixen on June 25. Thirty bishops (including notable figures such as the metropolitans Tedald of Milan, Wibert of Ravenna and Henry of Aquileia), several German princes and the emperor all together signed a decree declaring the 'monk Hildebrand' guilty of various crimes including: simony, ambition, violent intrusion into the apostolic see contrary to the papal electoral decree of 1059, heresy, necromancy and poisoning four of his predecessors. The assembly did not depose the pope, but threatened him with deposition if he refused to concede his office. The synod resolved to elect a new pope and Guibert of Ravenna was selected by acclaim and with the support of Henry.

Benzo of Alba, representing the Lombard bishops, notably declared during the proceedings, "Let (Hildebrand) be expelled in disgrace from the city; let an orthodox (pope) be placed in Peter's throne.... Such a man must crown Henry emperor: one who is learned in all the laws, both ancient and modern." Wibert of Ravenna was a logical choice given his long period of service in the imperial court as archchancellor to Italy. He deliberately chose Clement III as his pontifical name, as a reference to Clement II who was selected by the emperor's father Henry III at the council of Sutri. Henry IV made an oath to Wibert that he would lead him to Rome and there receive the imperial crown from him. Although Wibert had already been excommunicated by name in Rome during the Lenten synod of 1078, from now on Gregory and the reformers, would refer to his followers as participants in the "Wibertine heresy".

After the synod of Brixen, Wibert returned to his diocese in Ravenna, while Henry concentrated his attention on Saxony and combating the forces of the anti-king. At the battle of Hohenmoisen on October 15, 1080, Rudolf fell in battle, having lost his right hand during the fighting. The imperial polemicists viewed it as a sign of divine favour for Henry's struggle that the anti-king should lose his right hand with which he had sworn fealty to the true king Henry, only to later betray him and rise up in rebellion. Defeated, the Saxons retreated to their kingdom and agreed upon a four month truce with the imperialists, which gave Henry time to begin his expedition to Italy, and for the Saxons to elect anew anti-king Hermann of Salm, who, like his predecessor Rudolf was also supported by Gregory VII.

Due to the disarray of the Saxon rebels, and the presence of Duke Vratislav II of Bohemia to defend the whole eastern frontier of the empire, Henry felt confident enough to enter Italy by the Brenner Pass in March, 1081. Since most of his forces had remained to secure the Italian part of his kingdom during his absence, Henry hoped to raise an army among the Lombards. He moved quickly, reaching Verona by Easter (April 4). Ten days later he was in Milan, and in early May, Henry had reached Ravenna, where he conferred with his pope-elect Clement III/Wibert. Gregory felt sure that Henry would never reach Rome, and was convinced that the Lombards would not pledge their loyalty to him. He was also counting on his ally,

Matilda of Tuscany, to stand in the way of any royal expedition to Rome. However, Matilda's forces had been gravely weakened after a devastating battle with an army organized by several Lombard bishops who had attended the synod of Brixen. This same Lombard army eventually joined Henry, who arrived outside of Rome with a massive force. Even still, Gregory was not alarmed, and he continued to presume that Henry had arrived to beg his forgiveness like he had done in Canossa in order to receive the imperial crown, neither of which Gregory was willing to do. Henry on the other hand had no intention of negotiating with Gregory.

However Henry had reached Rome, without the equipment necessary to conduct a siege, and the oncoming summer heat would pose a threat to his army. Since the Romans would not open their gates to him, he remained outside of the city until the last week of June before laying waste to the surrounding villages, and retreating north. Henry even tried to secure an alliance with the Norman leader Robert Guiscard by offering him the march of Fermo, previously denied to him by the reformers as a part of the newly constituted papal states.

However, the possibility of an alliance between the king and duke evaporated after the Byzantine empire started making overtures to Henry. As before with Honorius II, Byzantium saw a natural ally in the Holy Roman Emperor and his pope-elect in order to counter the excommunicated reformers and their vassals the conquering Normans who were actively dispossessing the Eastern Empire of its territories in southern Italy.

Henry spent the summer and autumn of 1081 in central and northern Italy, where he consolidated his power by deposing Matilda from the margraviate of Tuscany, and installing his own supporters in Lotharingia and Tuscany. Most notably he deposed the reformer Bishop Anselm II of Lucca, who fled the city before Henry, who was greeted upon his arrival with great joy by the canons of the city's cathedral who nominated the Lucchese subdeacon Peter as bishop of the now vacant see. The king agreed to this and invested the bishop, and he duly consecrated by Clement soon after.

Henry found himself encamped in front of Rome once more by February, 1083, where he sent another petition to the Romans attacking, for the first time the decrees of the *Dictatus Papae* which said that no one may judge the pope, an unprecedented concept in canon law. Henry's appeal of 1082, had no more effect on the Romans than in the previous years, and the royal army spent the entire season of Lent (March 9 - April 23), besieging the city. Failing in this he travelled south, where he found an unlikely ally in the Norman duke Jordan of Capua, who was so terrified by the king's arrival that he swore fealty to him, and transferred a great amount of treasure to the emperor. Henry received him into his service and granted him the duchy of Capua by imperial authority. Despite the violent opposition to this decision by Jordan's own uncle, Duke Robert Guiscard who attacked Capua in 1083, Jordan remained loyal to the emperor until his repose in 1090.

Henry also tried to win the support of Jordan's neighbor Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino (future Pope Victor III), but the abbot, who was a loyal supporter of Gregory VII resisted, incurring the king's wrath. Henry compelled Desiderius to celebrate Easter with him,

which he did fearing reprisals against his monastery, but he observed the Gregorians prohibitions on contact with excommunicants: he did not give the kiss of peace to anyone, he did not pray or eat or drink with any members of the imperial entourage, even though he was familiar with many of them. Henry even tried to compel the abbot to be invested with the abbey of Monte Cassino, and receive his abbatial staff from his hands, but through the mediation of Jordan he was able to avoid this.

After Easter, Henry headed north, bypassing Rome while leaving Clement III in charge of the siege of Rome. Later in the year rumour spread of a possible expedition by the anti-king Hermann of Salm into Italy in order to assist Gregory. However, the death of Otto of Northeim (January 11, 1083) Herman's most powerful ally in Saxony, caused Herman to retreat back to his kingdom in order to prevent dissension among the ranks of the rebel party, which is exactly what happened. The fallout of this even left Herman incapacitated and incapable of posing a serious threat to the emperor.

With the threat in the north averted, Henry then turned south on his third expedition to Rome, where he arrived before the end of the year with a thousand knights contributed by Archbishop Tedald of Milan and his suffragans. It is around this time that the king received an envoy from Constantinople bearing gifts and a letter from Emperor Alexius I Comnenus. In his letter Alexius referred to Henry as his "most noble and truly Christian brother." After delivering an installment of silver coins to the emperor worth 144,000 gold pieces and one hundred silken garments, he promised a further payment of 216,000 gold pieces provided that Henry swore an oath to collaborate in a campaign against Robert Guiscard.

In late 1083, Henry had gained a foothold in Rome, taken control of St. Peter's Basilica, and taken residence in the Lateran palace. Even at this late date, he was willing to negotiate with Gregory, and receive the imperial crown from him, instead of his pope-elect Wibert. However, Gregory remained obstinate and unwilling to compromise, continuing to demand that Henry repent and relinquish his control over the imperial church. Henry began to win over the war-weary Roman nobility who were frustrated by Gregory's refusal to make peace with the king and his autocratic style of government. In early 1084, Wibert began to negotiate with rebel cardinals and made such a good impression on them, that they began to advocate on his behalf to the apprehensive nobility. In March, 1084 a council was summoned at St. Peter's with Wibert, the emperor, the cardinals, and the Roman nobility in attendance. It was decided to depose Gregory. Wibert/Clement III was officially confirmed as pope. The charge brought against Gregory at the council which officially convicted him, according to the Lotharingian chronicler, Sigebert of Gembloux was that of high treason against the emperor: "Hildebrand was justly deposed as one guilty of high treason, for he appointed another king against emperor (Henry IV) and assumed the shameless demeanour of a rebel."

Wibert was enthroned in Saint Peter's as Pope Clement III on Palm Sunday (March 24), and performed the imperial coronation of Henry and his escort Bertha, on March 31. During the seven weeks following his coronation Henry took up residence in the Lateran palace along with Clement. This enraged the reforms since according to the Donation of Constantine which they

often cited, it was forbidden for the emperor to take up residence in, or govern from Rome. It is unknown whether Henry did this on purpose to spite the reformers.

During this time, Gregory had barricaded himself in the Castel S. Angelo where he endured a siege from April to May, 1084. The victory of the imperial party was short-lived however, as Robert Guiscard came to Gregory's rescue. Not wanting to have to contend with the imperial presence in Italy, lest his own power be diminished, Robert marched on Rome with a large Norman army. His arrival was preceded by an envoy from Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino who informed Gregory of the Duke's actions. Henry retreated North, not wanting to test himself against the Norman forces which vastly outnumbered his own.

While Henry travelled northward visiting the bishops and princes of his Italian kingdom, Clement remained within close proximity to Rome. Before returning to Germany, Henry left his eleven-year old son Conrad, in the care of the Italian princes, as a symbol of his authority in the provinces of his Italian kingdom.

Although things had looked promising for the imperial party, events soon took a turn for the worse. Matilda of Tuscany won a major victory over Henry's forces in Lombardy, appropriating vast amounts of treasure and taking many prisoners among whom was Bishop Eberhard of Parma. Robert Guiscard managed to rescue Gregory from the Castel S. Angelo and bring him back to the Lateran palace. The Romans resisted Gregory's return, in retaliation Robert's forces razed the city between the churches of S. Silvestro in Capite and S. Lorenzo in Lucina, in the north, and between the Colosseum and the Lateran in the south-east.

The pope returned to Rome for the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul (June 29), only to discover that it was no longer safe for him to remain in the city. The Norman atrocities had left the Roman people incensed with Gregory and firmly in the camp of the emperor. Hildebrand withdrew with the Normans south to Salerno, where he held a synod in late 1084 repeating the excommunications of Wibert and Henry. Gregory reposed in Salerno on May 25, 1085, cast out and rejected by the people of his own bishopric.

In the wake of Gregory's death, the abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino was elected pope by the reformers, but only managed to serve for one year from 1086 to 1087 before his repose. He was succeeded by Pope Urban II, who managed in a brilliant slight of hand to turn the Byzantines away from an alliance with the Holy Roman empire, towards an alliance with the reform papacy and the Normans. The reason for this shift in Byzantine policy towards the west was the desire for the emperor to find a western ally against the Seljuk Turks who were encroaching on his empire from the east. The Byzantine emperor Constantine X Doukas had already made overtures to Cadalus/Pope Honorius II, and Alexios I Komnenos had done the same with Henry IV and Clement III. Clement even exchanged letters with Metropolitan John II of Kiev with the aim of healing the East-West schism. However due to the civil war in the west, the German emperor and his beleaguered forces in Italy were unable to come to the aid of the eastern empire. The reformers knew what the Byzantines were after and were prepared to negotiate with their former enemy to further their own aims. In 1088/1089 Pope Urban II, lifted

the excommunication that Gregory VII had previously enacted against Emperor Alexios I Komnenos. The eastern emperor in turn had Pope Urban's name entered into the diptychs of the Constantinopolitan church despite the theological differences between the Eastern church and the reform papacy.

In 1092, at the council of Clermont, Pope Urban II called the First Crusade and three years later at the Council of Piacenza attended by legates of the emperor Alexius I, a military and religious alliance was formed with the reformers against the Seljuks. This alliance proved to be a double-edged sword for Byzantium, for while the Crusaders did relieve pressure from the Selujiks on the empire's eastern front, they also ended up oppressing the native Orthodox population in their conquered lands in the Levant and Palestine. In 1099, the Norman crusaders captured Jerusalem and set up a Latin patriarch and a parallel Latin hierarchy. That year, the holy fire refused to descend at Easter for the Latin patriarch, and it wasn't until Greek clerics entered Christ's tomb that they were able to receive the holy fire and bestow it to the Latins.

In the following year 1100, the Crusaders reached Antioch where they also suppressed the native Orthodox population and set up a Latin patriarch of the city. In the council of Bari, held in Italy in October 1098, the presiding papal legate and reformer Anselm of Canterbury, anathematized those who disagreed with Anselm's arguments in favour of the filioque and use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The Italian Greek bishops of southern Italy who attended were forced to accept these views under pressure from their Norman overlords. Nevertheless, Orthodox Christians remained in Italy until 1137, when the last Byzantine stronghold, Naples, was subdued by the Normans. The Duke of Naples before 1137 was Sergius VII, who bore the rank of Stratigotus from the Roman Emperor John II Komnenos. His father John VI of Naples bore the rank of Protosebastos from the Eastern emperor Alexios I Komnenos. Prior to the Norman conquest of 1137, the Archbishop of Naples was still in communion with the Patriarch of Constantinople. All of the Italo-Greeks of Southern Italy were forced to abandon the Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom and accept the Roman Rite along with the new innovations of the reformers (the filioque and unleavened bread).

One notable figure from this time was Saint Anthony the Roman, born in Rome in 1067 to a Greek family. At some point he was tonsured a monk in the city, and when the reformers began to persecute the Orthodox population of the city, he left and lived in a hut down by the seashore. One day a storm began, and lifted him on the stone on which he was praying, transporting him all the way to the shores of the Russian city of Novgorod. Anthony, who did not speak the local language, was informed by a Greek merchant that he was in Novgorod. He then met with the bishop of the city, who permitted him to establish a monastery at the site where his stone arrived at the shore.

Back in Italy, Henry IV and Clement III were able to put up a fierce resistance to the reformers for quite some time. During his pontificate Clement was recognized as the pope in most of Germany, Northern Italy, Hungary and Croatia as well. Besides his coronation in Rome in 1084, Clement presided in the city from 1089 to 1098, before being driven from the city by the reformers. He retreated to Albano in 1099, and planned to retake the city, but the Normans

prevented him from doing so. He reposed at Civita Castellana on September 8, 1100 where he was buried and was soon celebrated locally as a saint with numerous miracles taking place at his tomb. In order to prevent a cultus of veneration forming around their opponent, the newly elected reforming Pope Paschal II and the reformers subjected him to a posthumous damnatio memoriae which involved a declaration that the reposed pope was in hell, and the exhumation his remains which were unceremoniously dumped in the Tiber.

Henry IV continued to struggle against Gregory VII's successors, waging war against the reformers and asserting his imperial rights over the church. Beside the challenges to his rule from anti-kings Rudolf of Swabia and Hermann of Salm, he faced rebellions from his sons Conrad II and Henry V. The latter would end up usurping him and claiming the title of emperor towards the end of his father's life. Henry ended up dying after nine days of illness in the city of Liege on August 7, 1106. His excommunication by the Gregorian reformers was never lifted. Henry V, acquiesced to the reformers in order to usurp the throne from his father and received the imperial crown from Pope Paschal II in the year 1111. Although he conceded much of the imperial authority over his ecclesiastical affairs that his predecessors enjoyed, he tried to retain the power to invest clerics, resulting in his own conflicts with the reform papacy, and the election of his own imperial pope Gregory VIII in 1118. But the reformers had consolidated their power and influence to such a degree at this point that Henry was compelled sign the Concordat of Worms in 1122, permanently and irrevocably revoking the Holy Roman Empire's long-standing right to invest clerics, thus bringing the Investiture Controversy to a definitive end.

This short essay has attempted to demonstrate that Henry IV and Clement III represented the last stand for Roman Orthodoxy in Western Europe. Rather than the traditional narrative put forward by mainstream Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox scholars, the Eastern and Western churches were not gradually alienated from each other due to diverging practices in the centuries leading up to the Great Schism. Rather it was a hard break from traditional Western Orthodoxy spearheaded by an ambitious group of reformers led by Hildebrand of Sovana/Gregory VII who invented the Roman Catholic Church as we know it today.

Right from the onset of the schism, a new spirituality took root in the Roman church, and was propagated throughout the Western kingdoms by reform-minded theologians like Anselm of Canterbury and the monks of Cluny Abbey. In the ensuing decades and centuries, this new spirituality was developed by scholastic theologians like Thomas Aquinas and John Scotus, who introduced rationalism into theology in a way totally foreign and alien to the Latin fathers of the first millennium (Augustine of Hippo, Cyprian of Carthage, Vincent de Lerins and others). The rood screens, which were universally present in Western churches as the equivalent to the Eastern iconostasis, dividing the altar from the nave and preserving the mystery of the liturgy, were abolished by decree in the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century, and were subsequently removed in the overwhelming majority of Western European churches in the ensuing decades. The sign of the cross which was made in the traditional way with three fingers from right to left as still practiced in the Eastern Orthodox Church today, began to be

suppressed, often by force, in the early thirteenth century during the reign of Pope Innocent III, in favour of the innovative practice of making the cross left to right with an open palm. Baptism, by triple immersion, was the norm in the Western church up until the thirteenth century as attested to by Thomas Aquinas. The new practice of baptism by aspersion, up until that point reserved for people who were bound to their beds by illness and on the point of dying, began to be introduced as the normative practice around that time. Later innovations like the rosary, stations of the cross, eucharistic adoration, and the veneration of the Sacred Heart were all introduced long after the Great Schism.

After centuries of alienation from the faith of their ancestors, Western Orthodoxy has been showing signs of revival in various countries. In Britain, there is the example of Joseph Julian Overbeck, an Anglican convert to Orthodoxy in the latter half of the nineteenth century who skillfully critiqued the innovations of both Catholicism and Protestantism and demonstrated that the Orthodox Church was the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church established by Christ. Saint John Maximovitch approved of and served a reconstructed version of the Gallican liturgy in Paris when he was stationed there as a bishop of the ROCOR in the 1960s. Although it may take some time before an Anglican Orthodox, Gallican Orthodox, Spanish Orthodoxy and Italian Orthodox church can be established in their respective nations like Overbeck envisioned, Western Christians must be reminded of the rich tradition that was once theirs and how it was lost, before it can be reclaimed.

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Saint Oswald of York



Saint Germain of Paris



Saint Isidore of Seville



Saint Leander of Seville



Saint Charlemagne the Great



Saint Boniface, the Enlightener of Germany



Saint Ambrose of Milan



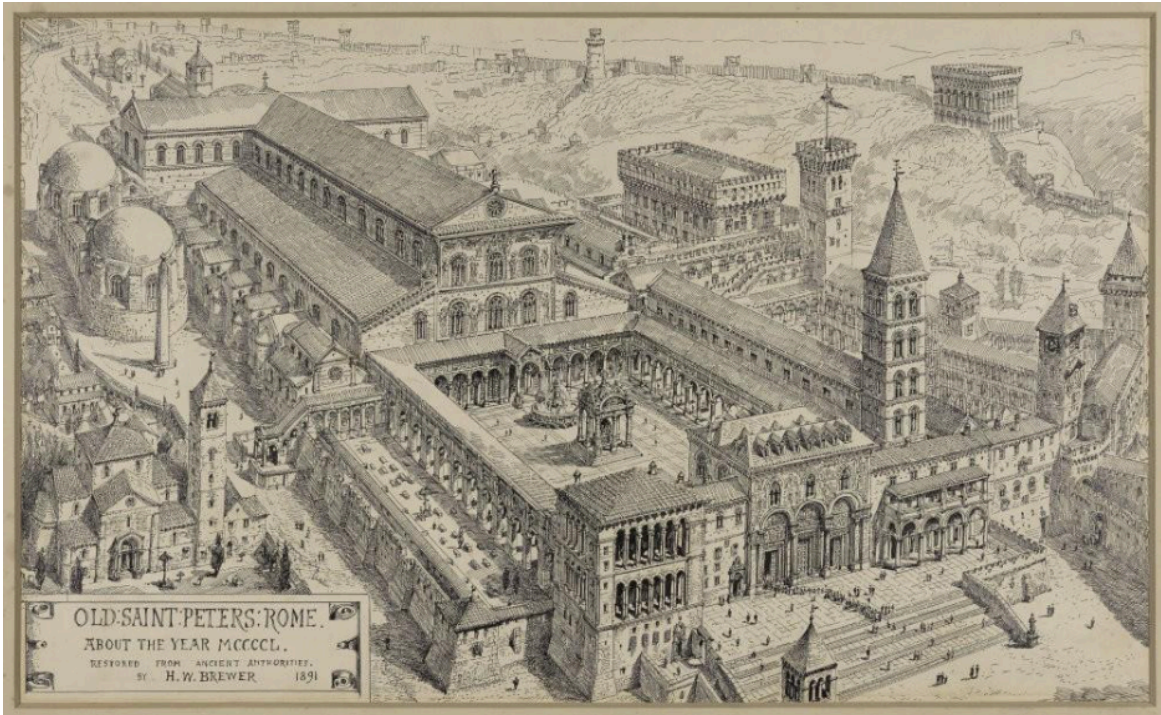
Pope Saint Gregory the Great



The ruins of Amalfion monastery on Mount Athos, a Latin Rite monastery for Italian monks established in the 10th century



A contemporary manuscript depicting Pope Clement III seated next to Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV. Notice that Clement is shown doing the double-handed blessing characteristic of Orthodox bishops. This practice was also the norm in Western Orthodoxy up until the schism, but was discontinued sometime after.



Old Saint Peter's Basilica (Exterior)



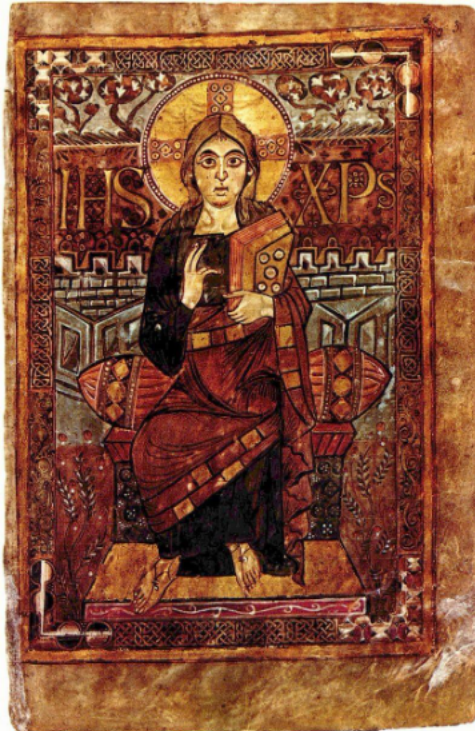
Old Saint Peter's Basilica (Interior)



Christ Enthroned. Book of Kells. Early 9th century Ireland or Scotland.



The Athelstan Psalter. 9th century. Made in Northern France, but taken to England before the 10th century. Distinct Roman influences (swirling Acanthus leaves) and canonical Byzantine figures.



Depiction of Christ in the Godescalc Evangelistary. It was commissioned by the Carolingian king Charlemagne and his wife, Hildgard, on October 7, 781, and completed on April 30, 783.



Ada Gospels, 9th century. Contains a portrait of Luke the Evangelist.



Mozarabic Orthodox iconography. Christ surrounded by angels.



Christ's ascension



Ranworth rood screen, Norfolk, England, 15th Century



Rood screen, Chapelle de Kerfons, France, 15th Century



Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Rome, 8th century



Rood screen, Naumburg Cathedral, Germany, mid-13th century



Frederick North, 5th Earl of Guilford (1766-1827), A British philhellene who converted to Orthodox Christianity from Anglicanism in 1791



Phillip C. Ludwell III, A Virginia planter, soldier, and politician. In 1738, Ludwell became the earliest known convert to Orthodox Christianity in North America and would translate several religious works from Greek into English.



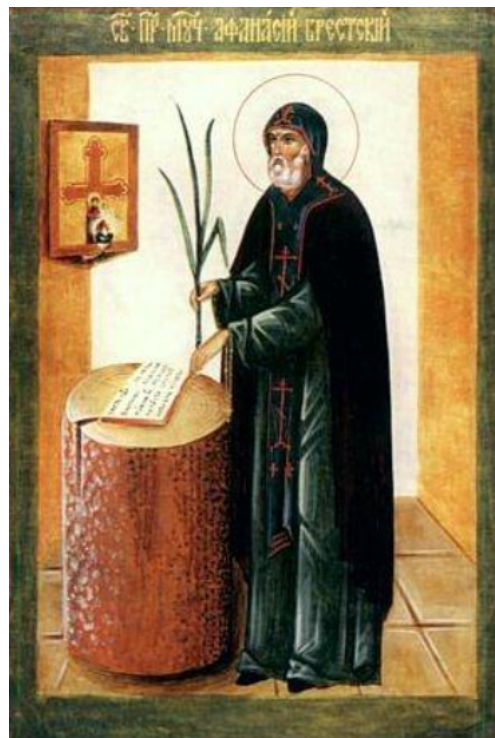
Fr. Julian Joseph Overbeck



Fr. Vladimir Guettee



Saint John Maximovitch performing the Gallican Liturgy of Saint Germain in Paris



Saint Athanasius of Brest, martyred by the authorities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for opposing the forced conversion of Orthodox Christians in Ruthenia to Uniatism

The Age of Gregory VII, 1073-85

The 'Dictatus Papae'

trans. G.A.Loud (unpublished)

This set of 27 propositions is included in Gregory VII's Register, and appears to have been promulgated at the Lenten synod at the beginning of March 1075. Their significance has been much debated. It has been suggested that they were intended from the first as the headings for a 'Gregorian' canon law collection, and while such a collection was never compiled in this exact form, Cardinal Deusdedit drew heavily on them for his important canonical collection, completed in 1086. Alternatively, they may have been simply a statement in principle of papal rights and powers, as envisaged by Gregory. Most of them seem to have been drawn up in response to contemporary debates and problems.

[Translated from *Das Register Gregors. VII*, ed. E. Caspar (M.G.H. Epistolae Selectae ii, Berlin 1920-3), pp. 202-8].

The Dictates of the Pope.

1. That the Roman Church was founded by God alone.
2. That only the Roman pontiff can by right be called universal.
3. That he alone can depose or reinstate bishops.
4. That in a council his legate takes precedence over all bishops, even if he is of a lower grade to them, and he can pass a sentence of deposition against them.
5. That the pope may depose the absent.
6. That among other things we ought not to remain in the same house as those excommunicated by him.
7. That for him alone is it permitted to make new laws, according to the needs of the time, to gather together new congregations, to make an abbey of a canonry, and on the other hand to split up a rich bishopric and to unite poor ones.
8. That he alone may use imperial insignia.
9. That all princes shall kiss the feet of the pope alone.
10. That his name alone shall be spoken in churches.

11. **That this is the only name in the world.**
12. **That it may be permitted to him to depose emperors.**
13. **That it may be permitted to him to translate bishops from one see to another, when need dictates.**
14. **That he has the power to ordain a cleric from any church, should he so wish.**
15. **That someone who is ordained by him can rule over another church, but not serve therein; and that person should not accept a higher grade from another bishop.**
16. **That no synod should be called a general one without his order.**
17. **That no chapter and no book shall be held as canonical without his authority.**
18. **That his sentence ought not to be rescinded by anyone else and he alone of all can retract it.**
19. **That he ought to be judged by no one.**
20. **That nobody may dare to condemn one who has appealed to the Apostolic See.**
21. **That the more important cases of every church ought to be referred to it.**
22. **That the Roman Church has never erred, nor, as Scripture bears witness, will it ever err.**
23. **That the Roman pontiff, if he shall be canonically ordained, is undoubtedly made a saint through the merits of the Blessed Peter, as St. Enodius, Bishop of Pavia, bears witness with many holy fathers agreeing with him, as is contained in the decrees of the Blessed Pope Symachus.**
24. **That by his command and consent, it may be lawful for subordinates to bring accusations.**
25. **That he may oppose and reinstate bishops without assembling a synod.**
26. **That he who is not at peace with the Roman Church shall not be considered catholic.**
27. **That he can absolve subjects from their fealty to wicked men.**

Extracts from Two Anti-Gregorian Tracts

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introduction and abridgement by G.A. Loud

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Introduction

The following pages contain excerpts from two of the many propaganda pamphlets written during the Investiture Contest. These are among the earliest of such tracts written to justify Henry IV's stand against Gregory VII, and to impugn the pope's actions and fitness to hold office.

The *Defensio Henrici Regis* of Peter Crassus was written during Gregory VII's lifetime. Augustin Fliche suggests that it was produced in three stages between the early months of 1082, when Henry IV's army began to blockade Rome, and the summer of 1084 when Henry abandoned Rome to return to Germany, both because of the approach of Robert Guiscard's army and due to a revival of the revolt in Saxony. [Fliche, *La Reforme Grégorienne*, iii.106-7]. On the other hand, Ian Robinson argues that it was composed before 1080, and was largely a

commentary on the first deposition of King Henry in 1076. [Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest, pp. 77-9]. Nothing is known about the author except his name, and that, as can be deduced from his treatise, he was both familiar with Latin classical literature and skilled in Roman Law, extracts from which he frequently cites. It has been suggested that he may also have been the author of some verses celebrating Henry's capture of Rome in 1084, which are in both style and content very similar to this treatise. Robinson suggests that he was linked with, and was perhaps a member of, Henry's chancery - the style of his tract is very similar to other polemical works emanating from members of the chancery, and in particular the letter written in Henry's name denouncing his deposition and calling on 'Hildebrand, false monk' to step down from the papal throne [Imperial Lives and Letters, pp. 150-1 no. 12].

Peter defends Henry IV as the legitimate emperor and defender of the Church, with a great deal of precedent from as far back as the late Roman period, and criticises 'Hildebrand' (he never dignifies the pope by use of his pontifical name) for his personal ambition, (alleged) contravention of the teachings of the Church Fathers, and creation of discord within Christendom. By contrast, Henry's authority was sanctioned by law and custom. and Henry had never sought conflict with the pope, but had this forced upon him by Hildebrand's deliberate and wicked provocation. The latter had no right to judge the king, and had encouraged Henry's subjects to commit perjury and rebel, thus imperilling both their earthly safety and their souls.

The Schism of Hildebrand was written soon after Pope Gregory's death, probably in the spring of 1086, at a time when the confusion surrounding the election of his successor, Desiderius of Montecassino (Victor IV), marked perhaps the lowest ebb of 'Gregorian' fortunes. The author tells us that he had written it in the entourage of the rival pope, Clement III, at Ravenna. The author, Guido, was one of the numerous former Gregorians who had abandoned Gregory in the early 1080's, and joined the imperialist

party. He had previously been part of Gregory's court and knew the pope well. Soon after he wrote this tract he was elected, or appointed, Bishop of Ferrara (in the Emilia Romagna in NE Italy): he can be attested there as bishop for the first time in December 1086. He remained loyal to Pope Clement, and in 1099 was the latter's bibliothecarius (literally 'librarian' or 'archivist', but probably the head of his chancery). When he died is unknown, though Ferrara was captured by the troops of Countess Matilda of Tuscany, a supporter of the 'Gregorian' popes, in 1101.

Guido's work is a subtle one. It is divided into two parts. Book One examines the views put forward by the pope and his supporters in justification of their actions, and rehearses them at some length - Guido was of course an ex-Gregorian whom one might expect to be well-informed about these. Nonetheless, even in this section much of his exposition is ironic, sometimes shading off into heavy sarcasm. Clearly one is not expected to take these papalist views as in any way valid. The section concludes by mentioning Gregory's death and claimed, probably wrongly, that on his deathbed he designated Desiderius as his successor..

Book Two then examines the anti-Gregorian case in the form of a question-and-answer dialogue between a 'Propounder' and a 'Respondent'. It claimed that Gregory's election to the papal throne was invalid, both because it was (so Guido alleged) the product of simony and because he had failed to secure the emperor's permission to validate his election. Here Guido was relying on the forged 'imperialist' version of the papal election decree of Nicholas II of 1059. Furthermore Guido claimed that Hildebrand had anyway shown himself unfit to be pope, by stirring up violence within Christendom, and encouraging rebellion among the emperor's subjects. Here he hit the 'Gregorians' in one of their most vulnerable areas, for even some convinced reformers were unhappy with the idea of a pope preaching a war against other Christians. Other imperialist propagandists such as Wenrich of Trier also used this accusation as a key point in their

case against Gregory, and papalist writers, notably Bonizo of Sutri, were at some pains to defend him from direct responsibility for the violence to which the conflict gave rise. [See here especially I.S. Robinson, 'Gregory VII and the soldiers of Christ', History Iviii (1973), 161-92]. Guido went on to criticise the pope's attitude to the sacraments, and his excommunication of Henry without proper judgement or allowing him to defend himself. He justified the election of Pope Clement on the grounds that since Hildebrand was not properly pope the papal see was therefore legally vacant when Clement was chosen, and he was thus the only rightful and lawful pope. He went on to justify Henry's exercise of authority over the Church by a number of precedents, including once again the forged version of the 1059 decree. He concluded by re-iterating Hildebrand's guilt in encouraging Rudolf of Swabia to rebel and thus stirring up conflict in Germany.

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A contemporary depiction of Henry IV, from the Chronicle of Ekkehard of Aura

A Defence of King Henry [Abridged version]

To King Henry

(1) Among all the tribulations of human life, our present age has produced one type of man so far removed from the customs and integrity of life of former times as to be virtually unknown to nature, so that one wonders whether there has not been some form of miscegenation, or that it does not derive from the previous generation. For, O King, this type shows itself so repugnant in respect of loyalty, justice, truth and all the other virtues - the agents of the soul's salvation - so as either to be wholly ignorant of them, or , if

knowing them, to hold them in hatred. I have, O King, decided to write this work so that none of these should ever be able to sustain the case that your High Magnanimity did not acquire your Majesty's crown lawfully, but only by force of arms; and to set out plainly your Beatitude's equity and justice. Further, since that monk from Satan's synagogue [Gregory VII] would repudiate as a possible judicial forum the Roman laws which as I shall show in my work he so vehemently rejects, I am sending your Magnificence, in case of need, the work wherein the Blessed Gregory [the Great] lays out the respective uses in Holy Church of the civil and ecclesiastical laws.

(2) The blessed Augustine, that most acute commentator on Holy Scripture, after recording in his book *On the Lord's Words* how the Lord's saint maintains that men holding the episcopal dignity are divided into three categories, adds: 'if we define these three categories of person, your holiness will detect those to hold in affection, those to tolerate, and those of whom to beware'. But the Roman people, lax in their own law, rejoice to have as their own pastor in the Holy Roman Church, just that third type, the one against whom he warned us. And this pastor, spurning the laws in reportedly gaining that venerable see by fraud, brazenly works to retain it by force.

Since none can be found among the clergy who knows in his heart that this is so, or grieves at that fatal violence, or brings aid to his Holy Mother [the Church] or [uses] the Laws against him who challenges the Law, I have taken the work upon myself, moved by indignation, to find out what Reason, that guide of the human race, judges in this matter. I find that none of this Pastor's supporters have ever done this, which was not a tedious task.

....Justice and truth are correctly seen to be overthrown by the teachings and judgements of the Roman pastor, who has publically violated each of these principles; that of preaching in that he has turned peace into war, and harmony into sedition; and that of judgement in that he contravenes the Apostle's judgement - 'Do not

judge prematurely' [I Corinthians 4.5] - in respect of that upright, valourous, austere, magnificent, generous, beneficent, good, lawfully-minded king, Henry [IV] . It should have first occurred to him [to ask] by what right he could pass a lawful judgement. Gregory [the Great] says in his letter to King Reccared: 'He who does not judge himself first does not rightly know how to judge others'....

In thus unjustly striking at King Henry, he is also expressly guilty of striking at all the Catholic emperors, whose Holy works equalled the preaching of the Faith in building and establishing the Holy Church on the foundations laid by the Apostles; indeed these by their government brought more numerous companies of men to the Lord's threshing-ground than did the preachers by their preaching. ...

At one time the Christian emperors were in harmony with the popes, and with the other bishops in the east in fighting heretics and in purifying the Holy Church from the evil errors of heresy. On this Leo [I] , that man of Apostolic holiness, wrote to the Emperor Theodosius: 'Insofar as Divine Providence has taken thought for human affairs, manifestly it is the spirit of God that has aroused your clemency's concern that there shall be no turmoil in the Catholic Church, and to wish for no conflict, since the faith, which is nothing if not one, can in no way differ within itself'. ...

... Christ Our Lord preached to his disciples as being the mother and nourisher of all good men, when He said, 'My peace I give you, my peace I leave with you' [John 14.27].

(3) What then, you Patarnes? See, you hold Christ the Lord, to be the giver of peace, you have often heard or understood his Apostles preaching of peace. You know how the Christian emperors, with the popes and other most holy fathers, have striven with great energy to amplify and maintain it. It is for this that King Henry, by God's concession entered into kingship, to be the custodian of this peace and to govern without conflict with your pastor.

That this is the origin of kingship is clearly witnessed by the Prophet Daniel: 'the kingdom belongs to God, to give to who he wishes' [Daniel 4.14]. Note well, I pray you, that the prophet does not say that the kingdom belongs to your pope, but to God, by whom unambiguously it has been given to Henry. In offending against King Henry's peace your pope's arrogance has offended also all those who proclaimed and defended it; and their condemnation of him is unanimous.

However, you Patarenes claim that you defend your Pope Gregory in the name of God, declaring him to be a holy man ruling from the Holy See. But your declaration is not readily comprehensible, and I suspect that within it lurks a danger, since where the Divine power proclaims peace, he promotes war against peace, like those of whom Truth itself says: 'Who is not with me is against me' [Matthew 12.30]. Therefore to defend in God's name a man as guilty as he seems to me nothing else but to offend God in the name of God. ...

... So why, Patarenes, do you not realise your bondage in defence of your pope and this exaltation of him as though he were the ruler of the Church, when he is unanimously condemned as being outside the Church? For Augustine says, 'association with the Church and fellowship of the Holy Spirit is to be denied to him who with false heart engages himself in the body of Christ's flock'.

(4) And so, after laying out this kind of material, which points in one direction, reason now starts to suggest most strongly that I should put down some of the passages presenting the high prudence of King Henry's clergy in suggesting to his most blessed Highness that of his own authority he summon a synod.

Since there were many clergy who promoted this long-standing error, the king deigned to summon the religious bishops - most of them from Italy as well as from beyond [the Alps] - men worthy of respect for their manner of life, their learning and their prayerfulness, fit to sit in judgement in such an assembly. It was also appropriate and

reasonable that in such a synod the treasurers of the Italian dioceses should sit, as well as many of the clergy, worthy of esteem for their conduct as churchmen and for their education.

It was considered right and proper to summon to that synod the Roman Pastor, under pain of war being canonically levied against him, for the laws of Church practice require ecclesiastical authority. For at the very outset of his aberration, even before this monk learned the use of money to fight, he should have had recourse not to physical weapons but to those of the law and legal process. With these the prevailing party would have gained glory without such sacrifice of armed followings, while on the resolution of the case the loser would have suffered the appropriate penalty ... But warfare and the recourse to arms is wholly different; there each party is exposed to the same risks, and each places its trust in either its shield or its legs to avoid death. Following this argument, I say to you: You who guide the human race, I who write as you instruct me fear greatly that these men calling themselves Patarenes have arbitrarily drawn articles out of the corpus of the Law in order to boast of muzzling my boldness. ...

... But, since the laws by which emperors and kings have the duty of restraining the wrongdoing of men are now held everywhere null and void, the kingdom is riddled with injustice while the monk Hildebrand, who spurns the canons, rejoices in wielding the royal power with his army. The king, with all lovers of justice, finds his burden increased; through the monk Hildebrand's deceits they stray into grave error. That is why the blessed Gregory [I] declares: 'Whoever has undertaken the task of preaching the Word of Christ is not fitted for the burden of secular business, lest with his shoulders bowed by this he cannot rise to the preaching of the things of Heaven'. But ever since ambition allied itself with license in the Roman Church to claim civil functions, it is his pleasure to hold the decrees of the Holy Fathers [to be] no longer of any account, the laws no longer to have any validity, and to set up controversial innovations in all matters of

religion; so the Roman Empire, its laws diminished, ends in the loss of all its adornment.

To cite only one among many episodes, the monk Hildebrand began assembling a great amount of money, by which, not many years ago, he was able to exercise a perverted authority in the Church of Milan where he was serving for some years. He was guilty of causing a man's tongue, nose and ears to be cut off; this man had been assigned to assist him at God's altar when none of the senior clergy was willing to assist him. In the bishopric of Cremona some empty-headed woman named Albizia, despite the Apostle's injunction that women should stay silent in church [I Corinthians 14.34], preached from the pulpit itself, in the presence of the people, with the same authority as the Apostles. The bishopric of Nonantola, in defiance of God's law but in conformity with his own, he deprived of its leader. So this unchecked disregard of law leads him to throw both the Church and the whole kingdom into confusion. ...

...What emerges then is that the supporters of the monk Hildebrand have attained such a point of folly as to accuse of falsehood even the Holy Fathers themselves, Gregory, Augustine, Jerome and the rest, to hold them as enemies and shamelessly to denigrate them in exalting the monk Hildebrand? They preach contempt for the teachings of the Fathers, realising that these condemn their perversion and instead sustain and defend King Henry in his sacred prerogative.

(5) You whose lawful duty it is to pass judgement on the guilt of this monk! I beg you by the mercy of God, who has established you as judges of his flock, I beg that your excellence consider by what law and with what respect he came to the Apostolic See. In making your judgement, listen to the words of St. Benedict in his Rule: 'When by personal deliberation a monk promises faithfully to observe the Rule and to submit himself to total obedience, he shall be admitted to the community, knowing from that moment, as the same Rule lays down, he will no longer have licence to leave the monastery or cast off of his own accord the yoke of the Rule, which the long period of reflection

has allowed him to accept or reject. If he owns property he is either to distribute it to the poor, or by legal deed of gift to cede it without reserve to the monastery, for from then on he is not master even of his own body'.

What does your sense of justice conclude in the face of such a statement? Has not this man, who acquired no little money through his threatening letters, discarded the yoke of the Rule he was violating? Has he not placed himself in that fourth category of monk, according to St. Benedict worse than the Sarabaites? [Rule, c. 1]. Has not he - who should no longer be the master of his own body - set himself up to judge the whole world? Sons of men, judge with uprightness so criminous a man, who not only gave nothing to his monastery, but made off with all the possessions of the Blessed Peter's Church. ...

... What should I say in defence of such a man? My opponents, those called the Patarenes, say, with as they think some security, that the blessed Gregory [I] was first a monk but then became a Cardinal deacon of the Holy Roman Church and thence at last came in all worthiness to the Apostolic pontificate. So what? The best reply, to my mind, comes from the man's own words, in the account of his ordination to be read in his Life. There the following is written: ' the venerable pontiff Benedict, observing how Gregory rose to ever higher levels of virtue, removed him by compulsion from the quiet of his monastery to give him duties in Church matters, and he ordained him as his seventh deacon to be his assistant'. So the manner in which Benedict, pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, took the blessed Gregory by compulsion from his monastery is understood to conform to the decree of the Council of Chalcedon and to his own episcopal prerogative, so there was clearly nothing against the rule of Father Benedict in this departure. ... But the monk Hildebrand put himself forward without being summoned, and it is abundantly clear that once out of his monastery he has caused trouble. It therefore clearly

follows that, in the terms of the Council of Chalcedon, he is excommunicate.

What should be done with an excommunicate who, in despite of a Council celebrated by so many Fathers, has ascended the Apostolic throne? Listen to what the Council of Carthage said of such a person: 'if an excommunicate, before the hearing of his case, should presume to re-enter communion, he shall be damned for all eternity'. ...

Therefore let every diocese know that this monk - assuredly excommunicated on the basis of the condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon, absolved himself, and that the Roman people, which as usual follows the canons - those of money - raised him to the pontifical throne. Who can doubt that he, along with those who ordained him, are manifestly struck by the anathema and curse of Gregory?

(6) What more is there to say? You Saxons, who in receiving the Faith in Holy Baptism extended your hand to the Truth, come and listen to me and reckon up the dangers you run. Be alert, I beg you, to the obstinacy with which one single monk labours to destroy and render void the laws which pious emperors have issued for the salvation of you, of your sons and of the whole of Christendom. ...

... Therefore Saxons, your sense of justice should well understand with what great good-will the lawgiver established for you and your children, as for other peoples, that the law be observed in the text of the laws themselves, or by custom conformable to the law. Know also that all these dispositions are sanctioned by the authority of the Divine Law. Listen to the Blessed Gregory [I] in his letter to the Emperor Phocas, where among other things he says: 'Each should have security in possession of his own property and be able to enjoy without fear what he has acquired honestly'. Why do we say all this, Saxons? For is it not on the basis of these laws that King Henry holds his kingship? Can there be, among all mortal men on this earth, any so ignorant, stupid or improvident, so lacking in reason and sense, as to think or believe that an action forbidden by legal sanction against a

private individual is lawful against so great a king; or that the prudent intelligence of the lawgiver was so lacking in reason as to wish to exclude the king, his heirs and successors from the benefits of the law? ...

... Who does not stand appalled at the folly of one who, without the law and contrary to law, declares that emperors and kings cannot have their sons as heirs to their kingship? In ancient times the consuls could not do so, but kings and emperors have always had this right. ... See therefore, Saxons, is it not clearly affirmed that it is neither within your power, nor that of the monk Hildebrand, to make decisions on the kingship which Heaven has granted to Henry? For no one can doubt that kingships are in the gift of the Will of God.

But to continue. Who does not know that the Emperor Constantine in his will divided the kingship among his sons? And Gratian, who made Theodosius his colleague in the kingship, would he not have been able to make a son his heir, if he had had one? But, passing over the ancients, let us come to our own people. We read that Charlemagne was given the government of the kingdom for the defence of the Roman Church and of all Italy, whose enemies he expelled, and at his death left the kingship peaceably to his son. The latter, before his death, divided the kingship among his three sons, and since this division led to some unbrotherly strife among them, the Pope sought through his legates to re-establish peace. This shows how the Apostolic See should always be the promoter of peace, not of war. Some years later, again to defend Italy, the imperial power was assigned to Otto. In the Histories of him is found; 'at the time when the most pious king Otto [I] was anointed as emperor in Rome, as the Lord Pope John, the Universal Pope, sat in synod', etc. To him, by Divine concession, there succeeded his son, and then his grandson. When fatal destiny brought the latter to death, we know that the same imperial dignity, always by Divine dispensation, passed to the ancestors of King Henry, and then to [Henry] himself. None of the emperors has gained such honour, such glory, such praise in the

defence of Italy as has King Henry and his ancestors; nobody in Italy, I may say, has ever dared openly to oppose their power or line, unless it was this monk Hildebrand, the enemy of the law, the enemy of peace, the enemy of all Christendom, with those whom he has deceitfully reared up against the majesty of the empire.

So you have heard, Saxons, that King Henry is the lawful holder of the kingship, on the basis both of the laws and of customs conformable to them.

But we know that your own prudence is not to be held wholly guilty in this respect, since you thought that it was the Apostle Peter speaking through this monk's mouth. But to appreciate and benefit from the truth, I beg you, use your intelligence. You all know clearly that this monk Hildebrand in his great arrogance summoned King Henry on several occasions to judgement before him, but I believe that your sense of justice is ignorant of the deceits and faithless cunning with which he tried to procure proofs of the charges against him; and so the monk Hildebrand, against every norm and the Divine teaching, was the author of an unprecedented falsehood, such as no bishop has ever issued in his own Church. ... Who can endure a pastor who is always searching for ways of inflicting harm on Christ's flock, to which instead he should be giving every help?

Now King Henry, with extraordinary and unprecedented humility, presents himself before him, acknowledging him as his spiritual father. In public, rumour ran, the monk Hildebrand spoke of the salvation of the king's soul, but in private, using the utmost malice and faithless cunning, he looked for ways of removing him from the kingship and bringing him and his sons to death. But, in the name of the Faith of God and St. Peter, which may you always be seen to keep intact and pure among you, consider how this monk's actions contradict the teaching of the Blessed Peter. ...

(7) What more? Does not the monk Hildebrand's hypocrisy show in every word of his dealings with the king? Who can deny that so

sorrowful an affair, so disruptive of the kingdom, was the work of the intrigues of the monk Hildebrand, against whom, in Job's words, the earth howls and its furrows weep? ...

Even more. The monk Hildebrand chose himself a commander and arrayed an army - a thing forbidden by St. Peter - to invade the kingdom. He then returned to Rome, called a council and once again summoned to judgement the king whose enemy, through Hildebrand's obstinacy, was already assailing him. ... The monk Hildebrand could have Duke Rudolf and his army and all the Saxons fighting the king, but could find nobody proper to uphold the charges. ... Does it not follow then, judges, that the monk Hildebrand sentenced Henry to the loss of his kingship in defiance of all the teachings of the Holy Fathers? It is clearly shown that in the judgement against Henry he was accuser, witness and judge; something that the most holy pontiff Fabian prohibited in these words: 'Nobody should presume to be at once accuser, judge and witness'. ...

... Who, therefore, can doubt that Henry is the king whom the Apostle St. Peter commends in the words: 'For love of the Lord, be subject to all human institutions, both to the king as sovereign, and to the governors as his representatives to punish malefactors and reward the good', and again, 'Hold all in respect, love your brethren, fear God and honour the king'. [I Peter 2.13-14, 17] So judges, examine strictly this monk. Against the Apostle Peter he has condemned the man whom the Apostle himself commended. From motives of glory for himself, he has brought the whole kingdom to ruin. ... How then have the Romans sinned in respect of this monk, whom he leads not to life but to the shadows of the Styx? He has bought them and calls them true martyrs, but the ministers of Hell will not take ransom for them. ...

...Am I to keep silent on how this monk brought spiritual and physical death to duke Rudolf and his followers, by openly spurring him on to perjury and the killing of his own lord. Listen to the words of the Blessed Gregory on this question, in the letter sent to King Reccareth of the Goths, where he speaks of Zedekiah, the King of the Children of

Israel, whom God threatened through the Prophet for breaking his oath taken to Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon [Ezekiel 17.16] ... The punishment imposed by this pagan king should make you judges reflect on the severity of the sentence to be imposed on the breaker of an oath to a Christian king, on whom he deceitfully wages war. You should consider in your holy judgement the sentence to impose on one who through his own perverted preaching has induced men ignorant of the laws to pass from loyalty, peace and harmony to anger, hate, perjury and attempts to kill their own lord, seducing them with money from their fealty. ...

... The Apostle conforms to the Prophet in declaring that if a pastor stains himself with killing, he ought to suffer as a murderer. It is indeed written: 'If anyone who preaches the word of Christ has committed any fault within the Church, he ought not to retain his office but be expelled from the Church and spurned by all'. Who believes that this sentence can apply to anyone but the monk Hildebrand and his followers, marked by the Holy fathers as heretics to be removed from the Church? The darkness of his error cannot obscure the virtues of holy bishops or the holiness of the life of abbots and monks, whose teachings and merits are the support and stability of Holy Church.

What further charges await, judges? Was not this monk's ascent to the pontificate the cause of all this disturbance? The Christian Religion has been in confusion and grief ever since he became its guardian. Indeed, he is even more to be held in abomination by all, in that from the very outset of his wicked work he did not begin with little things but passed straight to the theft and plundering of the Church's wealth; [and] bad as was his means of acquisition, still worse was the manner of his spending. ... Does not the monk Hildebrand also show himself brutish, who holds that the edification of souls - what the Holy Fathers did by preaching the Word - is effected by killing with the sword?

(8) It is the laws themselves, you Saxons, which call you, along with your master, into court to render account to King Henry for the invasion of his kingdom. Listen to what is written in the eighth book of the Codex:

'Whoever, before the outcome of a judicial case, shall dare to take forceful possession of property entrusted either to the public treasury or to private persons in anticipation of judgement, shall restore all that he has taken to the person he has dispossessed, and he shall lose all his rights in them. Whoever has taken possession of these aforementioned goods shall not only restore them, but shall [also] be constrained to reimburse their value'.

What then, Saxons? Have you understood the obligation to restore the kingship which you have seized and to reimburse Henry with the value? It is [furthermore] stated in the Institutes that, 'the Lex Julia Majestatis, which has force over those who in any way act against the emperor or the state, lays down the death penalty and the damnation of the guilty man's memory after his death. ...

....Therefore, Saxons, since such severe laws bring such severe reprisals, it is best to refer all to the judge's mercy, so that King Henry, in his benevolence and pity, may mitigate the law's rigours, and of his mercy grant pardon to as many as seek it. It should not arouse wonder if men ignorant of the laws can be turned from their loyalty at the instigation of him who occupies the See from which we all received the faith. But we must be watchful and vigilant at all times and in all places - [for] we cannot indeed sleep securely alongside a snake.

On Hildebrand's Schism: For and Against Him By Bishop Guido of Ferrara [Abridged version]

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Introduction

In the middle of the Lent recently ended, while the Lord Pope Clement was in residence at Ravenna, I was most heavily engaged in Curial business, but when time and circumstances allowed, I engaged in some literary studies. For some unknown reason, an argument arose among the brethren over the schism which has recently broken out, associated with Hildebrand. Some condemned, but others defended it. It was debated for a long time and the argument became drawn out, until I was approached with the request that I should write a short treatise on this schism, in which I should lay out first the arguments in favour and then those against. This was seen to be essential, for the serpent was wandering abroad, gathering its strength little by little, and surreptitiously taking over many provinces. I resisted for a long time both their request and their appeal to charity in the Lord, but after quite lengthy discussion I agreed and promised to do what they asked, provided they aided me in my work with their prayers, for I knew that this task could not be done on its own and without the Lord responding to their prayers. So great a subject, and one of such difficulty, was not to be attempted lightly, for it involved a whole ocean of texts from the Sacred Scriptures, and to produce in evidence a great many theologians and to distil the excellence of their genius.

And so, not trusting in any particular merit or literary skill, but solely in the help of the Lord, I embarked on the deep arguments put forward by the two parties to this great dispute, to provide a succinct understanding of it so that those who wish either to justify or to

oppose it may be ready and prepared with the arguments on either side.

At the outset my reader can find the list of chapters for his careful attention, and will see that while in the first part of this work the theme is one of proof, in the second, under the same headings, comes rebuttal. But having laid out and expounded all the necessary material as ably as I can, I shall then put forward my own thoughts, which do not conform to those of either of the two sides.

The Chapters

- 1. That Hildebrand was canonically elected to the papacy.**
- 2. That he lived a moral life and was orthodox in his teaching.**
- 3. On the excommunication that he imposed on King Henry.**
- 4. On the causes of the excommunication.**
- 5. That this excommunication was not frivolously done, but properly.**
- 6. That emperors had been similarly excommunicated by other popes, and that excommunication is possible in one's absence.**
- 7. On the question of Rudolf as king.**
- 8. That his allowing the Germans to go to war against King Henry was not reprehensible since he wished to force him to good by applying pressure.**
- 9. On his absolving the Germans of the fealty that they owed to King Henry.**
- 10. Of the persecution he promoted against unchaste, simoniacal and perjured priests, deacons and bishops.**
- 11. That plunder was lawfully taken from laymen.**
- 12. That his prosecution of schismatics was legal.**

13. Why he had a duty to insult them.

14. That it was not proper for him to remain silent over guilty clerics and laymen.

15. That he was not to be held to account for the bloodshed, the wars, the disasters and all the other things of this kind which befell the Germans.

16. That it was justifiable for him to resist his opponents.

17. The reasons for his order that sacraments were not to be received from excommunicates and schismatics.

18. Why he was unwilling to be in communion with them, and why he removed others from communion with them.

19. That no prince has the power to appoint or invest with any church.

20. The same.

Book One

(1) There are those who discredit and lay charges against Hildebrand's succession. But when the matter is carefully examined, everything they allege is seen to be false, being asserted imprudently rather than prudently. For, as I have learned from most religious men and have heard from report brought to me, when Alexander of blessed memory had died but was not yet buried, the clergy, people and entire Senate gathered together, and unanimously and with one accord took hold of Hildebrand by force, as being their pre-eminent desire, and from a thousand directions acclaimed him. He was chosen by the clergy, sought out by the people, and approved by the votes of all the bishops and priests. So we could say of him what Cyprian said of Cornelius, that when Alexander's place, the See of Peter, was vacant, he was made bishop by God, by the judgement of Christ and by the witness of nearly all, or indeed more truthfully virtually all of the clergy by the people there present, by the assembly of good and

senior priests, and nobody else was made before him. This is the rule laid down by the Canons for the appointment of a bishop - this the Fathers decreed, this the Ancients confirmed. How can one say that he was not lawfully elevated, being appointed by so correct a manner of selection? I see nothing harmful in this, for he was called to govern the Roman Church by the Lord, like Aaron. It was by Christ's grace and not by bribery as some declare.

(2) The quality of his life and the soundness of his doctrine may be easily seen. As soon as he was consecrated bishop, he showed himself to be a faithful administrator of the ecclesiastical patrimony, provident in his arrangements for the safe-keeping of towns, villages and castles, giving instructions for the preservation of present holdings, and working for the recovery of what had been forcibly taken. He raised a militia force, not as some maintain out of vainglory, but for the extension of the Roman Church, which had suffered from the Normans' force and on other fronts had been reduced almost to nothing. By this means all those who had harmed her, or taken her property, were filled with fear. The neighbouring peoples and communities observed the Lord Hildebrand's militia with awe; it drove away enemies by daily operations, fighting and marching, in a matter not of a few years, I may say, but of a few months; it recovered castles and towns; it put down rebels, and nobody could be found so bold or so rash as not to fear to touch St. Peter's property.

He was a defender of widows and dependants, a support of orphans, a champion of the poor. All the available wealth he had he lavished on the needy, the feeble and the unhappy. He was constant in fasts and spent his time in prayer. He gave himself to his studies, and made of his person a Temple of Christ. He overcame sleep when he wanted it, cheerfully endured hunger even when there was plenty of excellent food. He preferred to go thirsty and endure the discomfort, even when others were drinking at his table. Others may shun the company of men, avoid contact with women, keep away from the city crowds, go out into the unfrequented places, seek out the trackless and wild

parts, live in the rocky caves of the mountains, feed on herbs and drink from springs, [and] live among the wild beasts. But he of necessity adopted a regime of greater merit, being held even by the people of this world, the children of darkness, to be most noble for his singular merits and manner of life. When all were occupied with secular business and the desires and ambitions of the world, he transcended in his mind all virtue, holding this life to be a pilgrimage not a homeland.

(3) Then King Henry, who was at that time an adolescent, chose counsellors from those of his own age and, contrary to royal custom, rejected the counsel of the nobles and magnates. Gravity of manner always wins greater praise in a king; a king should be consistent, strong, strict and magnanimous - he should do good and be liberal. But he ignored older and serious-minded persons and gave his favour to the flippant and the young - both in years and feelings. So he began to neglect religion, to enjoy material things and everything transitory, to cultivate luxury and, instead of holding to his marriage, took as many ladies as he could get. He very much enjoyed the company of young men, especially handsome ones, but whether this reflected vice, as some have pretended, there is insufficient evidence to say. What however was clear was that he neglected his wife and strayed into various lecherous desires, as the number of his illegitimate children shows.

These affairs were reported to Hildebrand, backed up by many letters and proofs, and that Christian soul was for long uncertain what to do. To pretend to know nothing was dangerous; it was impossible to reprove the king privately, while to do so openly was unprecedented. He foresaw grave dangers to the Christian Faith if money were to be considered more important than grace, and gold than merit. He realised that to reprove the king would bring disaster to all. [But] how could the king be the punisher of crime, the avenger of wrong-doing, if he himself was a follower of the same errors? By what arrangement could he preserve the laws for others, who in himself was destroying

the rule of equity? How could he be the minister of justice who was making himself the author and master of wickedness? ... But since 'there is no fear in love, and perfect love casts out all fear' [I John 4.18], he first summoned the king with kindly and gentle warnings, gave him instances and instructed him with arguments from the Scriptures; he also put fear into the king's accessories by his exhortations that they should not encourage their lord in such acts. He sent frequent legations, he issued letters and orders for him to change his life for the better and to remember that he was king and governor of his people for the purpose of strengthening them, not of pulling them down, and that it was far better to be known as a king who subdued the passions of the soul than as one who dominated his people. He should wipe out the heresy of simony within his empire. It was not for this that he had been consecrated to royal power by Almighty God. The pope also suspended from their episcopal office those bishops of Lombardy who were engaged in simony, ordering them to appear before the Apostolic See, that they should either accept his judgement or be sentenced and condemned. But this king was not only unwilling to accept these counsels of salvation, but indeed added to his wickedness with even more iniquities. When he realised that he had been summoned by papal letters, he became uneasy that his empire and wealth would be diminished; and so he put his mind to overthrowing Hildebrand, and investigated how this could be achieved. In order to avoid any possibility that he might be excommunicated [himself], he summoned all the bishops of Gaul and Lombardy to an assembly, with orders to excommunicate the pope. ...

(6) ... 'Where', they say is it to be read or heard of, in what books, recorded in what histories, that any bishop or pope condemned any emperor? Let them accept this reply to their objections and stand amazed, if they will, at these instances of former times. Sixtus, Bishop of the Roman See, struck Valentinian and Honorius with the sword of excommunication and removed them from the imperial dignity. What then? Is it therefore no longer lawful for the Roman Church, in these modern times when the glory of Christianity has been spread so wide,

to do what was valid in earlier and tempestuous days? Or is the power of binding and loosing sometimes to be accepted and sometimes rejected? May this never cross Christian minds! ... And it can be shown that this was done not only by Sixtus, for it is read that in more recent times Pope Stephen II did the same. For he excommunicated King Desiderius of the Lombards, who for a long time had violently oppressed the Roman Church, and had received and rejected many warnings. He first excommunicated him, and then went openly to Gaul, to Charles, with his complaints at his wrong-doings. He led Charles and the army that the latter had gathered to Rome, deposed Desiderius from the royal office and appointed Charles as Emperor. ... If the Roman pontiffs whom we mentioned above could do this, and not only they but others, bishops of lesser function, were assured of the power to depose so many emperors and kings from the royal dignity and imperial glory, for various temporal causes, then let them say who wish to, why Hildebrand could not with that same papal authority excommunicate King Henry and suspend him from the imperial office.

(7) We think that the above arguments and examples should satisfy those who were outraged at the king's excommunication, and so we shall now continue to the other points made against Hildebrand. It is said: 'Who can accept calmly that unprecedented deed, Duke Rudolf's seizure of the kingdom from his lord, and his breaking of so many oaths in his ambition for the empire? If Hildebrand had done nothing else, he should be reprehensible for this alone, for giving to posterity so fatal and wicked a presumption of authority; for this alone he ought by law to be condemned. Until now warriors have been held to their sworn loyalty; they have reacted to and avenged offences against their lords; they have defended their power and their honours; they have stood watch for their safe-keeping, and they have held it as the equivalent of sacrilege for anyone to assail their status. Now things are turned round and warriors are arming against their lords, sons are rebelling against parents, subjects are rising against kings, right and wrong are confused, the sacred binding power of oaths is

outraged, the laws of mankind are revoked, the language of dutiful conduct has disappeared, and all consider themselves entitled to defraud and deceive, to betray and to perjure. Who will not think this an example to follow when they see the Apostolic See bestow its approval?' ...

But let them listen with patience to the arguments that he himself puts forward for his case, not false arguments but sound ones which he expounded to many in his presence, myself included. It was during the holding of a synod that mention of Rudolf's election was made. Hildebrand then explained to some there the deposition of the king and how reasonable it had been. Then, as though to justify himself, as if he knew the sort of things with which they would charge him, he brought Heaven and earth to witness that he had never indicated any assent to this election, and had not been aware of it. But let us suppose that he erred, either in lying or in being deceived. If this were so, could he not be excused, for if once Henry had been lawfully condemned and deposed by the authority of Peter, I do not see what obligation Rudolf had towards him, nor how he could be accused of stealing his kingship. ...

(8) Let us continue, as the Lord gives us help, to examine the rest of their objections. In order to silence us on other matters, they say: 'But who would excuse him for stirring up the Germans to war, or for giving them permission to fight Henry and (something forbidden to churchmen) let loose so great a harassment of that king. It is the duty of churchmen not to make war, to endure equably the hostility of others, and not to engage in vendettas. Nowhere do we read of Jesus or any of the saints doing any of these things. If we cannot give a satisfactory answer, let our lords the Fathers make answer to them. ...

[A long discussion follows, drawn largely from St. Augustine's Against the Donatists]

(10) ... Those who debate such matters usually put forward this. What need was there for him to set laymen against clerics who were

simoniacs or were guilty of other crimes? Why did he have them arrested? Why did he deprive them of their faculties? Why did he have them killed? Why did he have so many other things done to them, things alien not just to Christians but to pagans, heathens and barbarians? It would have been enough if he had challenged sinners in the manner of his predecessors, following the norms established by the Apostles and the holy Gospels; if he had summoned them privately; if he had brought cases to open court, [and then] if they did not stand corrected treat them like pagans and publicans. But alas, to such ignominy has the priestly state fallen that (and we ourselves were present) a certain priest of Cremona, caught in the act of adultery, was dragged away from the woman with whom he was found, and made to go round the circuit of the city, like a horse with his harlot on his shoulders, with everyone following and pouring out of the city by every gate like a mass migration, whipping the priest as he carried her and all cheering. With things like this, who needs more to amaze him? Who would not grieve at so great a shame to the clerical state, the like of which is beyond record? These things are shocking, truly unheard of in previous generations. But, as I have learned from trustworthy men, who have had long discussions with him on such matters, he would say that he had never ordered such heavy cruelties to be inflicted on priests. It greatly grieved him to hear of them, that the ignorant mob should be stirred to such new infamies, and he was most unhappy that such insults, and [indeed] murder, chaining, impaling and imprisonment should be inflicted on the priesthood by laymen. ...

(15) There remains now that matter, which is seen to be the greatest and most important, which all are accustomed to respond to with the words: 'Whoever among the Christians stirred up such wars and sent so many men to their deaths?' Twice, three times, indeed many times, war has broken out between the Saxons and the king, in which at least four or eight thousand men have been killed. Every district abounds with heaps of corpses and with blood. The river is choked with the multitude of the slain and overflows its course into the fields,

its flood seeming ever greater because of the slain. The earth stands stunned and shocked at this unprecedented state of affairs, and grieves that so many of its natives lie there, by no natural end but killed by the sword. What will be said in judgement when the blood of the slain cries out against him, 'avenge, O Lord, our blood'. ...

(20)We must continue what we have begun. As we have said, having passed sentence on Hildebrand, and so far as is possible deposed him from the papacy, the king and all the bishops of his party, with far less certainty, replaced him. They were afraid of his shrewdness, wary of his counsels, amazed at his great mental activity, and what is normally a matter of greatest concern to mortal men, they noticed that he had a considerable quantity of money. ...

But before we complete our promise to the brethren, we may add something concerning his death, which was not part of our original intention and may seem removed from our brief. But of his death every praise is sung, and a beginning without an end displeases everyone, being [like] a body without feet.

[Guido describes the rescue of Gregory by Robert Guiscard's Norman army in 1084]

... But then fighting broke out with the Romans, and he [Robert] burned a great part of the City and killed many of the citizens. Churches were torn down, and the women, both married and single, were violently abused before being taken, hands bound behind their backs, off to the tents. These shameful events so offended the Romans that they were filled with a great hatred towards Hildebrand, and all their sympathy turned towards King Henry ...

.... Robert ordered a return to Salerno, taking Hildebrand with him. When they had been at Salerno for some time, and while the duke was occupied with other matters, Hildebrand made an effort to return to Rome, wishing with the aid of Robert and his great army to subdue the Romans. But, amid all the paraphernalia of war, he was struck

down by illness and brought to the point of death. In his last moments he proposed the Abbot of Montecassino as his successor to the papacy, and then he died. When the great duke heard of his death, he summoned the archbishop of the city, the clergy and the people, who held the vigils and the offices duly appointed, and then the body was buried in the newly-constructed basilica of St. Matthew the Apostle, with requiems properly celebrated for him. ...

Preface to Part Two

In the first part of this work, as the Lord inspired us, the arguments were laid out as we promised, and many texts cited, which support Hildebrand's case. I recall my promise in the preface that in the first part I would defend him and put forward what is stated as the sure arguments on his behalf. If I have not done this as well as I would have wished, I have at least done it to the best of my ability. ... But now it is time for us, beyond any chance of rebuttal, and with texts from the most authoritative writers, to condemn the error which has spread far and wide through many provinces. Readers who pick this up should know that we are setting it forth in the form of a dialogue between two individuals, one making a statement and the other replying to it - this will make it more useful to the audience, as by this method of presentation the truth will be more readily weighed out. So whenever the letter P. comes it stands for Propounder, and the letter R. for Replier.

The Chapter Headings

[1-6 mutilated]

7. That the election or establishment of Rudolf as king was done against God and Man.

8. That he should not have set the Germans against their king to fight and harass him.

9. That he should not have absolved the Germans from the bond of their oath, and that he should not have allowed the betrayal of their lord by his vassals by reason of perjury.

10. That one should correct and persuade schismatics and adulterers, and not persecute them.

11. That the Lord Pope Clement and his election are to be upheld.

12. That the whole German war, its slaughter and bloodshed [was Hildebrand's fault?]

[In fact, this part of the work is not divided into chapters - G.A.L.]

The Beginning of Book Two

P. For me nothing is or will be more certain than that Hildebrand legally succeeded Alexander, and that this can be shown by such clear evidence as will leave no one with the slightest scruple. If there is anything that can be said against his election, to show it somehow disreputable, it should not be difficult to demonstrate it.

R. There are two factors in his election which come together, and both of these are argued by some with a certain amount of justification. For they say that, 'Nicholas [II] , Bishop of the Roman See, prompted by great urgency, held a synod of many bishops, 123 of them, and in their company decreed and ordained as a sound measure, that whoever should aspire to the papal dignity, or consented freely, or gave aid to such a one, without the consent of the Christian prince, that is the Emperor Henry and his successors, should be excommunicated.

This was decreed because all the Roman nobles, on the death of every Bishop of Rome, would each put forward their own individual pope, for such is the traditional greed of the Romans and also the levity of their minds, so that at times the Roman Church might have four or five bishops. From this there arose many disputes, murders,

fights, disturbances and squabbles - each [noble], supported by a horde of knights and with the help of his relatives, was able to despoil the Roman Church. The patrimony of the Roman Church was split up into countless sections, and in the final result the one who paid out the largest sum of money to the Romans was held to be the best and most worthy pope. He would be acclaimed within the walls while the rest were banished. So the Throne of Peter was made the playground of Simon, and what was formerly an act of grace became a cash transaction.

At last, by the will of God, Bishop Gerard of Florence, a Burgundian by birth, was promoted to the papacy by universal desire and consent, and he was confirmed by all the clergy and the cardinals under the style of Nicholas. He was greatly upset by the wretched state of the Roman Church, and he feared the danger arising from this heresy of simony; and he wished with the strength of God to eradicate this perverted custom. So he summoned a synod, at which he confirmed everything as above under penalty of excommunication. We have in Rome read a copy of this decree, with the names of all the bishops who were present for that business and all subscribed to it. But the rules laid down by this decree were neglected and concern for excommunication put to one side, for the the king's approval was not sought when Hildebrand conceived the idea of taking the papacy; and so he incurred for himself and his accomplices the bond of excommunication. That is why they disallow, challenge and condemn his election, and call it less an election than a rejection. Either that synodical constitution of Pope Nicholas is to be held invalid, which it would be wrong to believe since the Roman See has never decreed anything invalid, nor (as God is its guide) has it ever made an unworthy ruling. Or - if it is valid, and it is and always will be lawful (saving only the Faith) for the Roman See to establish new procedures - if it is valid, then it must be accepted that Hildebrand was improperly chosen and so has incurred the risk of being cursed.

...

... Finally, if you maintain that the consent of the king is an impediment to the election of a pontiff, what obstacle did the approval of [the Emperor] Maurice impose on the election of Gregory [I] ? We can read in that pope's own writings that when he heard of Gregory's election by the clergy and people, he rejoiced greatly since Gregory was godfather to his son, and issued a decree ordering his consecration. O, if only the election of Hildebrand had received the approval of King Henry! None of these violent wars would have arisen and the Christian religion would have preserved its peace.

P. I accept that one of the two aspects of the criticism of his election is proven. Expound now the second!

R. We said that there were two aspects, one assured, the other less so. Those who were present bear witness that, on the night following Alexander's death, he took out of the treasury all his money, which he poured out on the Romans in great quantity. He made them his servants so that, before Alexander was even buried, he could be elected as though by an upsurge of the whole people. And this was done. In the morning, with Alexander's body still warm and unburied, the people gathered together as had been pre-arranged and planned during the night. Hildebrand was seized, was grabbed, was constrained, and was chosen. If this was by his contriving, then it was faulty. If it was against his will, then there are no grounds for condemnation. But I hold the matter to be so uncertain that I can make no judgement at all.

P. Let us put his election aside, for you have said enough about that. What I want to know is whether he has been deprived of the papacy, as many think? For there is a dictum, 'a judge cannot be judged by anyone, nor will he be judged by anyone. If he is the pope he must pass sentence on himself'.

R. The answer to this is easy. If any faith is to be placed in Scripture, which is to be revered, it can be shown by clear evidence that he has been deprived of the papacy. Let us suppose that he was [rightly]

pope, and then was not. For as Pope Simplicius wrote, 'whoever abuses the power granted to him deserves to lose his prerogative', as the Holy Gregory [also] declares, 'whoever exercises it, not for the benefit of his subordinates, but for his own gratification' [deserves to lose it]. This man has abused the power granted to him, has exercised it for his own gratification and not for the benefit of his subordinates.

P. I would like you to prove to me what you put forward. In what did the abuse of the power given to him lie? When this is established, then it is also established that he was not pope or has been deposed.

R. If he lived and promoted a way of life contrary to the rule of the Holy Fathers; if he did not exercise the papacy with the proper moderation; if he used the power of binding and losing without justice, but only followed his own will; then he abused the power given to him. All these things took place.

P. Take your points slowly one by one.

R. First then, it is proven that his manner of life was contrary to the rule of the Holy Fathers. That he also promoted this, we shall show in the proper place. From a boy he followed secular business and paid attention to military affairs. He involved himself in many killings. He polluted himself with sacrilege. He tied himself up with perjuries. In addition, he set sons in arms against their parents, set vassals against kings, aroused servants against their masters, and throughout the world destroyed the peace of the Church. ...

... That he followed secular business and paid attention to military affairs is proved by the testimony of all the Romans who were his contemporaries. Now when he was called young, he was called a monk. Yet he amassed for himself a great quantity of money, and under the pretence of guarding and freeing the Roman Church, he acquired clients and (in the manner of the Romans of Antiquity) he paid out donatives to individual soldiers.

P. Which of the sacred writers would think it reprehensible for him to have followed such business for the sake of liberating the Roman Church?

R. [*Cites St. Jerome*] ... As the Church is diminished in earthly things, so in proportion it gains in spiritual ones. Again, Pope John [VIII] wrote to the Empress Engelberga, excusing a Bishop of Rieti from military service: 'Nobody may be compelled or intimidated beyond the sphere of his profession to perform secular service. The defence of the land and military matters belong to the lay power'. Again Jerome: 'If the corrupting use of iron weapons is never permitted on behalf of the Faith by which the Church lives, how much more is it forbidden to make use of armoured battle lines on behalf of fleeting earthly things. In this respect even Peter, who personifies the Church, was forbidden to strike and told to put his sword back in its sheath, after he had cut off a man's ear. [John 18.10-11]. ...

P. I see that, and am perfectly satisfied that he should not have concerned himself in military matters, or engaged in warlike operations, even for the liberation or defence of the Church's property. But continue with the other things which you put forward, that he involved himself in many killings, that he polluted himself by sacrilege, and that he involved himself in perjury.

R. First of all, answer me this. Is it right to call a man a murderer or perjurer, who through his actions induces others to commit murder or perjury, or even orders the committing of these crimes?

P. This is what the sacred Scriptures would seem to imply, and the evidence of all the eloquent theologians seems to concur. ... It is agreed then that he can be called a murderer or a perjurer who is responsible for others committing murder or perjury. But we wish to know instances of his responsibility in this, and the opinions of the writers of sacred matters over this. It should not be too difficult to explain.

R. He was guilty on all these counts. [He was guilty] in that he gave orders for Rudolf to be set up as king against his own lord, despite the many oaths of loyalty that bound him. He absolved all the other German magnates from their oaths of loyalty owed to King Henry, and roused them, by letters and by frequent legations, to go to war with him. In this he truly polluted himself with sacrilege, since he sent them the money which [St.] Peter's devotees had given to the Church, to stir them up to even greater hatred....

P. The sacrilege charge is clear, in that to use the Church's property, which is meant for the poor, on other things is to be called sacrilege. For this reason we can rightly call him sacrilegious, in that he sent the Church's money, provided by devotees, to the German magnates. But I would like you to tell whether the establishment of Rudolf as king, which you say was done at his orders, was a matter of blame, and whether he is to be held responsible for the Germans' war, which again he ordered.

R. [*Cites St. Ambrose here*]

P. There is no remaining doubt, if we examine this text of the Blessed Ambrose, that we can declare the creation of Rudolf as king is to be condemned, and that we would even judge that the despatch of warriors to war with their own lord, Henry, was blameworthy. A man should not attack his lord in armed conflict, but should support him. But if, as Hildebrand declares, he neither ordered nor desired this war, but only wished to remove from power a king who was misusing it and transfer it to another, is it not like Pilate, who did not order Christ's death, although the latter was killed before his eyes? What can be said against that?

R. I do not think that I need to reply to such inept justifications, but simply give this response from Father Augustine [Tractate on St. John's Gospel, c. 114]:

'Why have you been so hard of heart, you false Israelites? Have you lost all sense of evil, to hold that His blood will not be upon you, you who handed him over to others for His death? Was Pilate, to whom he was handed for killing, going to kill Him with his own hands? If you did not wish Him to be killed, if you did not trap Him. if you did not buy His betrayal for money, if you did not arrest Him, bind Him, lead Him forth, if you did not Hold him for killing and demand this with your cries, [then] you can boast that he was not killed by you'.

Who can fairly say to Hildebrand and his accomplices: 'If you did not send a crown to Rudolf, if you did not by letters and legates promote war, if you did not plot against him, if you did not arm vassals against their lord, if you did not send Roman money there, if you took no counsel with the unrighteous, if you did none of these, then you may boast that these deaths were not due to you. ...

P. ... Hildebrand has rightly incurred the guilt of these perjurers, and of the killings as well as the perjuries. Therefore, as the arguments which you brought out above show that he lived contrary to the rules of the Fathers, do not delay the proof of the other two charges that you brought with the first; namely that he did not exercise the papacy with proper moderation and that his teaching was contrary to the rule of the holy Fathers, and (the third) that in his exercise of the power of binding and loosing he did not follow justice but his own will.

R. ... He did not exercise the papacy which he held with proper moderation, for he was exceedingly rough and ferocious towards his opponents, employing the savagery of some wild beast. In correcting faults he was immoderate, while at the same time showing some vicious people a favour beyond measure. I could call to mind many who were chained and shut in prison, locked there in irons, so that, however they turned, the irons dug into their sides. But report says that he went even further. That man Gregory of Vercelli, one of the most infamous on the whole earth, was treated as though he was someone sent from Heaven. He also held Udalric of Padua, a very sewer of viciousness, in great esteem.

P. You have shown well enough that he did not exercise the papacy he held with moderation. But I would now like proof of what next follows in our debate, that his teaching was contrary to the rule of the Holy Fathers.

R. He taught contrary to the Fathers of the the New Testament when he gave orders that the sacraments of schismatics and unworthy ministers were not to be received, but rather spat out; and that the consecrations of excommunicates, whether of oil or of the Eucharist, or in the ordinations that they made by the laying on of hands, were invalid and ought not to be termed consecrations. ..[*A lengthy discussion of the views of St. Augustine on this topic follows*].

Both separation from the Church by sacrilege of schism and celebrating when banned from the Church's communion are unlawful and not well done. But to each and to both, the sacrament, which is to be revered, has its saving effects for the unity and community of the Church.

[*The argument then goes on to consider whether Henry IV's excommunication can be considered valid*]

R. The procedure for issuing an excommunication is as follows. Whoever, as it is alleged, shall have done this or that shall be summoned, once, twice, three times; having been summoned there shall be a debate, and before sentence of excommunication shall be issued against them, they shall be convicted of their offence, either by the evidence or by their own confession. We have seen and heard that none of these procedures were observed in the case of King Henry. ... Father Augustine says ... 'The Apostle did not wish for man to be judged by man on the basis of suspicion [Romans 2.1], and even by some extraordinary and assumed right, but rather by the Law of God in accordance with the procedure of the Church'. ...

P. It follows from this that in so binding King Henry he was following not the path of justice but his own self-will. ... These sound arguments

have removed any remaining doubts in my mind. But I greatly and earnestly desire to know whether it is possible to counter them when they say; 'It is no outrage of the Lord's precepts if we are compelled to fall back on force when we cannot call a man back from his wickedness and are unable to correct him'. It was by this argument that he used force and any other means available to restrain the king. Since his warnings were insufficient to check the king, he mobilised the Germans in war against him. But I would like you to show with sure arguments whether this reasoning is just.

R. It is not my own arguments that I adduce, but those of the Fathers who rebut all such fatuities. ... Gregory of Nazianzen says: 'It is not proper to use force or compulsion in constraining people - one should persuade them by argument and the example of your living. Everyone who puts pressure on the unwilling is seen as acting with tyranny'. ...

P. If we wish to consider the foregoing arguments carefully, and turn over everything above [in our minds] with the most diligent of scrutinies, we must in the end come to the conclusion that Hildebrand did pollute himself with murder, that he is guilty of sacrilege, and that he has incurred responsibility for many perjurers. It therefore seems to be time to consider the election of Guibert, on which there is much doubt. You must discuss this and defend it with whatever arguments you can. For his opponents reproach him as follows: 'If Hildebrand held the papacy, and the Apostolic See was not therefore vacant, how could this man be imposed over Hildebrand's head? He is nobody's successor, but has made a wholly new start.

R. I know that they put forward such things and use whatever arguments they can to disparage the papacy of Clement. But we are used to refuting their feeble point and to supporting Clement's election. Let us be silent on everything proved above, that he deposed himself from the papacy, in that he polluted himself with murder, he stained himself with sacrilege, and he incurred responsibility for many perjurers. [*He cites precedents for the replacement of one pope by another*]. ...

But we do not quote this to imply that the Lord Clement had an unlawful beginning; for Hildebrand did not at that time hold the office and place of pope. ... [God] has given us in the Lord Clement a most worthy man, even if there might perhaps have been something irregular in his assumption of office. His virtue and merit has in the outcome shone out, even if at the outset there might have seemed something blameworthy. How often is it to be read in the history of the Roman Pontiffs that there were two popes at the same time, in contention, and that great numbers of the clergy and people adhered to each, and that he alone prevailed whom the Roman emperors decided to confirm. ...

... [Furthermore] It has been seen to be necessary that when imperial and royal rights have once been handed over to the Church, that they should frequently be confirmed through investiture by kings or emperors, since it is not possible for a perpetual tenure to be based on a grant by a single, individual, king or emperor. ...

P. Suppose someone says, that we moderns may not change what was sanctioned in Antiquity, and that the decrees of our ancestors should prevail over those of the present day?

R. Father Augustine rejects this false allegation in his book Against the Donatists, declaring that the later councils have greater weight than the earlier. Councils, he says, which have been held in individual regions or provinces, do by general agreement and without argument yield to the plenary councils which represent the whole Christian world; and of these, the older may be emended by the later. ... The argument of Gelasius and others of our predecessors, that appointments to churches were not to be made by emperors or kings, as well as the argument of Ambrose, are therefore deservedly open to change for the better by those who come later, so that what our predecessors have been seen to forbid may be allowed by later generations when the need and advantage of the Church demands. So indeed a council held in Rome by Pope Nicholas [II] , and attended by one hundred and eight bishops, unanimously laid down that

henceforth no Bishop of Rome should be enthroned without the consent of the Christian prince holding the government of the kingdom at the time. For what remained concealed in earlier times, God Himself has willed to be revealed, so that what was formerly enclosed is now in the open, so that all may know of it. ...

[Royal powers over the Church are now discussed]

... Those who say that appointments to bishoprics belong to the clergy should deign to consider that Moses was not a priest, yet the Lord placed him over the people of Israel and conferred such grace on him that it was through him that He gave the Law, through him that he gave orders for priests to be appointed, through him that He ordered tabernacles to be set up ... If all these things were granted to him who exercised no sacred function, how can it seem unfitting for emperors and kings to make appointments to bishoprics, when they themselves have received an anointing greater and in some respects more worthy even than that of bishops? For this reason they should not be counted among the laity, but rather, by reason of their anointing, be considered the deputies of the Lord.

With the help of God, I have gone through everything that I put forward. It only remains for me to fulfil the promise that I made at the outset, that after explaining the two sides as understood by myself, I would set out how I see the matter between the two parties. There are two issues which prove the condemnation of Hildebrand to be correct. [First] he established Rudolf as king and failed to prevent war among the Germans, in which the blood of eight thousand men was shed. In this he incurred the guilt of perjury, in that he made the Germans violate the oaths - religious sacraments - by which they were bound. [Secondly] he is a schismatic in that he taught that the sacraments of unworthy ministers and excommunicates were polluting, and ordered that they should not be received, or indeed that they should not be called sacraments at all. In this he entirely contradicted the rules of the Holy Fathers.

I have composed this for your, venerable father, as you instructed me, in which, in the first book I put the case for Hildebrand, and in the second I extensively discussed the case against him. I did not presume to deny your instructions in anything, but at the same time I am sure that my work will prove valuable to anyone who wishes to read it.

Hincmar of Rheims' Previously Untranslated Defense of the Metropolitan Rights

Note: *Archbishop Hincmar's Defense of the traditional autonomous Synodal System of Metropolitan Provinces, against the new fangled pretensions emanating from Old Rome in the 9th Century, is well-known; an attempt was made at the Synod of Ponthion to violate the rights of the Bishops, by elevating Archbishop Ansegis of Sens to the status of Primate of Gaul and Germany, contrary to the established Canonical Decrees and Traditions. Despite all attempts to force the issue, the Bishops, led by Abp. Hincmar, denied the ability of the Bishop of Old Rome to contradict the Canons of the Holy Councils and those accepted Decrees of the Bishops of Old Rome that had been found in conformity with them. In a word, dozens of Sainted Popes, Fathers, Canons, and Councils of the past far outweighed the innovative will of a living Pope, especially when the latter was contrary to the aforesaid Fathers and Councils.*

“Against the measure of the Canons the validity of Papal enactments must be gauged. As we have observed in another context, the Archbishop [Hincmar] disputed the Papal freedom to judge and approve the Canons which the younger Hincmar [of Laon; the deposed nephew of the Archbishop] affirmed in exalting the Papal Decrees themselves to the status of Canons. For the Archbishop, the consent of the Apostolic See could never be given validly to any establishment contrary to the Canons of Nicea; indeed, the vigour of Papal enactments derived from the fact that they were promulgated “ex sacris canonibus” [from the Sacred Canons]. So firm was he in this position, that he was charged before Pope John VIII at the Synod of Troyes (878) with “being unwilling to receive the authority of the Decrees of the Pontiffs of the Roman See.” According to the historian Flodoard, he answered this charge with the equivocal promise “to receive and carefully to follow (as far as they are to be followed) the Decretals of the Roman Pontiffs received and approved by Holy Councils.” The very words of Hincmar's promise to obey any Decree of the Roman Church, issued “according to the

measure of the Holy Scriptures and the Decrees of the Holy Canons,” contain the same qualification.

“The Popes, according to the Archbishop, did not promulgate laws; for, once subscribed and promulgated, laws remained binding forever, and Papal Decretals were issued, not as abiding regulations, but as counsel for temporary conditions. Once the immediate circumstances which evoked a given Decretal were past, the edict lost its legal relevance. Therefore, some of the Decretals were incorporated into the Canons, and so preserved their binding power; others were altered for application to new circumstances; the rest slipped into desuetude.” ([“Two Kingdoms: Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought”, pages 92-93, by Karl F. Morrison](#))

Bound by the Scriptures, Councils, Fathers, Canons, and the rights of the local Churches, and, heeding only those Papal Decrees that were in conformity with them, were given according to equity, and had been incorporated thus into the Canons, the whole scheme of Ultramontanism and Hildebrandianism would have proved impossible to enact; the only way around this was through forgery, violence, and lies. The two visions of the Apostolic See of Old Rome, that of Hincmar’s “De Jure” and that of Hildebrand’s “Dictatus Papae”, were fundamentally incompatible; they were light and darkness; it was Hildebrand’s that, after decades of violence and fraud, “won” in Old Rome.

Part I of Hincmar (+882), Archbishop of Rheims Treatise “De Jure Metropolitanorum” [On the Right of the Metropolitans], written to the Bishops concerning the inviolable Rights of the Metropolitans, Written against the attempted Usurpation of the Rights of the Metropolitans by Papal and Imperial Legates at the Synod of Ponthion in 876, in favor of Archbishop Ansegis of Sens

Epistle 30

To the Bishops

Concerning the Rights of the Metropolitans, when the Primacy concerning Ansegis was discussed.

I. The Decrees of our Lord, both Most Holy and Most Reverend, the Apostolic Pope John, promulgated from the Sacred Canons, just as both the Holy Forebearers and his own predecessors, established from the same Sacred Canons by the Spirit of God, and consecrated with the reverence of the whole world, promulgated, how much is from us, not prejudicial to the opinions of our brothers and Co-Bishops, who are absent, to whom these their own writings are sent, reverently we receive, each Metropolitan having maintained his own right, like the Mystical Nicene Synod irrefragably decreed to be preserved, saying:

“Let the ancient customs in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis prevail, that the Bishop of Alexandria have jurisdiction in all these, since the like is customary for the Bishop of Rome also. Likewise in Antioch and the other Provinces, let the Churches retain their privileges.” (Canon 6) “But in every Province the ratification of what is done should be left to the Metropolitan Bishop.” (Canon 4)

II. Which Decrees of the Holy and Great Council of Nicaea the Blessed Innocent thus explains to Alexander the Antiochian Bishop, saying: “Considering, therefore, the authority of the Nicene Synod, which alone unfolds the minds of all the Priests throughout the whole world, what things it decreed to be necessary not only for all the Priests, but also for all the faithful to observe concerning the Antiochian Church, we acknowledge that the said Church was established by it, not over any Province, but over its own Diocese.” (Epistle 20)

And Pope Boniface writing to Hilary the Bishop of Narbonne, said: “It summoned us to be diligent guardians of paternal decrees. Since it seems, in fact, the constitution of the Nicene Synod to no one is unknown, which thus commands, that we may place the same proper words, through each and every Province that each Metropolitan ought to have the right, neither can two be subjected to one. Because they, for it is not to be believed otherwise, advised by the Holy Ghost kept themselves, agreed.” (Epistle 3, To Hilary, Bishop of Narbonne) And somewhat

after: “Which for that reason we say, that thy charity may take notice of us in order to keep the precepts of the Canons, that thus our constitution also may be defined, to the extent that each Province ever might look to the Ordination of its own Metropolitan in all things.”

III. And the Holy Synod of Bishops of the Province of Africa writing to Pope St. Celestine said:

“The Nicene Decrees have most plainly committed the inferior Clergy and the Bishops themselves to their Metropolitans. For they have ordained with great prudence and justice that all matters shall be terminated in the places where they arise; and they did not think that the Grace of the Holy Ghost would be wanting to any Province, by which Grace the Bishops of Christ would discern with prudence and maintain with constancy whatever was equitable; especially since any party who thinks himself wronged by a judgment, may appeal to the Synod of his Province, or even to a General Council.” ([Letter of the African Bishops to Pope St. Celestine concern Apiarius](#))

And hence St. Celestine, for the firmness of the matter recalling the Decrees of the aforesaid Boniface, decreed that each Province ought to be content with their own Metropolitan, saying:

“First, that according to the Decrees of the Canons each Province should be content with its own Metropolitan, that what was given by our predecessor to the Bishop of Narbonne, they hold established, nor is a place for usurpation conceded to one Priest in the injury of another, therefore let each one be content with the concessions to his own self, and the others presume nothing in another Province.” (To the Bishops of Gaul, c. 4) And also the same: “No Priest may ignore the Canons or do something that could obstruct the Rules of the Fathers. What of worth will be preserved by us if the norms of established Decretals be shattered at the whim of certain people?” ([Pope St. Celestine to the Bishops of Apulia and Calabria, sec. 20](#))

And St. Leo to Theodore, Bishop of Forum Julii: “Your first proceeding, when anxious, should have have been to have consulted your Metropolitan on the point, which seemed to need inquiry, and if he too was unable to help you, beloved, you should both have asked to be instructed [by

us]; for in matters, which concern all the Lord's Priests as a whole, no inquiry ought to be made without the Primates." ([Letter 108, sec. I](#))

IV. And because Holy Roman Church, to whom solicitude of all the Churches was commissioned in Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, has many Metropolitans in its own particular diocese, as St. Leo shows by Bishop Anastasius of Thessalonica, likewise also the Alexandrian Church in its own diocese; but also the Antiochian See has several Metropolitans in its own Diocese, as St. Innocent writes to the same Bishop of the Alexandrian See (cf. Epistle 20 of St. Innocent of Rome), and we find in the Ecclesiastical Histories and Synodal Acts the same also with Metropolitans; which Holy Roman Church commissioned its own vicars, according to the Sacred Nicene Canons it decreed their own rights to be preserved just as the same Blessed Leo writing to the same Anastasius said: "Therefore, according to the Canons of the Holy Fathers, which are framed by the Spirit of God and hallowed by the whole world's reverence, we decree that the Metropolitan Bishops of each Province over which your care, brother, extends by our delegacy shall keep untouched the rights of their position which have been handed down to them from olden times: but on condition that they do not depart from the existing regulations by any carelessness or arrogance." ([Letter 14, To Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica](#))

Therefore it is to be attended to that if the Apostolic See by Metropolitans of its own particular Diocese, just as we read in the Epistle of Blessed Gregory to Regestus, whom, on account of the distance, he delegated his own duties to such Vicars, he ordered his own rights to be kept according to the Sacred Nicene Canons, as also is said in the aforesaid Epistle of Leo to the aforesaid Anstasius, saying: "Or perhaps some crime had reached your ears, and Metropolitan that you are, the weight of some new charged pressed you hard? But that this is not consistent with the fact, you yourself make certain by laying nothing against him. Yet even if he had committed some grave and intolerable misdemeanour, you should have waited for our opinion: so as to arrive at no decision by yourself until you knew our pleasure. For we made you our deputy, beloved, on the understanding that you were engaged to share our responsibility, not to take plenary powers on yourself." ([Letter 14, To Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, Sec. 2](#))

V. To those Metropolitans (who are also called Primates many times in the Sacred Canons, each are able to be ordained in place of the departed Archbishops and Metropolitans by the Bishops of each Province without the examination of another Primate, and from the law of ancient custom, they are accustomed to be distinguished with splendor of the Pallium by the Apostolic See, to whom the solicitude and preeminence of all the Church in the Primacy of St. Peter was collated, Palliums are usually to be marked for such a character, and in the place of deceased Bishops, without the decree or permission of another Primate, in his own Province each are able to ordain Bishops) their own rights ought to be preserved in all manners according to the same Sacred Nicene Canons: which inviolably decreed, that just as for the Alexandrian Church, for it is the custom that it is equal even to the Bishop of the City of Rome, likewise the same at Antioch, so for other Provinces their privileges are preserved for their Churches.

Concerning which Sacred Canons the aforesaid St. Leo thus says here and there to Anatolius the Constantinopolitan Bishop: “After the Consecration of the Bishop of Antioch, which you claimed for yourself contrary to the regulations of the Canons, I grieve, beloved, that you have fallen into this, that you should try to break down the Most Sacred Constitutions of the Nicene Canons: as if this opportunity had expressly offered itself to you for the See of Alexandria to lose its privilege of second place, and the Church of Antioch to forego its right of being third in dignity, in order that when these places had been subjected to your jurisdiction, all Metropolitan Bishops might be deprived of their proper honour. By which unheard of and never before attempted excesses you went so far beyond yourself as to drag into an occasion of self-seeking, and force connivance from that Holy Synod which the zeal of our Most Christian Prince had convened, solely to extinguish heresy and to confirm the Catholic Faith: as if the unlawful wishes of a multitude could not be rejected.” ([Letter 106, To St. Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, sec. 2](#))

VI. In accordance with these and other Decrees the Apostolic Sees are held: “That if both all Priests and the world assent, the damnation involves the consenting, the consensus does not absolve the prevarication. For the crime is not diminished, but increases, when the general is made from the private. For the God of all indicated this, Who destroyed the sinful world with a

General Flood.” And again St. Leo said to the aforesaid Anatolius: “And that state of things which was truly ordained by the Holy Ghost in the Canon of Nicaea could in any part be overruled by anyone! Let no Synodal Councils flatter themselves upon the size of their assemblies, and let not any number of Priests, however much larger, dare either to compare or to prefer themselves to those 318 Bishops, seeing that the Synod of Nicaea is hollowed by God with such privilege, that whether by fewer or by more ecclesiastical judgments are supporter, whatever is opposed to their authority is utterly destitute of all authority.” (Letter 102, sec. 2) And a little after: “These Holy and Venerable Fathers who in the City of Nicaea, after condemning the blasphemous Arius with his impiety, laid down a Code of Canons for the Church to last till the end of the world, survive not only with us but with the whole of mankind in their constitutions; and, if anywhere men venture upon what is contrary to their Decrees, it is ipso facto null and void; so that what is universally laid down for our perpetual advantage can never be modified by any change, nor can the things which were destined for the common good be perverted to private interests; and thus so long as the limits remain, which the Fathers fixed, no one may invade another’s right but each must exercise himself within the proper and lawful bounds, to the extent of his power, in the breadth of love.” (sec. 4) For there are other Sees, other Presidents, and to each the great honour is their own integrity.

VII. And also the same to the Chalcedonian Synod writing, he said: “Concerning the customs established of the Holy Fathers, which in the Nicene Synod: “On the matter of preserving also the inviolable Decrees of the Holy Fathers which were issued at the Council of Nicaea, I admonish the observance of your holinesses that the rights of the Churches must remain as they were laid down by the 318 Divinely Inspired Fathers. Let vicious ambition covet nothing belonging to another, nor let anyone seek his own increase through injuring another. For however much vainglorious pride builds on extorted assent and thinks that its depredations can be strengthened through talking of councils, whatever differs from the Canons of the aforesaid Fathers will be null and void. As for the reverence with which the Apostolic See follows their regulations, your holinessess, from reading my writings in which I repelled the attempts of the Bishop of Constantinople, will be able to learn that, with the help of Our God, I am the guardian

of the Catholic Faith and of the Ordinances of the Fathers.” ([Letter 114, St. Leo the Great to Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon](#)) And to Marcian Augustus: “For the privileges of the Churches determined by the Canons of the Holy Fathers, and fixed by the Decrees of the Nicene Synod, cannot be overthrown by any unscrupulous acts, nor disturbed by any innovation. And in the faithful execution of this task by the aid of Christ I am bound to display an unflinching devotion; for it is a charge entrusted to me, and it tends to my condemnation if the Rules sanctioned by the Father and drawn up under the Guidance of the Spirit of God at the Synod of Nicaea for the government of the whole Church are violated with my connivance (which God forbid!), and if the wishes of a single brother have more weight with me than the common good of the Lord’s whole House.” ([Letter 104, St. Leo the Bishop to the Emperor Marican, sec. 3](#))

VIII. And to Pulcheria Augusta: “For no one may venture upon anything in opposition to the enactments of the Fathers’ Canons which many long years ago in the City of Nicaea were founded upon the Decrees of the Spirit, so that any one who wishes to pass any different decrees injures himself rather than impairs them. And if all Pontiffs will but keep them inviolate as they should, there will be perfect peace and complete harmony through all the churches; there will be no disagreements about rank, no disputes about Ordinations, no controversies about privileges, no strifes about taking that which is another’s; but by the fair law of love a reasonable order will be kept both in conduct and in office, and he will be truly great who is found free from all self-seeking, as the Lord says, ‘Whosoever will become greater among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever will be first among you shall be your slave; even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister.’” ([Letter 105, St. Leo to Pulcheria Augusta, Sec. 2](#)) And to the Antiochian Bishop Maximus: “Because my respect for the Nicene Canons is such that I never have allowed nor ever will the Institutions of the Holy Fathers to be violated by any innovation. For different sometimes as are the deserts of individual Prelates, yet the rights of their Sees are permanent: and although rivalry may perchance cause some disturbance about them, yet it cannot impair their dignity. Wherefore, brother, if ever your consider any action ought to be taken to uphold the privileges of the Church of Antioch, be sure to explain it in a letter of your own, that we may be able to reply to your application completely and appropriately.

But at the present time let it be enough to make a general proclamation on all points, that if in any synod any one makes any attempt upon or seems to take occasion of wresting an advantage against the provisions of the Nicene Canons, he can inflict no discredit upon their inviolable decrees: and it will be easier for the compacts of any conspiracy to be broken through than for the regulations of the aforesaid Canons to be in any particular invalidated.” ([Letter 119, To Maximus, Bishop of Antioch, Sections 3-4](#)) For the tranquility of universal peace will not be able to be guarded otherwise, unless his own reverence for the Canons is preserved inviolate. For whatever is deferred to the Episcopal examination beyond special causes of the Synodal Councils, is able to have some rationale to be judged, if nothing about it was defined by the Holy Fathers at Nicaea. For what is discordant from their Rules and Constitution, will never be able to obtain the consent of the Apostolic See.

IX. And St. Pope Hilarus to Leontius, Veranus, and Victor the Bishops, among other things at a place [says]: “Thus we delegate to your charity the understanding of the attached plaint, that nothing against the to be venerated Canons, nothing against the judgment of my predecessor of holy memory be valid, whatever may have been done hidden from us. For we do not wish, most dearly beloved brothers, the privileges of the Church, which are ever preserved to be confounded, nor do we permit the right of one Priest to hold in another Province, for through this no less is transgressed against the Decrees of Holy Traditions, which hastens unto an injury of the Lord Himself, with the expectation of the enjoyment of our ministry, not in the latitude of the regions, but in the acquisition of souls is placed.” And again the same to Bishops of diverse Provinces: “These [things] to your universal charity and already through our brother and co-bishop Antonius we directed written; in which are urged that common solicitude of all might be procured, that no brother transgress the boundaries, established by the venerable Fathers, in order to injure another.”

Concerning which terms the Antiochian Council, commended in the Great Chlacedonian Synod, says in the Thirteenth Canon: “No Bishop shall presume to pass from one Province to another, and ordain persons to the dignity of the Ministry in the Church, not even should he have others with him, unless he should go at the written invitation of the Metropolitan and Bishops into

whose country he goes. But if he should, without invitation, proceed irregularly to the Ordination of any, or to the regulation of Ecclesiastical Affairs which do not concern him, the things done by him are null, and he himself shall suffer the due punishment of his irregularity and his unreasonable undertaking, by being forthwith deposed by the Holy Synod.” And consonant with this it says in the Twenty-Second Canon, the conclusion of which is as follows: “If he may not be able to Ordain, neither shall he be able to judge.”

And hence St. Gelasius says in the Decrees to all the Bishops concerning Ecclesiastical Institutions: “Since we desire that nothing against our reverence for the salutary rules be allowed by chance, and since the Apostolic See, with the Lord protecting, desires to hold those things which have been established in a pious and devout way by our ancestors’ Canons, it is an indignity if anyone, either a Pontiff or member of the lower Orders should refuse to observe what the See of Blessed Peter follows and teaches. And it should be fitting enough that the whole body of the Church is in accordance with this observance, which anyone can see to be thriving where the Lord of the whole Church has placed primacy.” (Epistle 14 of St. Gelasius)

The decisions of these two heroes, Leo and Gelasius, are very much to be attended to by all our people, especially amidst the others, lest the students presume that their teachers did not wish to allow it, and if the cedars trembles at the great sounding voice of such thunder, what is to be done with the boards? For Leo said: “that state of things which was truly ordained by the Holy Ghost in the Canon of Nicaea could not in any part be dissolved.” (Letter 106, To Anatolius) In which sentence no person is excepted, whatever power or dignity he is endowed with. And Gelasius said: “Since we desire that nothing against our reverence for the salutary rules be allowed by chance....it is an indignity if anyone...should refuse to observe....what the See of Blessed Peter follows and teaches.” Hence St. Augustine, at a prior time, in place afterwards, by all the Pontiffs of the Apostolic See in his own time, and after his own death, indeed and by all the Catholic Church, counted amongst the best teachers, we very much receive in the book “On True Religion” (cap. 21) he says: “The spiritual man judges all things, but is himself not judged by anyone (1 Cor. 2:15), that is, by any human being, but by that law alone by which he judges all things, since nothing could be truer than the words: “For all of us must be brought before the

Judgment Seat of Christ.” (2 Cor. 5:10) So he judges all things, then, because he is above all things when he is with God. But he is with Him when his understanding of things is totally uncluttered and when he loves what he understands with total charity. In this way, as far as he can, he himself also becomes the very law by which he judges all things and on which nobody can pass judgment. It’s the same with these temporal laws: although human beings make judgments about them when they are enacting them, nonetheless, once they have been enacted and confirmed, none will have the right to make judgments about them but only to judge in accordance with them. Still, the maker of temporal laws, if he is a good and wise man, will consult that eternal law itself, which no soul has been given the right to judge.”

XI. And which sentence Blessed Gelasius confirms in the Decrees to the Bishops through out Dardania established, saying: “We trust, that no already true Christian is ignorant, of what was constituted by the Synod, which the assent of the Universal Church approved, no other See it behooves more to follow before the others than the First, in which each Synod both by its own authority confirms, and it guards with continued moderation, namely for its own principate, which Blessed Peter the Apostles perceived by the voice of the Lord, the Church nevertheless subsequent, both ever holds and retains.” (Epistle 2, sub initium)

And Pope Symmachus to Caesarius, Bishop of Arles: “It is reasonable for the Holy Church of Arles to enjoy its own privileges. Recent audacity should not dishonour what Tradition has preserved and the authority of the Fathers has confirmed. This should be done in such a way, however, that the privileges acquired over time by other Churches are not weakened, since it is not possible for something that involves the injury of the whole to be healthy on its own. Leaving in effect those privileges granted to individual churches by the rulings of the Fathers, we have decided that the expertise of your brotherhood should watch over religious matters that arise in Gaul and Spain.” (Epistle 11) And after a while: “Therefore, as we said above, long-standing privileges preserved in individual Churches should be maintained.”

And hence St. Hormisdas in the Epistle to Blessed Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, writes, saying: “To the most dearly beloved brother Remigius, Hormisdas. Receiving the full congratulatory colloquia of thy fraternity, with which we were gladdened with the corporal indication of thy true

health, with spiritual offices supported by safety, we have perceived to be suitable to open this joy with words which we carry with mind. For thou dost heed the documents of the High Pontiff, while thou dost both preach, and thou dost not delay to make them known. So we have received by anticipation an omen that our choice is judicious, when we learned that thou hast accomplished what we order tirelessly all others to do, that is that thou dost try to maintain the observance of the Rule of the Fathers and the authority of the Apostolic See in Province, separated by such great distance.

“Therefore our vicars through all the Kingdom of our beloved and spiritual son, Clovis, whom lately with supporting Supernal Grace to the fullest, and equaling in the times of the Apostles, accompany the salutary preaching with miracles of the signs, thou hast converted to the Faith with the the whole Nation, and thou hast consecrated by the Gift of Sacred Baptism, we do commit by present authority, saving the privileges, which Antiquity decreed for the Metropolitans: increasing the dignity of his zeal by the participation of the Ministry, watch over the relevant ones by the same remedy of dispensation. And it is allowed that thou dost not need to be informed concerning singular matters, from which already we have proved acutely everything to be kept, however it is usually preferred, if about to go down the path it is shown, and the form of the work is shown by the labors enjoined. Thus we command that the Rules of the Fathers and the Decrees defined by the Most Holy Councils must be observed by all. We offer brotherly advice and encouragement for thy vigilance and concern about these cases. Watch over them with as much reverence as is fitting, let no opportunity for fault be an obstacle to holy observance! That is where we find specified what is lawful and what is unlawful, what is forbidden, to which no one should dare to aspire, and what is allowed, that a mind pleasing to God should seek. Whenever the defense of Religion demands a General Council, all thy brothers should gather on thy summons, and if a particular topic is the occasion of trouble between some of them, then restrain disputes born between them, and find solutions to conflicts by examining the Holy Law. But whatever there is established on behalf of Faith and Truth, either a precept provided by dispensation, or has been confirmed by the authority of our person, the whole, may be brought to our knowledge by the instructed attestation of relation. It becomes by it that both

our soul given by the charity of office, and thou by security, may thoroughly enjoy having been accepted. May God keep thee safe, dearest brother.”

XII. And St. Gregory in the Epistle to Virgilius, Bishop of Arles, said: “And so we commit to thy fraternity, according to the Ancient Custom, under God, our vicariate in the Churches which are under the dominion of our Most Excellent son, Childebert, with the understanding that their proper dignity, according to primitive usage, be preserved to the several Metropolitans. We have also sent a Pallium.” (Epistle to Virgilius, Book V, Letter 53) And in the Epistle to Dominicus the Archbishop of Carthage, he said: “Further, as to what your fraternity writes about Ecclesiastical Privileges, keep to this without any hesitation, since, as we defend our own rights, so we observe those of all several Churches. Nor do I through partiality grant to any Church whatever more than it deserves, nor do I under the instigation of ambition derogate from any what belongs to it by right; but I desire to honour my brethren in all ways, and study accordingly that each may be advanced in honour, so long as there can be no opposition to it of right on the part of one against the other.” (Epistle to Dominicus, Book II, Epistle 47) And to Natalis, Bishop of Salona, he said: “But as to your saying that what has been hand down and guarded by my predecessors ought to be observed in our times also, far be it from me to infringe in any Church the statutes of our ancestors with regard to my fellow Priests, since I do myself an injury if I disturb the rights of my brethren.” (Epistle to Natalis, Book II, Epistle 52)

XIII. Thus this matter, that above was shown, concerning the Ancient Right of each Metropolitan which is to be preserved, and the subsequent Canons of the Council established the Sacred Nicene Synod. Namely the Antiochian, saying: “It behooves the Bishops in every Province to acknowledge the Bishop who presides in the Metropolis, and who has to take thought for the whole Province; because all men of business come together from every quarter to the Metropolis, and the rest..” (Canon 9, Synod of Antioch) And the Canons of Constantinople decreed (Canon 2) that the Synod of that Province may dispense those things which are through every Province, as the Decree by the Nicene Council agrees to be. And the Universal Chalcedonian Council said: “We have judged it right that the Canons of the Holy Fathers made in every Synod even until now, should remain in force.” (Canon 1, Council of Chalcedon) And again the same: “Therefore,

according to the Canons of the Holy Fathers, the Holy Synod decrees that the Bishops of every Province shall twice in the year assemble together where the Bishop of the Metropolis shall approve, and shall then settle whatever matters have arisen.” (Canon 19)

XIV. And thus the Holy Council of the Province of Africa decreed, that which had been established in the Nicene Council be preserved in every way, and that they who were Ordained later should not dare to put themselves before those Ordained prior. Whence among other things Aurelius says at a place: “It would not be fitting that we should repeat these things, were it not for the existence of certain inconsiderate minds, which would induce us to making such statutes; but this is a common cause about which our brother and fellow Bishop Valentinus has spoken, that each one of us should recognize the order decreed to him by God, and that the more recent should defer to the earlier ordained, and they should presume to do nothing when these have not been consulted. Wherefore I say, now that I think of it, that they who think they may presume to take precedence over those ordained before them, should be coerced suitably by the Great Council. Xantippus, Bishop of the First See of Numidia, said: All the brethren present have heard what our brother and fellow Bishop Aurelius has said, what answer do we make? Datian, the Bishop, said: The Decrees made by our ancestors should be strengthened by our assent, so that the action taken by the Church of Carthage in past Synods should hold fast, being confirmed by the full assent of all of us. And all the Bishops said: This order has been preserved by our Fathers and by our Ancestors, and shall be preserved by us through the Help of God, the Rights of the Primacy of Numidia and Mauritania being kept intact.” (Canon 86 according Latin numbering and text, of the 419 Council of Carthage)

XV. And the same Sacred Canones: “It is pleasing that whosoever onwards is Ordained throughout the African Provinces, they receive letters by their own Ordainers, written by their hand, containing the Consul and Day, that no altercation concerning posterior and anterior may arise.” (Canon 14, Council of Milevis) Whence Pelagius, the predecessor of St. Gregory, writes to Childebert, King of the Franks, concerning Sapuadus, Archbishop of Arles (Pelagius I, Epistle 11), rebuking him, that we may use his own words, for to the petition of the Bishop ordained by him unto judgment, of the Bishop of the following city, that by no Ecclesiastical Law or reason it

is conceded, ye might order to meet what is about to be judged, that by himself concerning he shall trample of his own place by judgment complaining, that he who usurped, necessarily he must be culpable concerning illicit presumption.

And St. Gregory decreed to be most vigilantly guarded that the latter not prefer themselves to prior, and that no Metropolitan in the Province of another Metropolitan, without consulting him, presume something of right, writing to Augustine, Bishop of the English, he said: “Over the Bishops of Gaul we give thee no authority, since from the ancient times of my predecessors the Bishop of Arles has received the Pallium, and we ought by no means to deprive him of the authority that he has acquired.” (Book XI, Epistle 54, To Augustine, Response to Question 9)

And after a while: “But thou thyself wilt not have power to judge the Bishops of Gaul by authority of thine own; but by persuading, alluring, and also exhibiting thine own good works for their imitation, and so moulding the dispositions of the vicious to concern for holiness; and seeing that it is written in the Law, “One passing through the standing corn of another must not put in a sickle, but rub the ears with his hand and eat.” (Deut. 32:25) Thou canst not, then, put in the sickle of judgment into the crop that is seen to be committed to another; but by kindly good offices thou canst strip the corn of the Lord from the chaff of its defects, and by admonishing and persuading, convert it, as it were by chewing, into the Body of the Church. But whatever is to be done authoritatively, let it be done with the aforesaid Bishop of Arles, lest there should be any disregard of what the Ancient Institution of the Fathers has provided.” (Epistle 54)

XVI. And that concerning this one Gallican Primate, who had received the Pallium from the Apostolic See, said, this also concerning the remaining Primates of the Gauls, Belgians, and Germans, is, of course, understood. Among whom, such as among the remaining Bishops, this regular condition is preserved, that he who was Ordained first, the prior is had, even the same St. Gregory in another Epistle to the aforesaid Augustine, patently showed. Concerning which Primates the same Sacred Canons say that whoever of the Bishops is accused, the accuser himself ought to take the cause to the Primate of the Province. And they who thought to be challenged, to the Primates of their own Provinces may challenge, just as was established often concerning Bishops. And the Bishop, who does not rush to the Synod, is ordered to report the

reason of delay to his own Primate. And if the Bishops, among whom the cause is engaged, are of diverse Provinces, the Primate ought to give the judges, in which province is the place, concerning what is contended, and the investigation is ordered to be finished through the Bishop-Judges, or those whom the Primates give, or whom they delegate, from consent, among the complaining neighbours themselves.

XVII. But the order and prerogative priority not only according to the Sacred Canons and the Decrees of the Pontiffs of the Roman See, ought to be preserved among the Bishops, but also among the Presbyters, just as St. Leo in his own Decretal to Dorus, Bishop of the City of Benevento, promulgated out of the same Sacred Canons, says among other things at a place ([Epistle 19](#)):

“But if the eagerness of an intriguer or the ignorant zeal of his supporters demanded that which custom never allowed, viz., that a beginner should be preferred to veterans, and a mere boy to men of years, it was your duty by diligence and teaching to check the improper desires of the petitioners with all reasonable authority: lest he whom you advanced hastily to the priestly rank should enter on his office to the detriment of those with whom he associated and become demoralized by the growth within him, not of the virtue of humility, but of the vice of conceit. For you were not unaware that the Lord had said that “he that humbleth himself shall be exalted: but he that exalteth himself shall be humbled,” and also had said, “but ye seek from little to increase, and from the greater to be less.” (Mark 10:43) For both actions are out of order and out of place: and all the fruit of men’s labours is lost, all the measure of their deserts is rendered void, if the gaining of dignity is proportioned to the amount of flattery used: so that the eagerness to be eminent belittles not only the aspirer himself, but also him that connives at him. But if, as is asserted, the first and second presbyter were so agreeable to Epicarpus being put over their heads as to demand his being honoured to their own disgrace, that which they wished ought not to have been granted them when they were voluntarily degrading themselves: because it would have been worthier of you to oppose than to yield to such a pitiable wish. But their base and cowardly submission could not be to the prejudice of others whose consciences were good, and who had not done despite to God’s Grace; so that, whatever the transaction was whereby they

gave up their precedence to another, they could not lower the dignity of those that came next to them, nor because they had placed the last above themselves, could he take precedence of the rest.

“The aforesaid presbyters, therefore, who have declared themselves unworthy of their proper rank, though they even deserved to be deprived of their priesthood; yet, that we may show the gentleness of the Apostolic See in sparing them, are to be put last of all the presbyters of the Church: and that they may bear their own sentence, they shall be below him also whom they preferred to themselves by their own judgment: all the other presbyters remaining in the order which the time of his ordination assigns to each. And let none except the two aforesaid suffer any loss of dignity, but lest this disgrace attach to those only who chose to put themselves below a junior who had only lately been ordained: that they may feel that that sentence of the Gospels applies to themselves when it is said: ‘with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, the same shall be measured unto you.’ (Matt. 7:2) But let Paul the Presbyter retain his place from which with praiseworthy firmness he did not budge: and let no further encroachments be made to any one’s harm.”

XVIII. Thus these things ought to be preserved by right for the singular Metropolitans, and that the latter themselves not prefer themselves to the former, but they shall each advance to preserve the order to themselves from God handed down, established by the Spirit of God from the Nicene Canons, and consecrated by the reverence of the whole world, and others irrevocably Decreed by the Sacred Canons, and the providence and authority of the Pontiffs of the Apostolic See promulgated out of the same Canons, to the memory of those who know, or perhaps we thought not knowing it is necessary to commemorate the notice, because in the Cisalpine Provinces the delegation of the Vicars of the Apostolic See, on account of extirpating the Simoniac Heresy, both for presumption, because powerful laity were suddenly tonsured, and Bishops ordained, who ought to be amputated, just in the Apostolic See of the Pontiffs, but especially we read in the Epistles of Blessed Gregory, it was exhorted, that the privileges for the

Metropolitans of the singular Provinces ought to be unshakeably preserved according to the Sacred Rules.

In the days of the Emperors Theodosius and Honorius, during the Pontificate of Pope Zosimus, it emanated through the Seven Provinces, namely, Vienna, Lyons, Narboenense Primum and Secundum, and the Alpine, and Novempopulanam, and the Aquitaine Secundam, that the honored or possessors, Judges and Bishops of the aforesaid Provinces, at the Ides of August, on any of the middle days of the Ides of September, in the City of Arles, which is also called Constantina, they should convene at a Council Judicial or Ecclesiastical. But concerning the Novempopulana and Aquitaine Secundum, which Provinces were constituted further away, if some obligation delays their Judges and Metropolitans, they might send their own legates according to custom, just as in the Edict of the aforesaid Emperors, and is found in the Epistles of the Pontiffs of the Apostolic See. Then this Primacy was committed to the City of Vienna through the aforesaid Provinces, and from there the Bishop of Arles received that sollicitude.

XIX. Finally, in the reign of Clovis, when the whole Nation had recently been converted to the Faith through the holy preaching of the Blessed Remigius, cooperating with the Lord and confirming his speech, with signs following, the Blessed Hormisdas turning to the same St. Remigius, Bishop of the Ancient Metropolis of Rhemus Durocortus [Rheims], which in previous times had under it Twelve States [Tribes], that is, the Suessions, the Catalans, the Veromands, the Atrebatians, the Camaracians, the Tornacens, the Silvanectus, the Belvagians, the Ambians, the Morins, that is, the Pontificium, the Bononians, and Laudunum Clavatum, in which camp from his parish the same St. Remigius, supported by the Canons and Apostolic Authority of the Africans, appointed a Bishop, through certain Belgic and Gallican Provinces committed, that the Churches of God, which the pagan Franks had devastated and burned, plundering all, and whatever deeds had been perpetrated, he [the Bishop appointed] ought to return to the proper state, the privileges of the Arelatan Church [Church of Arles] remaining in its own Provinces anciently delegated.

XX. Later, however, in the time of Blessed Gregory, Bishop Virgilius of Arles, at the petition of King Childerbert, in his kingdom, as his predecessors had in the aforesaid Provinces, received

this delegation, committing himself to the same Blessed Gregory (Book IV, Epistle 52). And afterwards in the time of Prince Charles, when, on account of the discord and contention between him and Raganfred about the governance, and the frequency and civil, rather more than civil, because internal and parricidal, war, all the Religion of Christianity was almost abolished in the German, Belgian, and Gallic Provinces, so that the Bishops were in a few remaining places, Bishoprics were given to laymen, and things were divided, so much so that Milo, a certain tonsured cleric, in manners, habit, and act an irreligious layman, usurping the Bishoprics of Rheims and Trier at the same time, through many years this was permitted: and many already, especially in the eastern regions [of Germany] during the time of Gregory II from the first, and Gregory III (720s and 730s), there was worship of idols and they remained without Baptism.

Then Winfred, by cognomen Boniface, directed the legate of the Apostolic See to reform the religion of the Christians; first he was ordained a Presbyter, but afterwards a Bishop. To whom for twenty-five years he was laboring in the same preaching but without an established See, until the aforesaid successor Pope Zachary, among others things in a direct Privilege wrote to him and confirmed at a place thus saying:

“But now, since God has so widely extended your mission, it becomes our duty to assign to you and your successors a Cathedral Church in accordance with the petition of the sons of the Franks. Wherefore, by the authority of the Blessed Apostle Peter, we decree that the above-mentioned Church of Mainz be established as a Metropolitan See to you and your successors forever. It shall have under it these five cities, to wit, Tongres, Cologne, Worms, Speyer, and Utrecht, and all those peoples in Germany to whom your preaching has brought the knowledge of the Light of Christ. And, this being now established, we command that the charter of this our confirmation be preserved in your Church forever, as evidence thereof.” (Epistle 88)

XXI. Concerning the Primacy also in other Provinces, again the same Pope Zacharias wrote to the same Boniface in this way (Epistle 46):

“You desire to know whether you are to have the right of preaching in Bavaria which was granted you by our predecessor. We reply that we will not diminish but rather increase the rights

bestowed upon you by our predecessor. So long as the Divine Majesty shall permit you to live, carry on as our representative not only in Bavaria but in the whole Province of Gaul the preaching mission with which you are charged, and if you discover anything contrary to the Christian Religion, or the provisions of the Canons, strive to reform such errors according to the laws of justice.”

Apologia of the Married Clergy (a real letter from the XI century) by Ulrich, bishop of Imola _____ ABOUT THE AUTHOR AND THE LETTER We know very few things concerning the author of this letter-apology. Ulrich was bishop of Imola (near Ravenna, Italy) from 1053 to 1074, the year of his death. In AD 1059 the bishop wrote this letter to Pope Nicholas II, in order to defend his married clergy from the new pro-celibate reforms in the breast of the Roman Church. The epistle's style is redundant and rhetoric, typical of some Patristics. In the letter many public people are called to remembrance but without their name, perhaps to not scandalize the Pope, or maybe for they were already well known to the correspondent.

This epistle remains as a little witness of the "other side" of the Gregorian reforms in the period immediately following the Great Schism.

The letter was translated in Italian by Francesco Quaranta in his book, *Prete Sposato nel medioevo* (Married clergy in the Middle Age), 2000, Claudiana ed. The present work is a translation of most parts of the letter as presented in Francesco Quaranta's book.

ULRICH - BY GOD'S GRACE BISHOP OF IMOLA TO HIS HOLINESS NICHOLAS THE SECOND, POPE OF OLD ROME

Me, Ulrich, bishop by name, son in love but servant in fear, to the guardian of the Roman See.

As I had made no sense of the measure, O Father and Lord, in your decrees on the continence of clerics, which had recently come to me, fear and sadness troubled me in a single feeling. Fear, since it is written: "the opinion of those who command, both right and wrong, must be respected" (St. Gregory the Great, Homily in Evang., II 26,6). In fact, I was worried for those who find it difficult to stick to the Scriptures, because they, who barely obey a just prescription, once they have transgressed the unjust - an oppressive, indeed intolerable disposition of their pastor - would no longer feel bound to the commandments. I was sad and in pain as I thought how much the members needed their head, invalidated by such a large body.

What is more serious, what is more worthy of the compassion of the whole Church than you-- bishop of the highest See, which is called to herd everyone-- having lost the sense of discretion? And not just from this you have deviated, when you wanted to force the clerics to abandon the marriage with a certain violence, while you should have only exhorted them. Is it not, in the judgment of all the masters of the Faith, violence that compels us to obey arbitrary decisions, taken against the rule of the gospel and the teaching of the Holy Spirit? Since there are plenty of examples of the Old and New Testaments in favor of moderation, you know, after all, and I beg your paternity of not bothering to have anyone mentioned in these pages. The Lord has certainly instituted the marriage of priests in Jewish law; and that he later forbade it is not written

anywhere; indeed, he says the same thing in the Gospel: "There are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven: not all are capable of this: whoever is capable of these things is capable of it." (Mt 19,11-12). For this, the Apostle (Paul) says: "I do not give the Lord a command of the Lord, but a council." (ICor 7.25).

He was aware, in accordance with the aforementioned word of the Lord, that not everyone would live up to that ideal and foretold that many of his zealots, eager to please not to God but to men with a false image of continence, would have committed more serious things: they would have violated the wives of the others and would not have escaped from the intercourse with the males or the beasts. To prevent the contagion of this disease from becoming a devastating pestilence of the whole Church, (St. Paul) said: "to avoid debauchery every man has a wife." (ICor 7.2) that this concerns exclusively the laity is a lie of the hypocrites present in every degree of the priesthood (2) who instead do not hesitate to abuse the wives of others and fully, we say crying, degrade in the aforementioned wickedness.

They certainly did not rightly interpret the Scripture, whose breast, pressed too hard, drank blood instead of milk. In fact, that apostolic saying, "everyone has a wife", does not allow exception, except for those who make a vow of continence and those who decide in the Lord to remain in virginity. (...)

In order that you know with certainty that it should not be absolutely forced who did not make this vow, listen to what the Apostle says to Timothy: "the Bishop must be irreprehensible, the husband of only one wife" (I Tim.). And, so that someone did not refer this sentence only to the Church (3), he added: "But if someone does not know how to govern his own family, how will he take care of the Church of God?" (I Tim 3,2). Besides, I know that the decrees of Pope Sylvester (4) have taught you enough that the wife must be blessed by the Church. Finally, the author of the canon law, agreeing with the decrees of the Holy Scriptures, rightly says: "The cleric is chaste or bound with certainty to a single marriage" (Apostolic canon VI).

It is clear from all these texts that the bishop and the deacon are condemnable if they share among many women. If instead they cast out only the legitimate ones with the pretext of religion, without any difference in rank, they are thus condemned by canon law (canon V):

"No one, bishop or priest, in any case drive his own wife under the pretext of faith, if he then goes away, he is excommunicated, and if he perseveres, he is deposed." (...) Here the Bishop Ulrich remembers the episode of the martyr Pafmutius who rose up at the Council of Nicaea (325) defending the uxoria from the bishops who wanted to impose celibacy. The episode is reported by Cassiodorus in the Tripartite Ecclesiastical History in chapter XIV. (...)

There are indeed supporters of celibacy, whose recklessness makes me laugh and their ignorance [makes me] cry, which invoke the authority of St. Gregory (the Great) in their favor. In fact, they ignore the fact that the dangerous decree containing this heresy promulgated by Saint Gregory was then retracted by himself with adequate fruit of penance.

One day, in fact, having commanded that fishes be brought from his nursery, he perceived himself delivering more than six thousand heads of children. He groaned then, struck by intimate repentance and confessing that the cause of so much slaughter had been his decree on abstinence, and, as I said, he made adequate penance, adding to the apostolic saying "better to marry than to burn" (1 Cor.7 , 9) its own maxim: "it is better to marry than to offer the occasion of death". (5)

So cease, Your Holiness, to oblige those who you should only persuade, so that you may not be found, God forbid, an enemy of both the Old and the New Testament, because of a law invented by you.

Says St. Augustine to Donatus: "We fear only that your justice believes that it should punish by not considering the Christian meekness but the enormity of the sins, we beg you not to do it in the name of Christ, for sins must be repressed so that those who have repented of to have sinned. "(6) (...)

Jerome says: "this can also concern those virgins who boast of modesty and who with impertinent face show off chastity, having other in mind, they do not know the definition given by the Apostle" saint of body and spirit ". in fact, the continence of the body to a corrupt soul, which does not possess the other virtues described by the prophet? " (7)

(...) And indeed, what can be more foolishly in favor of men and more subject to the divine curse on the fact that some bishops and archdeacons, so deeply plunged in lust, to appreciate adultery, incest ... and shame! the very strange intercourse with the males, they say that the chaste marriages of clerics are repugnant and moved not by the desire for true justice but by the disdain of the false one, to command them as servants and force them to abstain, instead of praying them as companions and urge them to contain themselves.

In fact, they accompany this advice to this turpine: "it is better to associate with many women in secret, rather than just one before everyone." This certainly would not say if they came from or were on the side of Him who said: "Woe to you, Pharisees, who do all these things to be looked upon by men" (Mt 23, 5.13). Reverse men, who would have us prefer to be blushing sinners before the One to whom all things are clear and manifest, rather than being men before men.

Therefore, although for their wickedness they do not deserve to be treated according to clemency, nevertheless we, mindful of the divine philanthropy and driven by intimate

charity, we offer him the norm of the law that never divorces itself from the benevolence. We have been told by some people that some of these are going to tear and scourge the flock of the Lord without reason, to the point of arrogance they have come. I would not hesitate to define them as the Apostle said to Timothy: "in the end times some will apostatize by faith, paying attention to lame spirits and diabolical doctrines, men who will propose falsehoods for hypocrisy, cauterized by their conscience, and forbid to marry." (I Tim 4,1-3).

This is, if you look carefully, the host of the diffusers of a bad fruit, of this whole party of madness, which causes clerics, forced by the fury of the Pharisees to abandon, God forbid, their own legitimate wives, they are made fornicators and adulterers and accomplices very turbulent of other perversities of these same who blind, lead other blind, and plot this heresy inside the Church of God.

Since none of those who know you, our Apostolic Lord, ignore that if I had valued with clarity of your habitual discernment as a great pestilence would be derived from your decision, that you would never succumb to suggestions so perverse, and we ask you with loyalty of due submission to act to the removal of such a great scandal from the Church of God and to eradicate the Pharisaic doctrine from the Godfold, so that not only in the flower of virginity, but also in the conjunction of marriage, each will see with purity Our Lord, who lives and reigns with God the Father and the Holy Spirit unto ages of ages. Amen.

----- NOTES

- 1) Moderation. Discretio in latin.
- 2) Ulrich of Imola writes about well known people, for he gives no names. Probably, the reflection of bestiality and homosexuality is a reference to cardinal Peter Damian, well known for these sins.
- 3) It was common to celibacy's defenders to claim that St. Paul's writings were allegorical.
- 4) Acts of the Synod of Pope Sylvester, Canon VII, collected by St. Isidore of Seville states: "be the priest married to a single woman with the blessing of the Church".
- 5) This story is not present in the official catholic biographies of st. Gregory Dialogist. Seems he promulgated a degree against the marriage of priests, and he saw like a vision of the babies dead for the abortions of the priests' wives. Seeing that, st. Gregory decided to break his own law and to restablish the married priesthood.
- 6) St. Augustine of Hippo, letter to Donatus, I, 10.
- 7) St. Jerome, Comm. in Ier. 1,II, cap. 32